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Lord Byron, 1818, 1819, 1820



Robert B. Wood, 1818, 1819, 1820

BISMARCK

SOME SECRET PAGES OF HIS HISTORY

BEING A DIARY KEPT BY

DR. MORITZ BUSCH

DURING TWENTY-FIVE YEARS' OFFICIAL AND PRIVATE
INTERCOURSE WITH THE GREAT CHANCELLOR

(CONDENSED EDITION)

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BISMARCK

SOME SECRET PAGES OF HIS HISTORY



Horitz Busch
1880

BISMARCK

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CHAPTER I

My Appointment as an Official in the Foreign Office, and my First Audience with Bismarck—Working the Press—I write a letter “From a Frenchman”—The Spanish Question and the Hohenzollern Candidature—The Rupture with France—The Declaration of War—The Benedetti Treaty—England’s Neutrality

ON February 1st, 1870, while living in Leipzig and engaged in literary work, I received—quite unexpectedly—from Dr. Metzler, Secretary in the Foreign Office of the North German Confederation, who was at that time occupied principally with press matters, and with whom I had been in communication since 1867, a short note requesting me to come to Berlin in order to have a talk with him. On my arrival I ascertained, to my great surprise, that Dr. Metzler had recommended me to Herr von Keudell, Councillor of Embassy, who was then in charge of personal and finance matters in the Foreign Office, for a confidential position under the Chancellor of the Confederation, which he, Metzler himself, had previously held, and in which my chief duty would be to carry out the instructions of the Chancellor in press matters. I was to be in immediate communication with the Chancellor. My position for the time being would be what was called “*diätarisch*,” that is to say without any claim to a pension and without a title. In a letter dated February 4th, I emphasised as the most important condition that I should be entirely

independent of the Literary or Press Bureau, and that if my capacity for the position should not prove equal to the expectations formed of it I should not be appointed an official in that department. On the 23rd I was informed by Keudell that the Chancellor had agreed to my conditions, and that he had arranged for me to call upon Bismarck on the following evening. Next day I took the official oath, and on the same evening, shortly after 8 o'clock, I found myself in the presence of the Chancellor, whom I had only seen at a distance once before, namely, from the Press Gallery of the Reichstag. Now, two years later, I saw him again as he sat in a military uniform at his writing table with a bundle of documents before him. I was quite close to him this time, and felt as if I stood before the altar.

He gave me his hand, and motioned me to take a seat opposite him. He began by saying that although he desired to have a talk with me, he must for the moment content himself with just making my acquaintance, as he had very little time to spare. "I have been kept in the Reichstag to-day longer than I expected, by a number of lengthy and tiresome speeches; then I have here (pointing to the documents before him) despatches to read, also as a rule not very amusing; and at 9 o'clock I must go to the palace, and that is not particularly entertaining either. What have you been doing up to the present?" I replied that I had edited the *Grenzboten*, an organ of practically National Liberal views, which I left, however, on one of the proprietors showing a disposition to adopt a Progressist policy on the Schleswig-Holstein question. The Chancellor: "Yes, I know that paper." I then went on to say that I had at the instance of the Government taken a position at Hanover, where I assisted the Civil Commissioner, Herr von Hardenberg, in representing Prussian interests in the local press during the year of transition. I had subsequently, on instructions received from the Foreign Office, written a number of articles for different political journals, amongst others for the *Preussische Jahrbücher*, to which I had also previously contributed. Bismarck: "Then you understand our politics and the German question in particular. I intend to get you to write notes and articles for the papers from such particulars and instructions as I may give you, for of course I cannot myself write leaders. You will also arrange for others doing so. At first these will naturally be by way of trial. I must have some

one especially for this purpose, and not merely occasional assistance as at present, especially as I also receive very little useful help from the Literary Bureau. But how long do you remain here?" and as he looked at his watch I thought he desired to bring the conversation to a close. I replied that I had arranged to remain in Berlin. Bismarck: "Ah, very well then, I shall have a long talk with you one of these days. In the meantime see Herr von Keudell, and also Herr Bucher, Councillor of Embassy, who is well acquainted with all these matters." I understood that I was now at liberty to go, and was about to rise from my seat when the Chancellor said: "Of course you know the question which was before the House to-day?" I replied in the negative, explaining that I had been too busy to read the reports in the newspapers. "Well," he said, "it was respecting the admission of Baden into the North German Confederation. It is a pity that people cannot manage to wait, and that they treat everything from a party standpoint, and as furnishing opportunities for speech-making. Disagreeable business to have to answer such speeches, not to say such twaddle! These eloquent gentlemen are really like ladies with small feet. They force them into shoes that are too tight for them, and push them under our noses on all occasions in order that we may admire them. It is just the same with a man who has the misfortune to be eloquent. He speaks too often and too long. The question of German unity is making good progress; but it requires time—one year perhaps, or five, or indeed possibly even ten years. I cannot make it go any faster, nor can these gentlemen either. But they have no patience to wait." With these words he rose, and again shaking hands I took leave of him for the time.

I was thus enlisted in the ranks of Bismarck's fellow workers. An opportunity for the general instructions which he proposed to give me never occurred. I had to enter upon my work at once. Next evening I was twice called in to him to receive instructions for articles. Later on I sometimes saw him still more frequently, and occasionally in the forenoon also—now and then as often as five or even eight times in one day. At these interviews I had to take good care to keep my ears well open, and to note everything with the closest attention, so that two pieces of information or two sets of instructions should not get mixed up. However, I soon found myself equal to this unusually trying task, as

Bismarck's opinions and instructions were always given in a striking form, which it was easy to remember. Besides, he was accustomed to repeat his principal points in other words. Then, again, I made myself all ears, so that, through practice, I gradually succeeded in retaining long sentences, and even whole speeches, practically without omissions, until I had an opportunity of committing them to paper. Bismarck used also to send me, by one of the messengers, documents and newspapers marked with the letter V and a cross, signs which indicated "Press Instructions." When I found such papers on my desk I looked them through, and subsequently obtained the Chancellor's directions with regard to them. Furthermore, when I had anything of importance to ask or to submit for his approval, I was allowed to call upon him without previous invitation. I thus practically occupied the position of a "Vortragender Rath" (*i.e.*, an official having direct access to the Chancellor), excepting only that I had neither the title nor the sense of infallibility common to all such Councillors.

The newspapers to which the articles thus prepared were supplied were the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, then edited by Brass, which was the semi-official organ, properly speaking; the *Spenersche Zeitung*, and the *Neue Preussische* (or *Kreuz*) *Zeitung*. I also frequently sent letters to the *Kölnische Zeitung*, expressing the Chancellor's views. During the first months of my appointment Metzler, who had previously contributed to that paper, served as the medium for communicating these articles. Subsequently they were sent direct to the editor, and were always accepted without alteration. In addition to this work I saw one of the writers from the Literary Bureau every forenoon, and gave him material which was sent to the *Magdeburger Zeitung* and some of the smaller newspapers; while other members of his department furnished portions of it to certain Silesian, East Prussian, and South German organs. I had similar weekly interviews with other, and somewhat more independent, writers. Amongst these I may mention Dr. Bock, who supplied articles to the *Augsburger Allgemeine Zeitung*, and a number of papers in Hanover; Professor Constantine Roetzler, formerly Lecturer at Jena, who subsequently assisted Richthofen at Hamburg and afterwards edited the *Staatsanzeiger*; and finally Herr Heide, who had previously been a missionary in Australia and was at that time

working for the *North German Correspondence*, which had been founded with a view to influencing the English press.

In addition to this my duties also included the reading of masses of German, Austrian and French newspapers, which were laid upon my table three times daily, and the management and purchase of books for the Ministerial Library. It will therefore be easily understood that while the Chancellor remained in Berlin I had more than enough to attend to. I was engaged not only on week-days, but also on Sundays, from 9 in the morning until 3 in the afternoon, and again from 5 till 10 and sometimes 11 o'clock at night. Indeed, it sometimes occurred that a messenger from the Chancellor came at midnight to call me away from a party of friends or out of my bed in order to receive pressing instructions.

I reproduce here in the form in which they appear in my diary the particulars of a number of more or less characteristic statements and instructions which I received from the Chancellor at that period. They show that the statesman whom I had the honour to serve thoroughly understood the business of journalism, and they further throw a welcome light upon many of the political events of that time.

Some days after the debate in the Reichstag respecting the entrance of Baden into the North German Confederation, I find the following entry among my notes :—

February 27th, evening.—Called to see the Minister. I am to direct special attention to the nonsense written by the National Liberal Press on the last sitting of the Reichstag. The Chancellor said :—"The National Liberals are not a united party. They are merely two fractions. Amongst their leaders Bennigsen and Forckenbeck are sensible men, and there are also a couple of others. Miguel is inclined to be theatrical. Loewe, with his deep chest notes, does everything for effect. He has not made a single practical remark. Lasker is effective in destructive criticism, but is no politician. It sounded very odd to hear him declare that they were now too much occupied with Rome in Paris and Vienna to interfere with us in connection with the Baden affair. Attention should be paid to the situation in France, so that nothing should be done which might endanger the Constitutional evolution of that country, an evolution hitherto promoted in every way from Berlin, as it signifies peace for us.

The French Arcadians" (the party that supported Napoleon through thick and thin) "are watching the course of events in Germany, and waiting their opportunity. Napoleon is now well disposed to us, but he is very changeable. We could now fight France and beat her too, but that war would give rise to five or six others; and while we can gain our ends by peaceful means, it would be foolish, if not criminal, to take such a course. Events in France may take a warlike or revolutionary turn, which would render the present brittle metal there more malleable. There was an important point in my speech, which, however, these good people failed to recognise. That was the intimation that in certain circumstances we should pay no regard either to the views of Austria respecting South Germany as a whole, nor to those of France, who objected to the admission of any single South German State into the North German Confederation. That was a feeler. Further measures can only be considered when I know how that hint has been received in Vienna and Paris."

March 1st.—Count Bismarck wishes me to get the following inserted in the South German newspapers:—"The South German States, including half of Hesse, have unquestionably the right—acting either in concert or singly—to endeavour, in co-operation with the North, to advance the cause of national unity. The question is whether the present is a good time to choose. The Chancellor of the North German Confederation answers this question in the negative. But it is only possible by the most wilful garbling of his expressions to maintain that his final aim is not the union of Germany. Partition of German national territory! Calumny! Not a single word of the Chancellor's justifies that conclusion. As Herr Lasker has not spoken at the instance of the Government of Baden, although his speech would almost convey the impression that he was a Minister of that State, it is difficult to understand where he got that idea. Perhaps it was merely the conceit of the honourable member that led him to make such a statement."

March 3rd.—The Minister wishes the *Kölnische Zeitung* first, and afterwards the South German newspapers, to advocate the organisation into one great party of all men of national views in the South German States, so as to get rid of the particularism which had hitherto divided them. "The matter lies much more in their hands," he said, "than in those of the North German

National Liberals. The North German Governments will do all that is possible in a reasonable way in support of the efforts of South Germany. But the South Germans who wish to unite with us must act together and not singly. I want you to reiterate this point again and again. The article must then be printed in the *Spenerische Zeitung* and in other newspapers to which we have access, and it should be accompanied by expressions of deep regret at the particularism which prevents the union of the various Southern parties that gravitate towards North Germany."

Read over to the Minister, at his request, an article which he ordered yesterday and for which he gave me the leading ideas. It was to be dated from Paris, and published in the *Kölnische Zeitung*. He said :—"Yes, you have correctly expressed my meaning. The composition is good both as regards its reasoning and the facts which it contains. But no Frenchman thinks in such logical and well-ordered fashion, yet the letter is understood to be written by a Frenchman. It must contain more gossip, and you must pass more lightly from point to point. In doing so you must adopt an altogether French standpoint. A Liberal Parisian writes the letter and gives his opinion as to the position of his party towards the German question, expressing himself in the manner usual in statements of that kind." (Finally Count Bismarck dictated the greater part of the article, which was forwarded by Metzler in its altered form to the Rhenish newspaper.)

In connection with this task the Minister said to me the day before :—"I look at the matter in this way. A correspondent in Paris must give his opinion of my quarrel with Lasker and the others over the Baden question, and bring forward arguments which I did not think it desirable to use at that time. He must say that no one could deem it advisable in the present state of affairs in Bavaria, when the King seems to be so well disposed, to do anything calculated on the one hand to irritate him, and on the other to disturb the constitutional movement in France—which movement tended to preserve peace while it would itself be promoted by the maintenance of peace. Those who desire to advance the cause of liberty do not wish to go to war with us, yet they could not swim against the stream if we took any action in South Germany which public opinion would regard as detrimental to the interests and prestige of France. Moreover, for the present the course of the Vatican Council should not

be interfered with, as the result for Germany might possibly be a diversion. We must wait for these things," he added. "I cannot explain that to them. If they were politicians they would see it for themselves. There are reasons for forbearance which every one should be able to recognise; but Members of Parliament who cross-question the Government do not usually regard that as their duty."

The second portion of the article which the Minister dictated runs as follows:—"Whoever has had an opportunity of observing here in Paris how difficult the birth of the present Constitutional movement has been, what obstacles this latest development of French political life has to overcome if it is to strike deep roots, and how powerful are the influences of which the guiding spirit only awaits some pretext for smothering the infant in its cradle, will understand with what anxiety we watch the horizon abroad and what a profoundly depressing effect every little cloud there produces upon our hopes of a secure and peaceful development of the new *régime*. It is the ardent wish of every sincere adherent of the Constitutional cause in France that there should now be no diversion abroad, no change on the horizon of foreign politics, which might serve if not as a real motive at least as a pretext for crying down the youthful Constitutionalism of France, while at the same time directing public attention to foreign relations. We believe that the Emperor is in earnest, but his immediate *entourage*, and the creatures whom he has to employ, are watching anxiously for some event which shall enable them to compel the Sovereign to abandon a course which they resent. These people are very numerous, and have during the eighteen years of the Emperor's reign grown more powerful than is perhaps believed outside France. Whoever has any regard for the Constitutional development of the country can only hope that no alteration, however slight, shall occur in the foreign relations of France to serve as a motive or pretext for that reaction which every opponent of the Constitution is striving to bring about."

March 4th.—The *Boersen Zeitung* contained an article in which it was alleged that in Germany only nobles were considered competent to become Ministers. This the Count sent down to me to be refuted in a short article, expressing surprise at such a statement. "An absurd electioneering move!" the Chancellor said. "Whoever wishes to persuade the world that in Prussia the

position of Minister is only open to the aristocracy, and that capable commoners have absolutely no chance of attaining to it, must have no memory and no eyes. Say that under Count Bismarck no less than three commoners have, on his recommendation, been appointed Ministers within a short period, namely Delbrück, Leonhard and Camphausen. Lasker, it is true, has not yet been appointed."

I wrote this short article immediately; but the Chancellor was not pleased with it. "I told you expressly," he said, "to mention the names of Delbrück, Leonhard and Camphausen, and that their appointments were due to my personal influence. Go straight to the point, and don't wander round about it in that way! That is no use! A pointless article! They are just the cleverest of the present Ministers. The attack on Lasker is also out of place. We must not provoke people unnecessarily. They are right when they complain of bullying." The reference to Lasker consisted merely of his own words as given above.

March 5th.—The *Vossische Zeitung* contained a bitter attack, which culminated in the following remark: "Exceptional circumstances—and such must be acknowledged to exist when working men are treated to breech-loaders, and Ministers are hanged on street lamps—cannot be taken as a rule for the regular conduct of affairs." The Count received this article from the Literary Bureau of the Ministry of State (where extracts from the newspapers were made for him), although it might well have been withheld, as not much importance attaches to the scoldings of "Tante Voss." The Count sent for me, read over the passage in question, and observed: "They speak of times when Ministers were hanged on street lamps. Unworthy language! Reply that such a thing never occurred in Prussia, and that there is no prospect of its occurring. In the meantime it shows towards what condition of affairs the efforts of that newspaper are tending, which (under the auspices of Jacoby and Company) supplies the Progressist middle classes of Berlin with their politics."

March 7th.—Called to the Count in the evening, when he said: "I want you to secure the insertion in the press of an article somewhat to the following effect: For some time past vague rumours of war have been current throughout the world for which no sufficient ground exists in fact, or can be even suggested. The explanation is probably to be sought in Stock Exchange

speculation for a fall which has been started in Paris. Confidential whispers are going about with regard to the presence of Archduke Albrecht in the French capital which are calculated to cause uneasiness ; and then, naturally enough, these rumours are shouted aloud and multiplied by the windbags of the Guelph press."

March 11th.—The Count wants an article in the *National Zeitung* to be answered in this sense: "The Liberals in Parliament always identify themselves with the people. They maintain, like Louis XIV. with his *L'État c'est moi*, that 'We are the People.' There could hardly be a more absurd piece of boasting and exaggeration. As if the other representatives, the Conservatives in the country, and the great numbers who belong to no party, were not also part of the nation, and had no opinions and interests to which regard should be paid!"

Attention is to be directed, at first in a paper which has no connection with the Government, to the prolonged sojourn of Archduke Albrecht in Paris as a suspicious symptom. In connection with it rumours have been circulated in London of an understanding between France and Austria. Our papers should afterwards reproduce these hints.

March 12th.—In the afternoon Bucher gave me the Chief's instructions to order the Spanish newspaper *Imparcial*. (This is of some importance, as it doubtless indicates that even then we had a hand in the question of electing the new King. On several occasions subsequently I secured the insertion in non-official German papers of translations which Bucher brought me of articles in that newspaper against the candidature of Montpensier.)

March 13th.—The Chancellor wishes to have it said in one of the "remote" journals (that is, not notoriously connected with the Government) that the Pope has paid no regard to the representations of France and Austria respecting the principal points which should be decided by the Council.

March 16th, evening.—Called up to the Minister, who lay on the sofa in his study. "Here," he said (pointing to a newspaper), "they complain of the accumulation of labour imposed upon Parliament. Already eight months' hard work! That must be answered. It is true that Members of Parliament have a great deal to do, but Ministers are still worse off. In addition to their work in the two Diets the latter have an immense amount of

business to transact for the King and the country both while Parliament is sitting and during the recess. Moreover, members have the remedy in their own hands. If those who do not belong to the Upper Chamber will abstain from standing for election both to the Prussian and the Federal Diet they will lighten their task sufficiently. They are not obliged to sit in both Houses."

March 21st.—I am to call attention in the semi-official organs to the fact that the Reichstag is discussing the Criminal Code far too minutely and slowly. "The speakers," observed the Count, "show too great a desire for mere talk, and are too fond of details and hair-splitting. If this continues the Bills will not be disposed of in the present Session, especially as the Budget has still to be discussed. The President might well exercise stricter control. Another unsatisfactory feature is that so many members absent themselves from the sittings. Our newspapers ought to publish regularly lists of such absentees. Please see that is done."

March 25th.—The Chief wishes Klaczko's appointment in Vienna to be discussed. He said to me: "Beust intends in that way to revive the Polish question. Point to the journalistic activity of that indefatigable agitator, and to his bitter hatred both of ourselves and Russia. Quote Rechenberg's confidential despatch of the 2nd of March from Warsaw, where he says that the Polish secret political societies which are engaged at Lemberg in preparing for a revolution, with the object of restoring Polish independence, have sent a deputation to Klaczko congratulating him on his appointment to a position where he is in direct communication with the Chancellor of the Empire. Send the article first to the *Kölnische Zeitung*, and afterwards arrange for similar articles in the provincial newspapers. We must finally see that this reaches Reuss (the Ambassador in St. Petersburg), in order that he may get it reproduced in the Russian press. It can also appear in the *Kreuzzeitung*, and it must be brought up again time after time in another form."

I am to refer to England and the way in which the press is treated there. "The Liberals always appeal to English example when they want to secure some fresh liberty for the press. Such appeals, it is well known, rest largely upon mistaken notions. It would be desirable to examine more closely the Bill which has

just been passed for the preservation of order in Ireland. What would public opinion in Germany, and particularly what would the people of Berlin say, if our Government could proceed against any of our democratic journals, even against the most violent, according to the following provisions, and that too without even a state of minor siege? Then quote the provisions, and add that the Bill was carried by a large majority."

March 30th.—The Count sent down a report from Rome for use in the press. This report says: "The tourists who visited St. Peter's on the 22nd instant were several times disturbed by a dull noise which rolled through the aisles like a storm, proceeding from the direction of the Council Chamber. Those who remained a little longer saw individual Bishops, with anxious looks, hurriedly leave the church. There had been a terrible scene amongst the reverend fathers. The theme *de erroribus*, which was laid before the Council about three weeks ago and then returned to the Commission, was again being discussed in an amended form. This discussion had now lasted five or six (eight) days. Strossmayer criticised one of the paragraphs of the Proemium which characterised Protestantism as the source of all the evils which now infect the world in the forms of pantheism, materialism, and atheism. He declared that this Proemium contained historical untruths, as the errors of our time were much older than Protestantism. The Humanist movement, which had been imprudently protected by the highest authority (Pope Leo X.) was in part responsible for them. The Proemium lacked the charity due to Protestants. (First uproar.) It was, on the contrary, amongst Protestants that Christianity had found its most powerful defenders, such as Leibnitz and Guizot, whose meditations he should wish to see in the hands of every Christian. (Renewed and increased uproar, while closed fists are shown at the speaker, and cries are heard of '*Hæreticus es! Taceas! Descendas! Omnes te condemnamus!*' and now and then '*Ego eum non condemno!*') This storm also subsided, and Strossmayer was able to proceed to another point, namely, the question to which the Bishops referred in their protest, that is to say, that a unanimous vote is indispensable for decisions on dogma. Strossmayer's remarks on this theme caused the indignation of the majority to boil over. Cardinal Capalti interrupted him. The assembly raged like a hurricane. After a wordy war of a quarter

of an hour's duration between the speaker and the Legates, Strossmayer retired, three times repeating the words: *Protestor non est concilium.* It is worthy of note that a Congregation has been held to-day at which the Bishop of Halifax and others are understood to have expressed views similar to those of Strossmayer and that no attempt was made to interrupt them. It would therefore appear as if the storm raised against the Bishop of Bosnia were a party manœuvre with the object of ruining the most important of the Princes of the Church."

March 31st.—Commissioned by the Chief to tell Zitelmann (an official of the Ministry of State in charge of press matters) that the newspaper extracts which his office prepares for submission to the King (through the Minister) should be better sifted and arranged. Those that are suitable for the King are to be gummed on to separate sheets and detached from those that are not suitable for him. Particularistic lies and stupidities, such as those from Kiel of the 25th and Cassel of the 28th, belong to the latter category and must not be laid before him. If he sees that kind of thing printed in black on white he is apt to believe it. He does not know the character of those papers.

I am to secure the insertion in the press of the fact that Howard, the English representative at Munich, although he is married to a Prussian lady (Schulenberg), exercises, in opposition to the views of his own Government, a decidedly anti-Prussian influence, not so much in a pro-Austrian as in a Guelph sense. He was Minister at Hanover up to the events of 1866.

April 1st.—The Minister's birthday. When I was called to him in the evening his room was perfumed with flowers presented to him. He lay on the sofa, booted and spurred, smoking a cigar, and reading newspaper extracts. After receiving my instructions, I offered my congratulations, for which he thanked me, reaching me his hand. "I hope," he said, "we shall remain together for a very long time." I replied that I hoped so too, that I could find no words to say how happy I felt to be near him, and to be able to work for him. "Well," he answered, smiling, "it is not always so pleasant, but you must not notice every little thing."

My instructions referred to Lasker and Hoverbeck. They were as follows:—"Just take Lippe and Lasker as your subject for

once. Lasker has, it is true, been taken to task for one of his latest utterances by Bennigsen, the chief of his fraction, but it can do no harm to deal with the affair once more in the press—and repeatedly. He, like Lippe, wants the Constitution to be placed above our national requirements. *Les extrêmes se touchent*. Lippe is the representative of the Particularistic Junkers with the tendency to absolutism, Lasker that of the Parliamentary Junkers with Particularistic leanings. Vincke, who was just such another, succeeded, with his eternal dogmatism, in ruining and nearly destroying a great party in a few months, notwithstanding favourable circumstances. Please send the article to the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* for publication, and let it be afterwards reproduced in another form by the Literary Bureau."

April 4th.—It was well that I carried out the Minister's orders at once. On being called to him this morning he received me with the words: "I asked you recently to write an article on the subject of Lippe and Lasker. Have you done so?" I replied, "Yes, Excellency, and it has already appeared. I did not submit it to you as I know that you see the *Norddeutsche* daily." He then said, "I have had no time as yet, I will look it up immediately."

In a quarter of an hour I was again sent for, and on appearing before him the Minister said: "I have now read the article—it was amongst the extracts. It is excellent, exactly what I wished. Let it now be circulated and reproduced in the provincial journals. In doing so it may be further remarked that if Count Bismarck were to charge Lasker and his fraction with Particularism—I do not mean all the National Liberals, but principally the Prussians, the Lasker group—the accusation would be well founded. Lippe has also laid down the principle that the Prussian Diet is independent of the Federal Diet."

The Minister then continued: "Here is the *Kölnische Zeitung* talking of excitability. It alleges that I have manifested an excitability which recalls the period of 'conflict.' That is not true. I have merely repelled passionate attacks in the same tone in which they were delivered, according to the usual practice in Parliament. It was not Bismarck but Lasker and Hoverbeck who took the initiative. They began again with offensive personal attacks, and I begged of them in a friendly way not to return to

that style. Ask whether the writer had not read the report of the sitting, as it showed that it was not Count Bismarck who picked this quarrel. Apart from its pleadings on behalf of the claims of Denmark, the *Kölnische Zeitung* was a sensible newspaper. What had Count Bismarck done to it that it should allow its correspondents to send such a garbled account of the facts? Moreover, Bennigsen had reprimanded Lasker. They now themselves recognised that the tone they adopted was wrong, as Lasker came to me on Saturday to excuse himself."

April 12th.—The Count desires to have an article written for the *Kölnische Zeitung*, part of which he dictated to me. It ran as follows: "The *Constitutionnel* speaks of the way in which French manners are being corrupted by foreign elements, and in this connection it mentions Princess Metternich and Madame Rimsky-Korsakow. It would require more space than we can afford to this subject to show in its true light all the ignorance and prejudice exhibited by the writer of this article, who has probably never left Paris. Princess Metternich would not act in Vienna as she is represented by the *Constitutionnel* to have acted in Paris; and Madame Rimsky-Korsakow is not a leader of society in St. Petersburg. The contrary must be the case. Paris must be responsible if the two ladies so conduct themselves, and exercise such an influence as the French journal asserts they do. As a matter of fact the idea that Paris is the home and school of good manners is now only to be met with in other countries, in old novels, and amongst elderly people in the most remote parts of the provinces. It has long since been observed, and not in European Courts alone, that the present generation of Frenchmen do not know how to behave themselves. In other circles it has also been remarked that the young Frenchman does not compare favourably with the youth of other nations, or with those few countrymen of his own who have, far from Paris, preserved the traditions of good French society. Travellers who have visited the country at long intervals are agreed in declaring that the forms of polite intercourse, and even the conventional expressions for which the French language so long served as a model, are steadily falling into disuse. It is therefore quite conceivable that the Empress Eugénie, as a sensitive Spaniard, has been painfully affected by the tone and character of Parisian society, but it would show a lack of judgment on her part if, as stated by the *Constitutionnel*,

she sought for the origin of that evil abroad. But we believe we are justified in directly contradicting that statement, as we know that the Empress has repeatedly recommended young Germans as models for the youth of France. The French show themselves to be a decadent nation, and not least in their manners. It will require generations to recover the ground they have lost. Unfortunately, so far as manners are concerned, all Europe has retrograded."

From the 13th of April to the 28th of May I did not see the Minister. He was unwell, and left for Varzin on Easter Eve. It was said at the Ministry that his illness was of a bilious character, and was due to the mortification he felt at the conduct of the Lasker fraction, together with the fact that he had spoilt his digestion at a dinner at Camphausen's.

On the 21st of May the Minister returned to Berlin, but it was not until seven days later that I was called to him. He then gave me the following instructions: "Brass (the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*) must not plead so strongly for the Austrians nor speak so warmly of the Government of Napoleon. In the case of Austria we have to adopt a benevolently expectant attitude, yet the appointment of Klaczko and his connection with the Ministry is for us a suspicious symptom. The appointment of Gramont to the French Foreign Office is not exactly agreeable to us. The Czechs must be treated with all possible consideration; but, on the other hand, we must deal with the Poles as with enemies."

On the 8th of June the Minister again left Berlin for Varzin.

Immediately on the commencement of the difficulties with France respecting the election to the Spanish throne of the Hereditary Prince of Hohenzollern, letters and telegrams began to arrive which were forwarded by Bucher under instructions from the Chief. These consisted in part of short paragraphs and drafts of articles, as well as some complete articles which only required to be retouched in the matter of style, or to have references inserted with regard to matters of fact. These directions accumulated, but owing to the spirit and energy inspired by the consciousness that we were on the eve of great events, and that it was an honour to co-operate in the work, they were promptly dealt with, almost all being disposed of on the day of their arrival. I here reproduce some of these instructions, the order of the words and expressions in the deciphered telegrams

being slightly altered, while the remainder are given exactly as they reached me.

July 7th, evening.—A telegram to me from Varzin: "The semi-official organs should indicate that this does not seem to be the proper time for a discussion of the succession to the Spanish throne, as the Cortes, who are alone entitled to decide the question, have not yet spoken. German Governments have always respected Spanish independence in such matters, and will do so in future, as they have no claim or authority to interfere and lay down regulations for the Spaniards. Then, in the non-official press, great surprise should be expressed at the presumption of the French, who have discussed the question very fully in the Chamber, speaking as if that assembly had a right to dispose of the Spanish throne, and apparently forgetting that such a course was as offensive to Spanish national pride as it was conducive to the encouragement of Republican tendencies. This may be safely construed into a further proof of the false direction which the personal *régime* is taking. It would appear as if the Emperor, who has instigated this action, wanted to see the outbreak of a new war of succession."

A letter from Bucher, which was handed to me on the evening of the 8th of July, further developed the idea contained in the last sentence of the foregoing telegram. This letter ran: "Previous to 1868 Eugénie was pleased to play the part of an obedient subject to Isabella, and since the September revolution that of a gracious protectress. She unquestionably arranged the farce of the abdication, and now, in her rage, she incites her consort and the Ministers. As a member of a Spanish party she would sacrifice the peace and welfare of Europe to the intrigues and aspirations of a corrupt dynasty.

"Please see that this theme, a new war of succession in the nineteenth century, is thoroughly threshed out in the press. The subject is inviting, especially in the hands of a correspondent disposed to draw historical parallels, and more particularly parallels *ex averso*. Have the French not had experience enough of Spain with Louis XIV. and Napoleon, and with the Duc d'Angoulême's campaign for the execution of the decrees of the Verona Congress? Have they not excited sufficient hatred by all those wars and by the Spanish marriage of 1846?

"Bring personal influence to bear as far as possible on the

editors who have been intimidated by the Stock Exchange, representing to them that if the German press takes up a timid and hesitating attitude in presence of the rhodomontades of the French, the latter will become more insolent and put forward intolerable demands in other questions affecting Germany still more closely. A cool and determined attitude, with a touch of contempt for those excited gentlemen who would like to slaughter somebody, but do not exactly know whom, would be the most fitting means for putting an end to this uproar and preventing serious complications."

Bucher added: "Protestants were still sent to the galleys under the Spanish Government which was overthrown in 1868."

Another communication of Bucher's from Varzin of the same date runs: "The precedents furnished by Louis Philippe's refusal of the Belgian throne on behalf of the Duc de Nemours in 1831, on the ground that it would create uneasiness, and by the protest which England would have entered against the marriage of the Duc de Montpensier to the sister of Queen Isabella, are neither of them very applicable, as the Prince of Hohenzollern is not a son of King William, but only a remote connection, and Spain does not border on Prussia."

The following was a third subject received from Varzin on the same day: "Is Spain to inquire submissively at the Tuileries whether the King whom she desires to take is considered satisfactory? Is the Spanish throne a French dependency? It has already been stated in the Prussian speech from the throne that our sole desire in connection with the events in Spain was that the Spanish people should arrive at an independent decision for the maintenance of their own prosperity and power. In France, where on other occasions so much is said of national independence, the attempt of the Spanish people to decide for themselves has immediately revived the old diplomatic traditions which led to the Spanish war of succession 160 years ago."

On the same day, the 8th of July, a telegram was also received from the Chancellor by the Secretary of State, and it was handed to me for my information. It was to the following effect: "I have now before me in the despatch of Count Solms the official text of the Duc de Gramont's speech, and I find his language more brusque and presumptuous than I had anticipated. I am in doubt whether that is due to stupidity or the result of a

decision taken beforehand. The probability of the latter alternative seems to be confirmed by the noisy demonstrations which will most likely render it impossible for them to draw back. I am reluctant to protest officially against Gramont's speech on international grounds, but our press should attack it very severely, and this should be done in as many newspapers as possible."

July 9th.—A telegram from Bucher to the Secretary of State, saying that the direction to the press to deal with Gramont's speech in very strong language is not to apply to the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*.

Another telegram of the same date to Thile, which he brought to me : "Any one intending to summon a Congress to deal with a debatable question ought not first to threaten a warlike solution in case the opposite party should not agree to his wishes."

Further, the Secretary of State handed me a telegram from Berlin to the Chancellor, which was returned by the latter with comments. I was to get these circulated in the non-official journals. The telegram was to the effect that Gramont had stated, in reply to an interpellation by Cochery, that Prim had offered the Spanish throne to the Hereditary Prince of Hohenzollern, (Remark : "He can do nothing of the kind. Only the Cortes,") and that the Prince had accepted it. (Remark : "He will only declare himself after he has been elected.") The Spanish people has not yet, however, expressed its wishes. (Remark : "That is the main point.") The French Government do not recognise the negotiations in question. (Remark : "There are no negotiations excepting those between Spain and the eventual candidates for the throne.") Gramont therefore begged that the discussion might be postponed, as it was purposeless for the moment. (Remark : "Very.") The French Government would maintain the neutral attitude which they had observed up to the present, but would not permit a foreign Power to place a Prince upon the Spanish throne, ("Hardly any power entertains such an intention, except perhaps France,") and endanger the honour and dignity of France. They trusted to the wisdom of the Germans, (Remark : "Has nothing to do with it,") and to the friendship of the Spanish people. (Remark : "That is the main point.") Should they be deceived in their hopes they would do their duty without hesitation or weakness. (Remark : "We also.")

Bucher sent me a whole packet of sketches for articles, and among others the following :—

"England is accustomed to look upon the Peninsula as a dependency of her own, and doubtless believes that her influence can be more easily made to prevail in a state of insecurity than under the rule of a powerful dynasty. It is not wise of the English to recall certain incidents of Spanish history, a course in which they are followed by the French newspapers. The Spanish version of the history of the wars against the First Napoleon is very different to the English one. In Buen Retiro every traveller is shown the site of a once prosperous porcelain manufactory, which was needlessly burned to the ground by the British allies of Spain."

July 10th, evening.—Received a further series of sketches and drafts for articles from Bucher, who acts as the mouthpiece of the Chancellor's views and intentions.

"The French are running amuck like a Malay who has got into a rage and rushes through the streets dagger in hand, foaming at the mouth, stabbing every one who happens to cross his path. If France is mad enough to regard Germany as a fit object for a vicarious whipping, nothing will restrain her, and the result will be that she will herself receive a personal castigation."

"The semi-official journals in Paris pretend that attention has been attracted there by the numerous cipher despatches exchanged between Berlin and Madrid, and that they have been clever enough to decipher them. In order to read cipher despatches, it is essential to have the code. Does the cleverness on which the Parisians pride themselves consist in having stolen the key to our ciphers? This would be in contradiction with the original statement that the Prince of Hohenzollern's candidature first became known through a communication from Prim. It would, therefore, appear that the official press wants to clear the Government of the reproach of incapacity by a subsequent invention, acting on the maxim that it is better to be taken for a rogue than a fool."

"As was already known, Prim intended this year, as on previous occasions, to visit Vichy. This would have led to a meeting between himself and the Emperor Napoleon and a discussion of the succession to the Spanish throne. It is also reported that the Prince of Hohenzollern was not indisposed to try confi-

dentially to bring about an understanding with the Emperor. All this has been rendered impossible by the abrupt tone of the Duc de Gramont. As Prim's visit to Vichy has long since been announced in the newspapers, and the near relationship as well as the personal friendship which hitherto existed between the Prince of Hohenzollern and the Emperor rendered both meetings probable, it is hard to avoid the suspicion that the French Government, dreading insurmountable domestic difficulties, desires to inflame French vanity in favour of a war, which would at the same time promote the dynastic views of the Empress Eugénie."

July 13th.—Called early to the Chief, who returned yesterday evening from Varzin. I am to wait until a statement appears in the press to the effect that the renunciation of Prince Hohenzollern was in consequence of pressure from Ems, and then to contradict it. "In the meantime (said the Minister) the *Norddeutsche* should only say that the Prince's present decision has not been altogether unexpected. When he accepted the throne which had been offered to him he had obviously not foreseen that his decision would occasion so much excitement in Paris. For more than thirty years past the best relations existed between Napoleon and the Hohenzollern family. Prince Leopold could not, therefore, have apprehended any antipathy to his candidature on the part of the Emperor. As his candidature suddenly became known after the Cortes had been adjourned till November, it may well have been assumed that there would be time enough in the interval to sound the Emperor as to his views. Now that this assumption (here the Chancellor began to speak more slowly as if he were dictating), which, up to the acceptance of the Crown by the Prince, was still quite legitimate, had proved to be partly erroneous, it was scarcely probable that the Prince would, on his own responsibility, be disposed to cope single handed with the storm which his decision had raised, and might yet raise, in view of the apprehensions of war of the whole European world, and the influence brought to bear upon him from London and Brussels. Even a portion of the responsibility of involving the great European nations, not only in one war, but possibly in a series of wars, would weigh very heavily upon a man who could not claim to have assumed it as part of the duty of the Royal office which he had already accepted. That was more than could well be expected of a Prince who only occupied a private

position. It was the offensive tone of Gramont that alone prevented Prussia from exercising her influence with the Prince."

The following is to be published in other papers: "It cannot be denied that a Spanish Government disposed to promote the cause of peace and to abstain from conspiring with France would be of considerable value to us. But if, some fourteen days ago, the Emperor Napoleon had addressed himself confidentially to Berlin, or indicated that the affair was attracting attention, Prussia, instead of adopting an indifferent attitude, would have co-operated in pacifying public opinion in Paris. The situation has been entirely altered through the aggressive tone of Gramont's speech, and the direct demands addressed to the King, who is staying in privacy at Ems for the benefit of his health, unaccompanied by a single Minister. His Majesty rightly declined to accede to these demands. That incident has created so much indignation in Germany, that many people feel disappointed at Prince Leopold's renunciation. At any rate, the confidence in the peaceful intentions of France has been so thoroughly shaken that it will take a considerable time to restore it. If commerce and trade have been injured by the evidence which has shown us what a den of brigands we have to deal with in France, the people of that country must fasten the responsibility on the personal *régime* under which they at present live."

The Minister also desires it to be incidentally remarked in the non-official press that of the South German Courts those of Munich and Karlsruhe had given the most satisfactory declarations in this affair, while on the other hand that of Stuttgart had expressed itself evasively.

Finally, I am to communicate to one of the local papers that Count Bismarck has been sent for to Ems to consult with the King as to summoning Parliament. Breaking off a cure which he was undergoing the Chancellor has remained in Berlin in order to await there the further instructions of his Majesty, or ultimately to return to Varzin. The Count then added: "Later on I will call for you several times, as there is something more to be prepared for the *Norddeutsche*. We shall now be shortly interrupted." The Crown Prince arrived five minutes afterwards and had a long interview with the Minister.

July 14th.—Our newspapers to call attention to the loyal attitude

of Würtemberg, "which in consequence of a misunderstanding has been represented in some journals as evasive."

July, 19th.—About an hour after the opening of Parliament in the Royal Palace (1.45 P.M.), Le Sourd, the French Chargé d'Affaires, delivered Napoleon's declaration of war at the Foreign Office.

Towards 5 o'clock in the evening I was called to the Minister, who was in his garden. After searching for him for some time I saw him coming through one of the long shady alleys to the left which led to the entrance in the Königgrätzer Strasse. He was brandishing a big stick. His figure stood out against the yellow evening sunshine like a picture painted on a gold ground. He stopped in his walk as I came up to him, and said: "I wish you to write something in the *Kreuzzeitung* against the Hanoverian nobles. It must come from the provinces, from a nobleman living in the country, an Old Prussian—very blunt, somewhat in this style: It is reported that certain Hanoverian nobles have endeavoured to find pilots and spies in the North Sea for French men-of-war. The arrests made within the last few days with the assistance of the military authorities are understood to be connected with this affair. The conduct of those Hanoverians is infamous, and I certainly express the sentiments of all my neighbours when I put the following questions to the Hanoverian nobles who sympathise with those traitors, Have they any doubt, I would ask them, that a man of honour could not now regard such men as entitled to demand honourable satisfaction by arms whether their unpatriotic action was or was not undertaken at the bidding of King George? Do they not, as a matter of course, consider that an affair of honour with them is altogether out of the question, and should one of them be impudent enough to propose such a thing, would they not have him turned out of the house by the servants or eject him *proprie manu* after having, of course, put on a pair of gloves to handle him with? Are they not convinced that such miscreants can only be properly described by the good old Prussian word *Hundsvott* (scurvy, infamous rogues), and that their treason has branded their posterity to the third and fourth generations with indelible disgrace? I beg them to answer these questions."

The Minister subsequently dictated the following, to be worked up for the German newspapers outside Berlin, such as the

Kölnische Zeitung, and for the English and Belgian journals: "According to confidential communications from loyal Hanoverian circles, amongst other decisive factors which led the French to the declaration of war, were the reports sent to Paris by Colonel Stoffel, the Military Plenipotentiary in Berlin. Stoffel's information, was, it appears, less accurate than abundant, as none of those who supplied him with it being prepared to forgo the payments they received from him merely because they had nothing to say, they occasionally invented the news of which they warranted the correctness. The Plenipotentiary had, it is said, been informed that the arming of the Prussian infantry, both as regards rifles and ammunition, was at present undergoing a thorough transformation, and that consequently a moment so favourable as the present for attacking Prussia would hardly occur again, inasmuch as on the completion of this change the Prussian armaments would have been unassailable."

"It now appears to be beyond all doubt that the French Government was aware of the candidature of the Prince of Hohenzollern for months past, that they carefully promoted it and foolishly imagined it would serve as a means of isolating Prussia and creating a division in Germany. No trustworthy information has been received as yet as to whether and how far Marshal Prim had prepared the way for this intrigue, in agreement with the Emperor Napoleon. But doubtless that point will ultimately be cleared up by history. The sudden disappearance of Spain from the political field as soon as the differences between France and Prussia broke out gives matter for reflection and suspicion. It cannot but be regarded as strange that after the zeal shown by the Spanish Government in the matter of the Hohenzollern candidature had been raised to boiling point it should have suddenly fallen below zero, and that the relations of Marshal Prim to the French Cabinet should now appear to be of the most friendly character, while the Spaniards seem no longer to feel any irritation at the interference of France in their internal affairs."

July 21st.—Keudell asked me this morning if I knew Rasch, the journalist, and if I could say where he was now to be found, in Berlin or elsewhere. I replied that I had seen him in Schleswig in 1864, afterwards at a table d'hôte at the Hotel Weissberg, in the Dessauer Strasse, where he lodged at the end of February. I knew nothing more about him, but had heard that he was

extremely conceited, almost to the point of madness—a political visionary who desired to convert the whole world to republicanism. I was not aware of his whereabouts in Berlin, but would make inquiries at Weissberg's. Keudell told me to hunt him up and ask him whether he would go to Garibaldi and urge him to undertake an expedition against Rome, at the same time carrying him money from us. I pointed out that Rasch was perhaps too vain to keep his own counsel. Keudell consoled himself with the idea that he would doubtless prove a good patriot. I declined to treat with Rasch in the matter, as I could not speak to him in my own name but in that of the Foreign Office, and that could be better done by some official of higher rank, who would make a greater impression upon Rasch. Keudell seemed to recognise the justice of this view. I made inquiries and was able to report on the same evening that Rasch was staying at Weissburg's.

Called to the Minister in the evening. He showed me an extract from the *National Zeitung*, and observed: "They say here that the English would not allow the French to attack Belgium. Well and good, but how does that help the Belgians if the protection comes too late? If Germany were once defeated (which God forbid!) the English would not be able to assist the Belgians in the least, but might, on the contrary, be thankful if they themselves remained safe in London."

I am further to call attention to the "manner in which France is begging for help on all sides—that great warlike nation which makes so much parade of its victories, representing them as having always been won solely by the force of its own arms. They go begging (use that expression) to Italy, to Denmark, to Sweden, and above all to the German States, to whom they promise the same brilliant destiny which they have already prepared for Italy—political independence and financial ruin."

Called up to the Minister again later. I am to secure the insertion of the following in the non-official German papers and in the Belgian and English press: "The English Government observe their neutrality in connection with the war that has now broken out in a liberal and conscientious spirit. They impartially permit both sides to purchase horses and munitions of war in England. It is unfortunate, however, that France alone can avail herself of this liberality, as will appear from a glance at the geographical position of the two countries and from the

superiority of the French at sea. Then quote what Heffter (the book must be in the library) has to say on this kind of neutrality, and observe that the English jurists describe it more tersely as 'fraudulent neutrality.'

July 23rd.—Called to the Minister five times to-day. The press should urge the prosecution and seizure of Rothan, an Alsacian who speaks German, hitherto French Chargé d'Affaires at Hamburg, who has been a zealous spy and instrument of French intrigue in North Germany, and who is now understood to be wandering along the coast between the Elbe and Ems, as also that of the ex-Hanoverian officer, Adolf von Kielmansegg, respecting whom further particulars are to be obtained from the Ministry of the Interior. The Count further wants the press to give a list of the names of the Bavarian members of Parliament who voted for the neutrality of that State in the national war, mentioning their professions but without any further remarks. "Give it first in Brass," (i.e., *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*,) he added. "You will find such a list amongst the documents. The complaints as to the manner in which England understands neutrality must be continually renewed. The English Government does not forbid the export of horses, though only France can avail herself of that facility. Colliers are allowed to load at Newcastle and to supply fuel for the French men-of-war cruising in the North Sea. English cartridge factories are working for the French army under the eyes of the Government. In Germany the painful feeling has become more and more widespread that, under Lord Granville, England, while nominally maintaining neutrality, favours France in the manner in which it is really observed."

About 11 P.M. I was again called to the Minister. The reports respecting the English coal ships to be at once sent by a Chancery attendant to Wolf's Telegraphic Agency for circulation to the newspapers.

In this connection may be mentioned an Embassy report from London, dated the 30th of July, to the following effect: Lord Granville had asked the Ambassador if he had not stirred up the authorities in Berlin against the English Government. The reply was in the negative. The Ambassador had only carried out his instructions. Public opinion in Germany influenced the Government, just as the German press influenced public opinion. The manner in which neutrality was observed on the part of

England had excited the greatest indignation in Germany. The action of the English Government, which indeed recognised that France was in the wrong, but failed to give expression to that conviction, was also bitterly resented there. Granville replied that once it had been decided to remain neutral that neutrality must be maintained in every respect. If the export of contraband of war were forbidden, the French would regard it as an act of one-sided hostility, while at the same time it would ruin English trade in the branches affected by such prohibition, and favour American manufacturers. For the present, every one in England approved of the maintenance of neutrality, and therefore in a general way no change was possible in these matters. At the same time, the English Government was ready in case of complaints reaching them in an official way respecting any acts of illegality, to institute an inquiry into the facts and secure the punishment of the guilty parties. It did not seem impossible to prevent the supply of English coal to French men-of-war. Next Monday a Bill was to be submitted to Parliament for the amendment of the laws regulating neutrality. The report concluded as follows: "England is in many respects well disposed towards us, but will for the present remain neutral. If we make further attacks upon English public opinion through our official press in connection with these grievances, it will serve no purpose but to conjure up future difficulties. Granville is not what we might desire, but he is not prejudiced against us. He may become so, however, if he is further provoked by us. We can hardly succeed in overthrowing him, and if we did his probable successor would in all likelihood be much worse than himself."

July 24th.—I am instructed by the Count to send an article to the *Kölnische Zeitung* respecting the Dutch coal question. He gave me the following information on this subject: "Holland asked us to again permit the passage of Prussian coal down the Rhine, and requested that a large transport of Rhenish coal intended for Holland should be allowed to pass the frontier. It was only to be used in factories, and the Government of the Netherlands would prohibit its re-exportation. Prussia willingly agreed to this, but shortly afterwards it was ascertained that foreign vessels were being loaded with coal in Dutch ports, and the Government of the Netherlands subsequently informed us that in promising to prevent the re-exportation they had overlooked the circumstance that their treaty with France did not permit this. Thereupon as

a matter of course the export of Prussian coal to Holland was prohibited. In the interval, however, they seem to have secured a sufficient supply in Holland to provide the French fleet for a considerable time. That is a very suspicious method of observing the neutrality promised by the gentlemen at the Hague."

Evening.—The Minister wishes an article to be prepared for circulation in the German press describing the French and French policy under the Emperor Napoleon. This is to be first sent to the *Spenerische Zeitung*, while the Literary Bureau is to secure the insertion of the principal points in a condensed form in the Magdeburg papers and a number of the smaller journals to-morrow. The Count said (literally): "The French are not so astute as people generally think. As a nation they resemble certain individuals amongst our lower classes. They are narrow-minded and brutal,—great physical force, boastful and insolent, winning the admiration of men of their own stamp through their audacity and violence. Here in Germany the French are also considered clever by persons who do not think deeply, and their Ministers are regarded as great statesmen because of their insolent interference in the affairs of the whole world, and their desire to rule everywhere. Audacity is always impressive. People think their success is due to shrewd political calculation, but it is actually due to nothing else than the fact that they always keep 300,000 soldiers ready to back up their policy. That alone, and not their political intelligence, has enabled them to carry things with such a high hand. We must get rid of this fiction. . . . In political affairs the French are in the fullest sense of the word a narrow-minded nation. They have no idea how things look outside of France, and learn nothing about it in their schools. The French educational establishments, for the greater glory of France, leave their pupils in the crassest ignorance as to everything beyond her frontiers, and so they have not the slightest knowledge of their neighbours; that is the case with the Emperor, or at least he is not much better, to say nothing of Gramont, who is an ass (*Rindvich*). Napoleon is ignorant at bottom, although he has been educated in German schools. His 'Cæsar' was intended to conceal that fact. He has forgotten everything. His policy was always stupid. The Crimean war was against the interests of France, which demanded an alliance or at least a good understanding with Russia. It was the same with the war in Italy. There he created a rival in the Mediterranean, North

Africa, Tunis, &c., who may one day prove dangerous. The Italian people are much more gifted than the French, only less numerous. The war in Mexico and the attitude adopted in 1866 were blunders, and doubtless in storming about as they do at present the French feel conscious that they have committed another blunder."

July 25th.—At 11 o'clock this morning Count Bismarck and his family took the Holy Communion at their residence. He asked whether any one in our bureau desired to join them, but no one offered to do so. I was for a moment tempted, but reconsidered the matter. It might look as if I wished to recommend myself.

July 27th.—It is to be stated either in the *Norddeutsche* or the *Spenersche Zeitung* that secrecy respecting confidential communications between great States is, as a rule, more carefully observed and maintained than the public imagines. Nevertheless, the French misrepresentation of Prussia's attitude in the affair of the candidature for the Spanish throne (in Gramont's despatch of the 21st of July) obliged the authorities here to disregard these considerations of discretion. Benedetti's proposal has therefore been published and it may be followed by other documents of the same description. The Count concluded his directions as follows: "We are at least entitled to tell the truth with discretion in presence of such indiscreet lies."

The Chancellor desires to see the following considerations reproduced in the evening papers: "The Benedetti document is by no means the only one dealing with the matter in question. Negotiations were also carried on by others, as for instance, by Prince Napoleon during his stay in Berlin. Since French diplomacy was ignorant enough to believe that a German Minister who followed a national policy could for a moment think of entertaining such proposals, it had only itself to thank if it was befooled with its own schemes so long as such fooling appeared calculated to promote the maintenance of peace. Even those who pursue the most ignorant and narrow-minded policy must ultimately come to recognise that they have hoped for and demanded impossibilities. The bellicose temper which now prevails in Paris dates from such recognition. The hopes of German statesmen that they would be able to befool the French until a peaceful régime was established in France by some transformation of her despotic

constitution have unfortunately not been realised. Providence willed it otherwise. Since we can no longer maintain peace it is not necessary now to preserve silence. For we preserved silence solely in order to promote the continuance, and, if possible, the permanency of peaceful relations." . . . The Minister concluded: "You can add, too, that the question of French Switzerland was also mentioned in the negotiations, and that it was hinted that in Piedmont they knew quite well where the French districts begin and the Italian districts leave off."

July 28.—I see the original of Benedetti's draft treaty, and I am to receive a photographic copy of it similar to that which has been prepared for distribution amongst foreign Governments.

Bucher handed me the following sketch of an article, received by him from the Minister, which is to be inserted in some organ not apparently connected with the Government: "Those who now hold power in Spain declare that they do not wish to interfere in the conflict between Germany and France, because the latter might create internal difficulties for them. They allow Bonaparte to prohibit their election of the King of their own choice. They look on calmly with folded arms while other nations go to war over a difference that has arisen out of a question of Spanish domestic interest. We had formed quite another opinion of the Castilian *gentilhomme*. The Spanish temper seems to resemble that of Gil Blas, who wanted to fight a duel with the army surgeon, but observed that the latter had an unusually long rapier."

July 30th, 10 p.m.—The Minister desires that attention should be again called to the manner in which the French are looking about for foreign assistance, and he once more gives a few points: "France is begging in all directions, and wants in particular to take Italy into her pay. Here, as everywhere, she speculates upon the worst elements, while the better elements will have nothing to do with her. How does that harmonise with the greatness of the nation which 'stands at the head of civilization,' and whose historians always point out that it was only defeated at Leipzig because its opponents were four to one? At that time they had half Germany, Italy, Holland, and the present Belgium on their side. To-day, when they stand alone, they go round hat in hand to every door, and seek mercenaries to reinforce their own army, in which they can therefore have but very little confidence."

CHAPTER II

Departure of the Chancellor for the Seat of War—I follow him—
The Foreign Office Flying Column—From the Frontier to
Gravelotte—We intend to retain Alsace and Metz

ON the 31st of July, 1870, at 5 30 P.M., the Chancellor, accompanied by his wife and his daughter, the Countess Marie, left his residence in the Wilhelmstrasse to take the train from Mainz, on his way to join King William at the seat of war. He was to be followed by some Councillors of the Foreign Office, a Secretary of the Central Bureau, two deciphering clerks and three or four Chancery attendants. The remainder of us only accompanied him with our good wishes, as, with his helmet on his head, he passed out between the two sphinxes that guard the door steps, and entered his carriage. I also had resigned myself to the idea of following the course of the army on the map and in the newspapers. A few days after the declaration of war, on my begging the Minister to take me with him in case I could be of use, he replied that that depended on the arrangements at headquarters. At the moment there was no room for me. My luck, however, soon improved.

On the morning of the 7th of August a Foreign Office messenger brought me a copy of a telegraphic despatch, according to which I was to start for headquarters immediately.

I had therefore after all attained to the very height of good fortune. In a short time I had provided for all essentials, and by midday I had received my pass, legitimation, and free ticket for all military trains. But the lines were choked with trains transporting troops to the front, there were long and frequent stoppages, and it was not till the morning of the 10th that I reached Sanct Johann, a suburb of Saarbrueck, where I heard

that the Chancellor was still in the town. I had therefore missed nothing by all our delays, and had fortunately at length reached harbour. Not a minute too soon, however, as on going to report my arrival I was informed by Count Bismarck-Bohlen, the Minister's cousin, that they intended to move on shortly after midday. After providing for the safety of my luggage, I presented myself to the Count, who was just leaving to call upon the King. I then went to the Bureau to ascertain if I could be of any assistance. There was plenty to do. Every one had his hands full, and I was immediately told off to make a translation for the King of Queen Victoria's Speech from the Throne, which had just arrived. I was highly interested by a declaration contained in a despatch to St. Petersburg, which I had to dictate to one of our deciphering clerks, although at the time I could not quite understand it. It was to the effect that we should not be satisfied with the mere fall of Napoleon. That looked like a foreshadowing of some miracle. Strassburg! and perhaps the Vosges as our frontier! Who could have dreamed of it three weeks before?

In the meantime the weather had cleared up. Shortly before one o'clock, under a broiling sun, three four-horse carriages drew up before our door, with soldiers riding as postilions. One was for the Chancellor, another for the Councillors and Count Bismarck-Bohlen, and the third for the Secretaries and Decipherers. The two Councillors and the Count having decided to ride, I took a place in their carriage, as I also did subsequently whenever they went on horseback. Five minutes later we crossed the stream and entered the Saarbrueck high road, which led past the battlefield of the 6th of August. Within half an hour of our departure from Sanct Johann we were on French soil.

Here at the commencement of our journey through France I will break off my narrative for a while in order to say a few words about the Foreign Office Field Bureau and the way in which the Chancellor and his people travelled, lodged, worked, and lived. The Minister had selected to accompany him Herr Abeken and Herr von Keudell, Count Hatzfeldt, who had previously spent several years at the Embassy in Paris, and Count Bismarck-Bohlen, all four Privy Councillors of Legation. After these came the *Geheim Sekretär*, Bölsing, of the Centralbureau, the two deciphering clerks, Willisch and St. Blanquart, and finally myself.

At Ferrières our list of Councillors was completed by Lothar Bucher, and a new deciphering clerk, Herr Wiehr, also joined us. At Versailles the number was further increased by Herr von Holstein, subsequently Councillor of Embassy, the young Count Wartensleben, and Privy Councillor Wagner, the latter, however, not being employed on Foreign Office work. Herr Bölsing who had fallen ill, was replaced by Geheim-Sekretär Wollmann, and the accumulation of work afterwards required a fourth deciphering clerk. Our "Chief," as the Chancellor was usually called by the staff, had kindly arranged that all his fellow-workers, Secretaries as well as Councillors, should in a certain sense be members of his household. When circumstances permitted we lodged in the same house, and had the honour of dining at his table.

Throughout the whole war the Chancellor wore uniform. It was generally the well-known undress of the yellow regiment of heavy Landwehr cavalry. During the early months of the campaign he as a rule only wore the Commander's Cross of the Order of the Red Eagle, to which he afterwards added the Iron Cross. When travelling he was usually accompanied in the carriage by Herr von Abeken, but on some occasions he took me with him for several days in succession. He was very easy to please in the matter of his quarters, and was willing to put up with the most modest shelter when better was not to be had. Indeed, it once happened that there was no bedstead and that his bed had to be made upon the floor.

Our carriages usually followed immediately after those of the King's suite. We started generally about 10 o'clock in the morning, and sometimes covered as much as sixty kilometres in the day. On reaching our quarters for the night our first duty was to set about preparing an office, in which there was seldom any lack of work, especially when we had the Field Telegraph at our disposal. When communications were thus established, the Chancellor again became what, with short intervals, he had been throughout this entire period, namely, the central figure of the whole civilised European world. Even in those places where we only stayed for one night he, incessantly active himself, kept his assistants almost continuously engaged until a late hour. Messengers were constantly going and coming with telegrams and letters. Councillors were drawing up notes, orders and directions under instructions from their chief, and these were being copied, regis-

tered, ciphered and deciphered in the Chancellerie. Reports, questions, newspaper articles, &c., streamed in from every direction, most of them requiring instant attention.

Never, perhaps, was the well nigh superhuman power of work shown by the Chancellor, his creative, receptive and critical activity, his ability to deal with the most difficult problems, always finding the right and the only solution, more strikingly evident than during this period. The inexhaustible nature of his powers was all the more astounding, as he took but little sleep. Except when a battle was expected and he rose at daybreak to join the King and the army, the Chancellor rose rather late, as had been his custom at home, usually about 10 o'clock. On the other hand, he spent the night at work, and only fell asleep as daylight began to appear. He was often hardly out of bed and dressed before he commenced work again, reading despatches and making notes upon them, looking through newspapers, giving instructions to his Councillors and others, and setting them their various tasks, or even writing or dictating. Later on there were visits to be received, audiences to be granted, explanations to be given to the King. Then followed a further study of despatches and maps, the correction of articles, drafts hurriedly prepared with his well-known big pencil, letters to be written, information to be telegraphed, or published in the newspapers, and in the midst of it all the reception of visitors who could not be refused a hearing yet must occasionally have been unwelcome. It was only after 2, or even 3 o'clock, in places where we made a longer stay, that the Chancellor allowed himself a little recreation by taking a ride in the neighbourhood. On his return he set to work again, continuing until dinner time, between 5.30 and 6 P.M. In an hour and a half at latest, he went back to his writing-desk, where he frequently remained till midnight.

In his manner of taking his meals, as in his sleep, the Count differed from the general run of mankind. Early in the day he took a cup of tea and one or two eggs, and from that time until evening he, as a rule, tasted nothing more. He seldom took any luncheon and rarely came to tea, which was usually served between 10 and 11 at night. With some exceptions, he therefore had practically but one meal in the twenty-four hours, but, like Frederick the Great, he then ate with appetite. He always kept a good table, which, when circumstances permitted, became quite

excellent. That was the case for instance at Rheims, Meaux, Ferrières and Versailles, where the genius of our cook in the Commissariat uniform created breakfasts and dinners that made any one accustomed to a homely fare feel, as he did justice to them, that he was at length resting in Abraham's bosom, particularly when some specially fine brand of champagne was added to the other gracious gifts of Providence. During the last five months our table was also enriched by presents from home where, as was only right and proper, our people showed how fondly they remembered the Chancellor, by sending him plentiful supplies of good things, both fluid and solid, geese, venison, fish, pheasants, monumental pastry, excellent beer, rare wines, and other acceptable delicacies.

I broke off my narrative at the French frontier. We recognised that we had crossed it by the notices posted in the villages, "Département de la Moselle." The white roads were thronged with conveyances, and in every hamlet troops were billeted. In these hilly and partially wooded districts we saw small camps being pitched here and there. After about two hours' drive we reached Forbach, which we passed through without stopping. In the streets through which we drove the signboards were almost entirely French, although the names were chiefly German. Some of the inhabitants who were standing at their doors greeted us in passing. Most of them, however, looked sulky, which, although it did not add to their beauty, was natural enough, as they had evidently plenty of soldiers to provide quarters for. The windows were all full of Prussians in blue uniforms. We thus jogged on, up hill and down dale, reaching Saint Avold about half past four. Here we took lodgings, Chancellor and all, in a one-storey house, but rather roomy, with a well-kept fruit and vegetable garden at the back. The proprietor, who was said to be a retired officer, and appeared to be well to do, had gone away with his wife the day before, leaving only a maid and an old woman, who spoke nothing but French. In half an hour we had fixed up our office and chosen our sleeping quarters. Work began without delay. As there was nothing to be done in my department, I tried to assist in deciphering the despatches, an operation which offers no particular difficulties.

At seven o'clock we dined with the Chancellor in a little room looking out on a small courtyard with some flower beds. The conversation at table was very lively, the Minister having most to

say. He did not consider a surprise impossible, as he had satisfied himself during his walk that our outposts were only three-quarters of an hour from the town and very wide apart. He had asked at one post where the next was stationed, but the men did not know. He said: "While I was out I saw a man with an axe on his shoulder following close at my heels. I kept my hand on my sword, as one cannot tell in certain circumstances what may happen; but in any case I should have been ready first." He remarked later on that our landlord had left all his cupboards full of underclothing, adding: "If this house should be turned into an ambulance hospital, his wife's fine underlinen will be torn up for lint and bandages, and quite properly. But then they will say that Count Bismarck took the things away with him."

We came to speak of the disposal of the troops in action. The Minister said that General Steinmetz had shown himself to be self-willed and disobedient. "Like Vogel von Falkenstein, his habit of taking the law into his own hands will do him harm in spite of the laurels he won at Skalitz."

There was cognac, red wine, and a sparkling Mayence wine on the table. Somebody mentioned beer, saying that probably we should be unable to obtain it. The Minister replied: "That is no loss! The excessive consumption of beer is deplorable. It makes men stupid, lazy, and useless. It is responsible for the democratic nonsense spouted over the tavern tables. A good rye whiskey is very much better."

I cannot now remember how or in what connection we came to speak about the Mormons. The Minister was surprised at their polygamy, "as the German race is not equal to so much—Orientals seem to be more potent." He wondered how the United States could tolerate the existence of such a polygamous sect. The Count took this opportunity of speaking of religious liberty in general, declaring himself very strongly in favour of it. But, he added, it must be exercised in an impartial spirit. "Every one must be allowed to seek salvation in his own way. I shall propose that one day, and Parliament will certainly approve. As a matter of course, however, the property of the Church must remain with the old churches that acquired it. Whoever retires must make a sacrifice for his conviction, or rather his unbelief." "People think little the worse of Catholics for being orthodox, and have no objection whatever to Jews being so. It is altogether different

with Lutherans, however, and that church is constantly charged with a spirit of persecution if it rejects unorthodox members. But it is considered quite in order that the orthodox should be persecuted and scoffed at in the press and in daily life."

Aug. 12.—We dined at four, on the Chancellor's return. He had ridden a long way in order to see his two sons, who were serving as privates in a regiment of dragoon guards, but found that the German cavalry had already pushed forward towards the upper reaches of the Moselle. He was in excellent spirits, evidently owing to the good fortune which continued to favour our cause. In the course of the conversation, which turned on mythology, the Chief said he could never endure Apollo, who flayed Marsyas out of conceit and envy, and slew the children of Niobe for similar reasons. "He is the genuine type of a Frenchman, one who cannot bear that another should play the flute better than, or as well as, himself." Nor was Apollo's manner of dealing with the Trojans to the Count's taste. The straightforward Vulcan would have been his man, or, better still, Neptune—perhaps because of the *Quos ego*!—but he did not say.

Early next morning we broke up our quarters and started for the small town of Falquemont, which we now call Falkenberg. The road was thronged with long lines of carts, artillery, ambulances, military police, and couriers. Thick yellow clouds of dust raised by the marching of the troops followed us into Falkenberg, a place of about two thousand inhabitants, where I put up at the house of the baker, Schmidt. We lost sight of the Minister in the crowd and dust, and I only afterwards ascertained that he had gone on to see the King at the village of Herny. The march of the troops through the town continued almost uninterruptedly the whole day.

On Sunday, the 14th of August, after luncheon, we followed the Minister to Herny. He had taken up his quarters in a white-washed peasant's house, a little off the High Street, where his window opened upon a dung-hill. As the house was pretty large we all joined him there. Count Hatzfeldt's room also served as our office. The King had his quarters at the parish priest's, opposite the venerable old church. The village consisted of one long wide street, with some good municipal buildings. At the railway station we found everything in the wildest confusion, the whole place littered with torn books, papers, &c. Some soldiers kept watch over two French prisoners. For several hours after 4 P.M.

we heard the heavy thunder of cannon in the direction of Metz. At tea the Minister said: "I little thought a month ago that I should be taking tea with you, gentlemen, to-day in a farmhouse at Herry." Coming to speak of the Duc de Gramont, the Count wondered that, on seeing the failure of his stupid policy against us, he had not joined the army in order to expiate his blunders. He was quite big and strong enough to serve as a soldier. "I should have acted differently in 1866 if things had not gone so well. I should have at once enlisted. Otherwise I could never have shown myself to the world again."

I was frequently called to the Minister's room to receive instructions. Our illustrated papers were to publish pictures of the charge at Spichernberg, and also to deny the statement of the *Constitutionnel* that the Prussians had burnt down everything on their march, leaving nothing but ruins behind them. We could say with a clear conscience that we had not observed the least sign of this. It was also thought well to reply to the *Neue Freie Presse*, which had hitherto been well disposed towards us, but had now adopted another policy, possibly because it had lost some subscribers who objected to its Prussophile tone, or perhaps there was something in the rumour that the Franco-Hungarian party intended to purchase it. The Chancellor, in giving instructions respecting another article of the *Constitutionnel*, concluded as follows: "Say that there never was any question in the Cabinet Council of a cession of Saarbrueck to France. The matter never went beyond the stage of confidential inquiries, and it is self-evident that a national Minister, inspired by the national spirit, could never have dreamt of such a course. There might, however, have been some slight basis for the rumour. A misunderstanding or a distortion of the fact that previous to 1864 the question was raised whether it would not be desirable to sell the coal mines at Saarbrueck, which are State property, to a company. I wanted to meet the expenses of the Schleswig-Holstein war in this way. But the proposal came to nothing owing to the King's objections to the transaction."

On Monday, August 15th, about 6 A.M., the Minister drove off in his carriage, accompanied by Count Bismarck-Bohlen, and followed on horseback by Herr Abeken, Herr von Keudell, and Count Hatzfeldt. The rest of us remained behind, where we had plenty of work on hand, and could make ourselves useful in other ways. We began to feel ourselves masters of the conquered

country and to make our arrangements accordingly. As to the portion which we at that time proposed to retain permanently a telegram to St. Petersburg which I helped to cipher said that if it were the will of Providence we intended to annex Alsace.

We heard at dinner that the King and the Chancellor, accompanied by General Steinmetz, had made a reconnaissance which took them within about three English miles of Metz. The French troops outside the fortress had been driven into the city and forts on the previous day by Steinmetz's impetuous attack at Courcelles.

In the evening, as we sat on a bench outside the door, the Minister joined us for a moment. He told us, among other anecdotes, that one day he was walking in the Summer Garden at St. Petersburg, and met the Emperor, with whom, as a Minister in high favour, his relations were somewhat unreserved. The two, after strolling on together for awhile, saw a sentry posted in the middle of a grass plot. Bismarck took the liberty to ask what he was doing there. The Emperor did not know, and questioned the aide-de-camp, who was also unable to explain. The aide-de-camp was then sent to ask the sentry. His answer was, "It has been ordered," a reply which was repeated by every one of whom the aide-de-camp inquired. The archives were searched in vain—a sentry had always been posted there. At last an old footman remembered that his father had told him that the Empress Catherine had once seen an early snowdrop on that spot, and had given instructions that it should not be plucked. They could find no better way of preserving it than by placing a sentry to guard it, who was afterwards kept on as a matter of habit.

On the 16th of August, at 9.30 A.M., we started for Pont à Mousson, where the Chancellor, with three of the Councillors, took up his residence in a little château overgrown with red creepers. The rest of the party lived a few doors off.

During the greater part of the afternoon we again heard the distant roar of cannon, and ascertained at dinner that there had been renewed fighting near Metz. Some one remarked that perhaps it would not be possible to prevent the French retiring to Verdun. The Minister replied, smiling, "That hardened reprobate Moltke (Moltke) says it would be no misfortune, as they would then be delivered all the more surely into our hands"—which must mean that we could surround and annihilate them while they were retreating.

On the following night we were awakened several times by the steady tramp of infantry and the rumbling of heavy wheels as they rolled over the rough pavement. We heard next morning that they were Hessians. The Minister started shortly after 4 A.M., intending to proceed towards Metz, where an important battle was expected either that day or the next. We had news, presently, of the battle which had been fought the day before to the west of Metz. There were heavy losses on our side, and it was only with great difficulty that Bazaine was prevented from breaking through our lines. It was understood that the village of Mars la Tour was the point at which the conflict had raged most violently. The leaden rain of the chassepots was literally like a hailstorm. One of the cuirassier regiments, we were told, with the exaggeration which is not unusual in such cases, was almost utterly destroyed, and the dragoon guards had also suffered severely. Not a single division escaped without heavy losses. To-day, however, we had superior numbers as the French had had yesterday, and if the latter attempted another sortie we might expect to be victorious.

At length, about 6 o'clock, the Chancellor returned. No great battle had taken place that day, but it was highly probable that an engagement would occur on the morrow. The Chief told us at dinner that he had visited his eldest son, Count Herbert, in the field ambulance at Mariaville, where he was lying in consequence of a bullet wound in the thigh, which he had received in the general cavalry charge at Mars la Tour. After riding about for some time the Minister at length found his son in a farmhouse with a considerable number of other wounded soldiers. They were in charge of a surgeon, who was unable to obtain a supply of water, and who scrupled to take the turkeys and chickens that were running about the yard for the use of his patients. "He said he could not," added the Minister, "and all our arguments were in vain. I then threatened to shoot the poultry with my revolver and afterwards gave him twenty francs to pay for fifteen. At last I remembered that I was a Prussian General, and ordered him to do as I told him, whereupon he obeyed me. I had, however, to look for the water myself, and to have it fetched in barrels."

In the meantime the American General Sheridan had arrived in the town and asked for an interview with the Chancellor. He

had come from Chicago, and lodged at the Croix Blanche in the market-place. At the desire of the Minister I called upon General Sheridan and informed him that Count Bismarck would be pleased to see him in the course of the evening. The general was a small, corpulent gentleman of about forty-five, with dark moustache and chin tuft, and spoke the purest Yankee dialect.

On the 18th, in the morning, we heard that the King and Chancellor had gone off at 3 A.M. A battle was being fought on about the same ground as that of the 16th, and it appeared as if this engagement were to prove decisive. It will be easily understood that we were still more excited than we had been during the last few days. We dined without our Chief, for whom we waited in vain until midnight. Later on we heard that he, accompanied by Sheridan and Count Bismarck-Bohlen, was with the King at Rezonville.

On Friday, August the 19th, when we ascertained for certain that the Germans had been victorious, Abeken, Keudell, Hatzfeldt and I drove to the battlefield.

It was 4 o'clock when I got back, and as the Minister had not arrived, we returned to Gorze. Here we met Keudell, who, with Abeken and Count Hatzfeldt, had called upon the Chief at Rezonville. During the battle of the 18th instant, which was decided at Gravelotte, the Minister had, together with the King, ventured a considerable distance towards the front, so that for a time both of them were in some danger. Bismarck had afterwards with his own hands taken water to the wounded. At 9 P.M. I saw him again safe and sound at Pont à Mousson, where we all took supper with him. Naturally, the conversation turned for the most part on the last two battles and the resulting gains and losses. The French had fallen in huge masses. The Minister had seen our artillery mow down whole lines of their guards near Gravelotte. We had also suffered severely. Only the losses of the 16th of August were known up to the present. "A great many noble Prussian families will go into mourning," the Chief said. "Wesdehlen and Reuss lie in their graves, Wedell and Finkenstein are dead, Rahden (Lucca's husband) is shot through both cheeks, and a crowd of officers commanding regiments or battalions have either fallen or are severely wounded. The whole field near Mars la Tour was yesterday still white and blue with the bodies of cuirassiers and dragoons." In explanation

of this statement, we were informed that near the village referred to there had been a great cavalry charge upon the French, who were pressing forward in the direction of Verdun. This charge was repelled by the enemy's infantry in Balaclava fashion, but had so far served its purpose that the French were kept in check until reinforcements arrived. The Chancellor's two sons had also gallantly ridden into that leaden hailstorm, the elder receiving no less than three bullets, one passing through the breast of his tunic, another hitting his watch, and the third lodging in his thigh. The younger appears to have escaped unhurt. The Chief related, evidently with some pride, how Count Bill rescued two comrades who had lost their horses, dragging them out of the *mêlée* in his powerful grasp and riding off with them. Still more German blood was shed on the 18th, but we secured the victory, and obtained the object of our sacrifices. That evening Bazaine's army had finally retired to Metz, and even French officers whom we had captured admitted that they now believed their cause was lost.

It appeared that the Chancellor did not quite approve of the course taken by the military authorities in both battles. Among other things he said that Steinmetz had abused the really astounding gallantry of our men—"he was a spendthrift of blood." The Minister spoke with violent indignation of the barbarous manner in which the French conducted the war; they were said to have fired upon the Geneva cross and even upon a flag of truce.

Sheridan seemed to have speedily got on a friendly footing with the Minister, as I was instructed to invite him and his two companions to dinner on the following evening.

At 11 o'clock on the 20th of August the Chancellor received a visit from the Crown Prince, who was stationed with his troops about twenty-five English miles from Pont à Mousson on the road from Nancy to Châlons. Sheridan dined that evening with the Minister, who kept up a lively conversation in good English with the American general. The Chief and his American guests had champagne and porter. The latter was drunk out of pewter mugs, one of which the Minister filled for me. The Chancellor told some hunting stories. One day in Finland he found himself in dangerous proximity to a big bear. It was white with snow, and he had barely been able to see it. "At last I fired, however, and the bear fell some six paces from me. But it was not killed,

and might get up again. I knew what I had to expect, and so without stirring I quietly reloaded, and as soon as it stirred I shot it dead."

We were very busy on the forenoon of the 21st of August, preparing reports and leading articles to be forwarded to Germany. We heard that the bearer of a flag of truce who was fired upon by the French was Major du Verdy, of Moltke's general staff, and that the trumpeter who accompanied him was wounded. Trustworthy information was received from Florence to the effect that Victor Emmanuel and his Ministers had, in consequence of our victories, decided to observe neutrality, which up to that time was anything but certain. Now it was at last possible to estimate, at least approximately, the losses of the French at Courcelles, Mars le Tour, and Gravelotte. The Minister put them at about 50,000 men during the three days, of whom about 12,000 were killed. He added: "The ambition and mutual jealousy of some of our generals was to blame for the severity of our losses. That the Guards charged too soon was entirely due to their jealousy of the Saxons who were coming up behind them."

The Chancellor gave us at tea-time a full account of his experiences during the last hours of the battle and the following night. I shall give these and other particulars later on, as I heard them from the Minister. Here I will only mention that the King had ventured too far to the front, which Bismarck thought was not right. Referring to our men, the American General Sheridan said: "Your infantry is the best in the world; but it was wrong of your generals to advance their cavalry as they did." I may further mention that Bohlen in the course of the conversation said to the Chancellor: "Did you hear how the Bavarian muttered when the result seemed doubtful—'Things look bad! It's a bad case!'—and was obviously delighted to think we were going to be beaten?" The Bavarian referred to was Prince Luitpold. The name of General Steinmetz then came up. The Chancellor said that he was brave, but self-willed and excessively vain. Small and slight of figure, when he came into the Diet he always stood near the President's chair so as to be noticed. He used to attract attention by pretending to be very busy taking notes of what went on, as if he were following the debate with great care. "He evidently thought the news-

papers would mention it, and praise his zeal. If I am not mistaken his calculation proved correct."

On Monday, the 22nd of August, the Chief was laid up with dysentery.

There is no longer any doubt that we shall retain Alsace and Metz, with its environs, in case of a final victory over France. It is astonishing how freely this idea of the Chief's now flows from one's pen. What looked like a miracle ten days ago seems now quite natural and a matter of course. Perhaps the suggestion as to a German Empire which is understood to have been mentioned during the visit of the Crown Prince is also an idea of the same kind. Blessings follow closely upon each other's heels. We may now regard everything as probable.

At dinner the Minister complained of the excessive frugality with which the principal officials of the Royal Household catered for the King's table. "There is seldom any champagne, and in the matter of food also short commons is the rule. When I glance at the number of cutlets I only take one, as I am afraid that otherwise somebody else would have to go without." These remarks, like similar hints given recently, were intended for one or other of the gentlemen from the Court, with a view to their being repeated in the proper quarter.

CHAPTER III

Commercy—Bar le Duc—Clermont en Argonne—A permanent cession of territory will be exacted from the French—The work of 1814-15 will be completed—An important piece of news—We turn towards the North—The Battle of Beaumont.

ON Tuesday, August 23rd, we were to continue our journey westwards, and as I was walking about the town to take a last look at the place before leaving, I saw the fine-drawn, wrinkled, clean shaven face of Moltke, whom I had last seen as he entered the Foreign Office in company with the Minister of War five or six days before the declaration of hostilities. It seemed to me that his features wore to-day an expression of perfect content and satisfaction.

On my return to the office I was much interested by a report of the views recently expressed by Thiers as to the immediate future of France. He regarded it as certain that in case of victory we should retain Alsace. The defeat of Napoleon would be followed by the loss of his throne. He would be succeeded for a few months by a Republic, and then probably by one of the Orleans family, or perhaps by Leopold of Belgium, who, according to the source from which our informant obtained his news (one of Rothschild's confidants), was known on the best authority to be extremely ambitious.

We left Pont à Mousson at 10 o'clock. On the other side of Gironville the road passes a steep hill, with a wide prospect of the plain beneath. Here we left the carriages in order to ease the load for the horses. The Chancellor who drove at the head of our party with Abeken also got out and walked for a quarter of an hour, his big boots reminding one of pictures of the thirty years' war. Moltke walked beside him; the greatest strategist

of our days striding along towards Paris on a country road near the French frontier in company with the greatest statesman of our time!

Shortly after 2 o'clock we came to Commercy, where the Chief, together with Abeken and Keudell, took up their quarters in the château of Count Macore de Gaucourt in the Rue des Fontaines.

Counts Waldersee and Lehdorff, and Lieutenant-General von Alvensleben (from Magdeburg) were amongst the Chief's guests at dinner. Speaking of the barbarous way in which the French conducted the war, Alvensleben said that they had also fired upon a flag of truce at Toul. On the other hand, an officer who for a joke rode along the glacis had a friendly chat with the gentlemen on the walls. The question whether it would be possible to take Paris by storm in spite of its fortifications was answered in the affirmative by the military guests. General Alvensleben said: "A great city of that kind cannot be successfully defended if it is attacked by a sufficiently numerous force." Count Waldersee wished to "see Babel utterly destroyed," and brought forward arguments in favour of that measure with which I was immensely pleased. The Minister, however, replied: "Yes, that would be a very good thing, but it is impossible for many reasons. One of these is that numbers of Germans in Cologne and Frankfurt have considerable sums invested there."

The conversation then turned upon our conquests in France and those still to be made. Alvensleben was in favour of keeping the country up to the Marne. Bismarck had another idea, which, however, he seemed to think it impossible to realise. "My idea would be," he said, "a kind of German colony, a neutral State of eight or ten million inhabitants, free from the conscription and whose taxes should flow to Germany so far as they were not required for domestic purposes. France would thus lose a district from which she draws her best soldiers, and would be rendered harmless. In the rest of France no Bourbon, no Orleans, and probably no Bonaparte, neither Lulu (the Prince Imperial) nor the fat Jerome, nor the old one. I did not wish for war in connection with the Luxemburg affair, as I knew that it would lead to six others. But we must now put an end to all this. However, we must not sell the bear's skin before we have killed it. I confess I am superstitious in that

respect." "Never mind," said Count Waldersee, "our bear is already badly hit."

The Chief then again referred to the royal table and to the frugal manner in which food was doled out to the guests, his remarks being probably intended for Count Lehndorff, who was expected to repeat them. "We had cutlets there recently, and I could not take two, as there was only one apiece for us. Rabbit followed, and I debated with myself whether I should take a second portion, although I could easily have managed four. At length hunger overcame my politeness, and I seized a second piece, though I am sure I was robbing somebody else."

The Chancellor then went on to speak of his sons. "I hope," he said, "I shall be able to keep at least one of my youngsters—I mean Herbert, who is on his way to Germany. He got to feel himself quite at home in camp. Formerly he was apt to be haughty, but as he lay wounded at Pont à Mousson he was almost more friendly with the common troopers who visited him than with the officers."

At tea we were told that in 1814 the King had his quarters in the same street where he now lives, next door to the house he occupies at present. The Chief seems to have spoken to him to-day about decorating Bavarian soldiers with the Iron Cross. The Minister said: "My further plan of campaign for his Majesty is that part of his escort should be sent on ahead. The country must be scoured by a company to the right and left of the road, and the royal party must remain together. Pickets must be posted at stated intervals. The King approved when I told him that this had been done also in 1814. The Sovereigns did not drive on that occasion, but went on horseback, and Russian soldiers twenty paces apart, lined the whole route." Somebody suggested the possibility that peasants or franc-tireurs might fire at the King. "Certainly," added the Chief, "and what makes it so important a point is that the personage in question, if he is ill or wounded or otherwise out of sorts, has only to say 'Go back!' and we must all of us go back."

From Commercy we proceeded on the 24th to Bar le Duc, the largest town in which we have stayed up to the present. Dr. Lauer, the King's physician, dined with the Minister in the evening. The Chief was very communicative as usual, and

appeared to be in particularly good humour. He renewed his complaints as to the "short commons" at the royal table, evidently intending the doctor to repeat them to Count Puckler or Perponcher. During his visit at Ligny he had to take breakfast, which he said was excellent, with the Crown Prince and the Princes and chief officers of his suite. He had a seat near the fire, however, which was not quite to his taste, and otherwise it was in many ways less comfortable than in his own quarters. "There were too many Princes there for an ordinary mortal to be able to find a place. Amongst them was Frederick the Gentle (Friedrich der Sachte—Frederick VIII. of Schleswig-Holstein). He wore a Bavarian uniform, so that I hardly knew him at first. He looked somewhat embarrassed when he recognised me." We also gathered from what the Chief said that Count Hatzfeldt was to act as a kind of Prefect while we remained here, a position for which probably his thorough knowledge of French and of the habits of the country had recommended him. We also heard that the headquarters might remain here for several days,—“as at Capua,” added the Count, laughing.

By way of change I will here again quote from my diary:—

Thursday, August 25th.—Wrote several articles for post and others for the wire. Our people are pressing forward rapidly. The vanguards of the German columns are already between Châlons and Eprenay. The formation of three reserve armies in Germany, which has been already mentioned, began a few days ago. The neutral Powers raise some objections to our intended annexation of French territory for the purpose of securing an advantageous western frontier, especially England, who up to the present has shown a disposition to tie our hands. The reports from St. Petersburg appear to be more favourable, the Tsar being well disposed to us, although he by no means unreservedly accepts the proposed measures, while we are assured of the active sympathy of the Grand Duchess Hélène. We hold fast to our intention to enforce the cession of territory, that intention being based upon the necessity of at length securing South Germany from French attack and thus rendering it independent of French policy. When our intentions are made public they will certainly be energetically endorsed by the national sentiment, which it will be difficult to oppose.

Count Seckendorf, of the Crown Prince's staff, was the Chief's

guest at dinner. The Augustenburger (Frederick VIII. of Schleswig-Holstein), who has joined the Bavarians, was spoken of, and not to his advantage. Seckendorf denied that the Crown Prince had ordered treacherous French peasants to be shot. He had, on the contrary, acted with great leniency and forbearance, especially towards unmannerly French officers.

Hatzfeldt's appointment as Prefect led to the mention of other Prefects and Commissaries *in spe*. Doubt having been expressed as to the capacity of some of them, the Minister remarked: "Our officials in France may commit a few blunders, but they will be soon forgotten if the administration in general is conducted energetically."

Friday, August 26th.—We took up our residence at Clermont in the small schoolhouse in the main street, the King's quarters being over the way. The Chief's table was in a back room of the hotel, which was full of noise and tobacco smoke. Amongst the guests was an officer with a long black beard, who wore the Geneva cross on his arm. This was Prince Pless. He said that the captured French officers at Pont à Mousson had behaved in an insolent manner, and had spent the whole night drinking and playing cards. A general had insisted that he was entitled to have a separate carriage, and been very obstreperous when his demand was naturally rejected. We then went on to speak of the franc-tireurs and their odious modes of warfare. The Minister confirmed what I had already heard from Abeken, namely, that he had spoken very sharply to the prisoners we had met in the afternoon. "I told them, '*Vous serez tous pendus,—vous n'êtes pas des soldats, vous êtes des assassins!*' On my saying this one of them began to howl."

In the morning we were busy rearranging our very scanty apartment to suit our needs. The Chief came in while we were taking our coffee. He was in a bad temper, and asked why the proclamation threatening to punish with death a number of offences by the population against the laws of war had not been posted up. On his instructions I inquired of Stieber, who told me that Abeken had handed over the proclamation to the general staff, and that he (Stieber), as director of the military police, could only put up such notices when they came from his Majesty.

On going to the Chancellor's room to inform him of the result

of my inquiries, I found that he was little better off than myself in the way of sleeping accommodation. He had passed the night on a mattress on the floor with his revolver by his side, and he was working at a little table which was hardly large enough to rest his two elbows on. The apartment was almost bare of furniture and there was not a sofa or armchair, &c. He, who for years past had so largely influenced the history of the world, and in whose mind all the great movements of our time were concentrated and being shaped anew, had hardly a place on which to lay his head; while stupid Court parasites rested from their busy idleness in luxurious beds, and even Monsieur Stieber managed to provide for himself a more comfortable resting-place than our Master.

On Saturday, August 27th, we were greeted with a dull grey sky and a soft steady rain that reminded one of the weather experienced by Goethe not far from here in September, 1792, during the days preceding and following the artillery engagement at Valmy.

When the Minister got up we were again provided with plenty of work. Our cause was making excellent progress. I was informed (and was at liberty to state) that we held to our determination to compel France to a cession of territory, and that we should conclude peace on no other conditions.

The arguments in support of this decision were given in the following article which was sanctioned by the Chief:—

“Since the victories of Mars la Tour and Gravelotte the German forces have been constantly pressing forward. The time would, therefore, appear to have come for considering the conditions on which Germany can conclude peace with France. In this matter we must be guided neither by a passion for glory or conquest, nor by that generosity which is frequently recommended to us by the foreign press. Our sole object must be to guarantee the security of South Germany from fresh attacks on the part of France such as have been renewed more than a dozen times from the reign of Louis XIV. to our own days, and which will be repeated as often as France feels strong enough. The enormous sacrifices in blood and treasure which the German people have made in this war, together with all our present victories, would be in vain if the power of the French were not weakened for attack and the defensive strength of Germany were not increased. Our people have a right to demand that this shall be done. Were we to content

ourselves with a change of dynasty and an indemnity the position of affairs would not be improved, and there would be nothing to prevent this war leading to a number of others, especially as the present defeat would spur on the French to revenge. France with her comparatively great wealth would soon forget the indemnity, and any new dynasty would, in order to fortify its own position, endeavour to secure a victory over us and thus compensate for the present misfortunes of the country. Generosity is a highly respectable virtue, but as a rule in politics it secures no gratitude. In 1866 we did not take a single inch of ground from the Austrians, but have we received any thanks in Vienna for this self-restraint? Do they not feel a bitter longing for revenge simply because they have been defeated? Besides the French already bore us a grudge for our victory at Sadowa, though it was not won over them but over another foreign Power. Whether we now generously forego a cession of territory or not, how will they feel towards us after the victories of Wörth and Metz, and how will they seek revenge for their own defeat?

"The consequences of the other course adopted in 1814 and 1815, when France was treated with great consideration, prove it to have been bad policy. If at that time the French had been weakened to the extent which the interests of general peace required, the present war would not have been necessary.

"The danger does not lie in Bonapartism, although the latter must rely chiefly upon Chauvinist sentiment. It consists of the incurable arrogance of that portion of the French people which gives the tone to the whole country. This trait in the French national character, which will guide the policy of every dynasty, whatever name it may bear, and even of a Republic, will constantly lead to encroachments upon peaceful neighbours. Our victories, to bear fruit, must lead to an actual improvement of our frontier defences against this restless neighbour. Whoever wishes to see the diminution of military burdens in Europe, or desires such a peace as would permit thereof, must look not to moral but to material guarantees as a solid and permanent barrier against the French lust of conquest; in other words, it should in future be made as difficult as possible for France to invade South Germany with a comparatively small force, and even in peace to compel the South Germans, through the apprehension of such attack, to be always reckoning with the French Government.

Our present task is to secure South Germany by providing it with a defensible frontier. To fulfil that task is to liberate Germany, that is to complete the work of the War of Liberation in 1813 and 1814.

"The least, therefore, that we can demand and that the German people, and particularly our comrades across the Main, can accept is, the cession of the French gateways into Germany, namely Strassburg and Metz. It would be just as short-sighted to expect any permanent peace from the mere demolition of these fortresses as to trust in the possibility of winning over the French by considerate treatment. Besides, it must not be forgotten that this territory which we now demand was originally German and in great part still remains German, and that its inhabitants will perhaps in time learn to feel that they belong to one race with ourselves.

"We may regard a change of dynasty with indifference. An indemnity will only temporarily weaken France financially. What we require is increased security for our frontiers. This is only attainable, however, by changing the two fortresses that threaten us into bulwarks for our protection. Strassburg and Metz must cease to be points of support for French attacks and be transformed into German defences.

"Whoever sincerely desires a general European peace and disarmament, and wants to see the ploughshare replace the sword, must first wish to see the eastern neighbours of France secure peace for themselves, as France is the sole disturber of public tranquillity and will remain so as long as she has the power."

Sunday, August 28th.—At tea we receive an important piece of news. We ourselves and the whole army (with the exception of that portion which remains behind for the investment of Metz) are to alter our line of march, and instead of going westwards in the direction of Châlons, we are to turn northwards, following the edge of the Argonne forest towards the Ardennes and the Meuse district. This move is made for the purpose of intercepting Marshal MacMahon, who has collected a large force and is marching towards Metz for the relief of Bazaine.

We reach Grand Pré on the 29th. Here the Chancellor takes up his quarters in the Grande Rue, a little way from the market, the King lodging at an apothecary's not far off.

On my hearing next morning that the King and the Chancellor

were going off together in order to be present at the great battue of the second French army I thought of a favourite proverb of the Chief's which he repeated to me on his return from Rezonville :— "*Wer sich grün macht, den fressen die Ziegen,*" and plucking up heart I begged him to take me with him. He answered, "But if we remain there for the night what will you do?" I replied, "That doesn't matter, Excellency; I shall know how to take care of myself." "Well, then, come along!" said he, laughing. The Minister took a walk in the market place while I, in high good humour, fetched my travelling bag, waterproof and faithful diary. On his return he entered his carriage and motioned to me to join him, when I took my place at his side. One must have luck to secure such a piece of good fortune, and one must also follow it up.

We started shortly after 9 o'clock. About 11 o'clock we reached the little town of Busancy, where we stopped in the market place to wait for the King. The Chief was very communicative. He complained that he was frequently disturbed at his work by persons talking outside his door, "particularly as some of the gentlemen have such loud voices. An ordinary inarticulate noise does not annoy me. I am not put out by music or the rattle of waggons, but what irritates me is a conversation in which I can distinguish the words. I then want to know what it is about, and so I lose the thread of my own ideas."

He then pointed out to me that when officers saluted our carriage, it was not for me to return the salute. He himself was not saluted as Minister or Chancellor, but solely as a general officer, and soldiers might feel offended if a civilian seemed to think that the salute was also intended for him.

He was afraid that nothing in particular would occur that day, an opinion which was shared by some Prussian artillery officers who were standing by their guns immediately opposite Busancy, and with whom he spoke. "It will be just as it was occasionally when I was out wolf hunting in the Ardennes. After wandering about for days in the snow, we used to hear that a track had been discovered, but when we followed it up the wolf had disappeared. It will be the same with the French to-day."

After expressing a hope that he might meet his second son, respecting whom he repeatedly inquired of officers along the route, the Minister added :—"You can see from his case how

little nepotism there is in our army. He has already served twelve months and has obtained no promotion, while others are recommended for the rank of ensign in little more than a month." I took the liberty to ask how that was possible. "I do not know," he answered. "I have made close inquiries as to whether he had been guilty of any slight breaches of discipline; but no, his conduct has been quite satisfactory, and in the engagement at Mars la Tour he charged as gallantly on the French square as any of his comrades. It is certainly well to avoid favouritism, but it is bitter to be slighted." A few weeks later both his sons were promoted to the rank of officers.

Subsequently, amongst many other things, the Chief once more gave me an account of his experiences on the evening of the 18th of August. They had sent their horses to water, and were standing near a battery which had opened fire. This was not returned by the French, but, he continued, "while we thought their cannon had been dismounted, they were for the last hour concentrating their guns and mitrailleuses for a last great effort. Suddenly they began a fearful fire with shells and smaller projectiles, filling the whole air with an incessant crashing and roaring, howling and whistling. We were cut off from the King, whom Roon had sent to the rear. I remained by the battery, and thought that if we had to retire I could jump on to the next ammunition cart. We expected that this attack would be supported by French infantry, who might take me prisoner, even if I were to treat them to a steady revolver fire. I had six bullets ready for them, and another half-dozen in reserve. At length our horses returned, and I started off to join the King. That, however, was jumping from the frying pan into the fire. The shells that passed over our heads fell exactly in the space across which we had to ride. Next morning we saw the pits which they dug in the ground. It was therefore necessary for the King to retire still further to the rear. I told him this after the officers had mentioned it to me. It was now night. The King said he was hungry, and wished to have something to eat. Drink was to be had from one of the sutlers, wine and bad rum, but there was nothing to eat except dry bread. At last they managed to hunt up a couple of cutlets in the village, just enough for the King, but nothing for his companions, so that I was obliged to look out for something else. His Majesty wished to sleep in the carriage between dead horses

and severely wounded soldiers. Later on he found shelter in a miserable hut. The Chancellor of the Confederation was obliged to seek cover elsewhere. Leaving the heir of one of our mighty German potentates (the young Hereditary Grand Duke of Mecklenburg) to keep watch over the carriage and see that nothing was stolen, I went with Sheridan on a reconnoitring tour in search of a sleeping place. We came to a house which was still burning, but that was too hot for us. I inquired at another, it was full of wounded; at a third, and got the same answer, and still a fourth was also full of wounded. Here, however, I refused to budge. I saw a top window in which there was no light, and asked who was there. 'Only wounded soldiers,' was the reply. 'Well, we are just going up to see,' I said, and marched upstairs. There we found three beds with good and tolerably clean straw mattresses, where we took up our quarters and slept capitally."

When the Minister first told this story at Pont à Mousson, with less detail, his cousin, Count Bismarck-Bohlen, added: "Yes, you fell asleep immediately, as also did Sheridan, who rolled himself up in a white linen sheet—where he found it I cannot imagine—and seemed to dream of you all night, as I heard him murmur to himself several times, 'O dear Count!'" "Yes," said the Minister, "and the Hereditary Grand Duke, who took the affair in very good part, and was altogether a very pleasant and amiable young gentleman." "Moreover," continued Bohlen, "the best of it was that there really was no such scarcity of shelter. In the meantime a fine country house had been discovered that had been prepared for the reception of Bazaine, with good beds, excellent wine, and I know not what besides, all first rate. The Minister of War quartered himself there, and had a luxurious supper with his staff."

On the way to Busancy the Chancellor further said: "The whole day I had nothing to eat but army bread and bacon fat. In the evening we got five or six eggs. The others wanted them cooked, but I like them raw, and so I stole a couple, and cracking the shells on the hilt of my sword, I swallowed them, and felt much refreshed. Early next morning I had the first warm food for thirty-six hours. It was only some pea-soup with bacon, which I got from General Goeben, but I enjoyed it immensely."

The market place at Busancy, a small country town, was crowded with officers, hussars, uhlans, couriers, and all sorts of

conveyances. At 11.30 the King appeared, and immediately afterwards we heard the unexpected news that the French were standing their ground. At about four kilometres from Busancy we came to a height beneath which to the left and right a small open valley lay between us and another height. Suddenly we heard the muffled sound of a discharge in the distance. "Artillery fire," said the Minister. A little further on I saw two columns of infantry stationed on the other side of a hollow to the left on a piece of rising ground bare of trees. They had two guns which were being fired. It was so far off however that one could hardly hear the report. The Chief was surprised at the sharpness of my sight and put on his glasses, which I for the first time learned were necessary to him when he wished to see at a distance. Small white clouds like balloons at a great height floated for three or four seconds above the hollow and then disappeared in a flash. These were shrapnel shells. The guns must have been German, and seemed to throw their shot from a declivity on the other side of the hollow. Over this hollow was a wood, in front of which I could observe several dark lines, perhaps French troops. Still further off was the spur of a hill, with three or four large trees, from which, as I afterwards heard, the Emperor Napoleon watched the fight.

The firing to the left soon ceased. Bavarian artillery, blue cuirassiers, and green light horse, passed us on the road, going at a trot. A little further on, just as we drove by a small thicket, we heard a rattle, as of a slow and badly delivered volley. "A mitrailleuse," said Engel, turning round on the box. Not far off, at a place where the Bavarian rifles were resting in the ditch by the road, the Minister got on horseback in order to ride with the King, who was ahead of us. We ourselves, after following the road for a time, turned towards the right across a stubble field. The ground gradually rose to a low height on which the King stood with the Chief and a number of Princes, generals, and other officers of high rank. I followed them across the ploughed fields, and standing a little to one side I watched the battle of Beaumont till nearly sunset.

It began to grow dark. The King sat on a chair near which a straw fire had been lit, as there was a strong wind. He was following the course of the battle through a field glass. The Chancellor, who was similarly employed, stood on a ridge, from which Sheridan also watched the spectacle. It was now possible

to catch the flash of the bursting shells and the flames that were rising from the burning houses at Beaumont. The French continued to retire rapidly, and the combatants disappeared over the crest of the treeless height that closed the horizon to the left behind the wood over the burning village. The battle was won.

It was growing dark when we returned towards Busancy, and when we reached it it was surrounded by hundreds of small fires that threw the silhouettes of men, horses, and baggage waggons into high relief. We got down at the house of a doctor who lived at the end of the main street, in which the King had also taken up his quarters. Those of our party who had been left behind at Grand Pré had arrived before us. I slept here on a straw mattress on the floor of an almost empty room, under a coverlet which had been brought from the hospital in the town by one of our soldiers. That, however, did not in the least prevent my sleeping the sleep of the just.

On Wednesday, August the 31st, between 9 and 10 A.M., the King and the Chancellor drove out to visit the battle-field of the previous day. I was again permitted to accompany the Minister.

The Chancellor remarked that the French had not offered a particularly steady resistance yesterday, or shown much prudence in their arrangements. "At Beaumont a battery of heavy artillery surprised them in their camp in broad daylight. Horses were shot tethered, many of the dead are in their shirt sleeves, and plates are still lying about with boiled potatoes, pots with half-cooked meat, and so forth."

During the drive the Chief came to speak of "people who have the King's ear and abuse his good nature," thinking in the first place of the "fat Borck, the holder of the King's Privy Purse;" and afterwards referring to Count Bernstorff, our then Ambassador in London, who, when he gave up the Foreign Office in Berlin, "knew very well how to take care of himself." In fact, "he was so long weighing the respective advantages of the two Embassies—London and Paris—that he delayed entering upon his duties much longer than was decent, or proper."

I ventured to ask what sort of a person Von der Goltz was, as one heard such different opinions about him, and whether he really was a man of importance and intellect as was maintained. "Intelligent? yes, in a certain sense," replied the Minister;

"a quick worker, well informed, but changeable in his views of men and things,—to-day in favour of this man or this project, to-morrow for another and sometimes for the very opposite. Then he was always in love with the Princesses to whose Courts he was accredited, first with Amelia of Greece and then with Eugénie. He believed that what I had the good fortune to carry through, he, with his exceptional intelligence, could have also done and even better. Therefore he was constantly intriguing against me, although we had been good friends in our youth. He wrote letters to the King complaining of me and warning his Majesty against me. That did not help him much, as the King handed over the letters to me, and I replied to them by reprimanding him. But in this respect he was persevering, and continued to write indefatigably. He was very little liked by his subordinates, indeed they actually detested him. On my visit to Paris in 1862 I called upon him to report myself just as he had settled down to a siesta. I did not wish to have him disturbed, but his secretaries were evidently delighted that he should be obliged to get up, and one of them immediately went in to announce me. It would have been so easy for him to secure the good will and attachment of his people. It is not difficult for an Ambassador, and I too would do it gladly. But as a Minister one has no time, one has too many other things to think of and to do. So I have had to adopt a more military style." It will be seen from this description that Von der Goltz was Arnim's forerunner and kindred spirit.

The Minister went on to speak of Radowitz, saying he did not feel quite certain whether it was dulness or treachery on Radowitz's part that was to blame for the diplomatic defeat at Olmütz. The army ought to have been brought into line before Olmütz, but Radowitz had intrigued against it. "I would leave it an open question whether he did so as an Austrian ultramontane Jesuit, or as an impracticable dreamer who thought he knew everything. Instead of looking to our armaments he occupied the King with constitutional trifles, of mediæval follies, questions of etiquette and such like. On one occasion we heard that Austria had collected 80,000 men in Bohemia, and was buying great numbers of horses. This was mentioned before the King in Radowitz's presence. He suddenly stepped forward, looking as if he knew much more about it than anybody else, and said, 'Austria has 22,493 men and 2,005 horses in Bohemia

and then turned away, conscious that he had once more impressed the King with a sense of his importance."

The King and the Chancellor first rode to the field where the heavy artillery had been at work. I followed them after I had jotted down my notes. This field lies about 800 to 1000 paces to the right of the road that brought us here. In front of it towards the wood at the bottom of the valley were some fields surrounded by hedges in which lay about a thousand German dead, Thuringians of the 31st Regiment. The camp itself presented a horrible appearance, all blue and red from the French dead, most of them being killed by the shells of the 4th Corps, and fearfully disfigured.

The Chancellor, as he afterwards told me, noticed among some prisoners in a quarry a priest who was believed to have fired at our men. "On my charging him with having done so he denied it. Take care," I said to him, "for if it is proved against you, you will certainly be hanged." In the meantime I gave instructions to remove his cassock. Near the church the King saw a wounded musketeer, with whom he shook hands, although the man was rather tattered and dirty from the work of the previous day, doubtless to the surprise of the French officers who were present. The King asked him what his business was. He replied that he was a Doctor of Philosophy. "Well, then, you will have learnt to bear your wounds in a philosophical spirit," said the King. "Yes," answered the musketeer, "I have already made up my mind to do so."

Near the second village we overtook some common soldiers, Bavarians, who had broken down on the march, and were dragging themselves slowly along in the burning sun. "Hullo, countryman!" called out the Minister to one of these, "will you have some brandy?" "Why, certainly;" and so would a second and a third, to judge from their looks. All three, and a few more, after they had had a pull at the Minister's flask and at mine, received a decent cigar in addition. At the village of Crehanges, where the princely personages of the second section of the King's suite were quartered, together with some gentlemen of the Crown Prince's retinue, the King ordered a lunch, to which Bismarck was also invited. In the meantime I sat on a stone by the roadside and wrote up my diary, and afterwards assisted the Dutch Ambulance corps, who had erected a bright green tent for the wounded in the vicinity of the village. When

the Minister returned he asked me what I had been doing, which I told him. "I would rather have been there than in the company I was in," he said, breathing deeply, and then quoted the line from Schiller, "*Unter Larven die einzige fühlende Brust*" (the only feeling heart amongst all those masks).

During the rest of the drive the conversation moved for a considerable time in exalted regions, and the Chief readily gave me full information in answer to my inquiries. I regret, however, that I cannot for various reasons publish all I heard.

A certain Thuringian Serene Highness appeared to be particularly objectionable to him. He spoke of his "stupid self-importance as a Prince, regarding me as *his* Chancellor also;" of his empty head, and his trivial conventional style of talk. "To some extent, however, that is due to his education, which trained him to the use of such empty phrases. Goethe is also partly to blame for that. The Queen has been brought up much in the same style. One of the chairs in the Palace would be taken to represent the Burgomaster of Apolda, who was coming to present his homage. 'Ah!' she was taught to say, 'very pleased to see you, Herr Burgomaster!' (Here the Chancellor leant his head a little to one side, pouted his lips, and assumed a most condescending smile.) 'How are things going on in the good town of Apolda? In Apolda you make socks and tobacco and such things, which do not require much thinking or feeling.'"

I ventured to ask how he now stood with the Crown Prince? "Excellently," he answered. "We are quite good friends since he has come to recognise that I am not on the side of the French, as he had previously fancied—I do not know on what grounds." I remarked that the day before the Crown Prince had looked very pleased. "Why should he not be pleased?" replied the Count. "The Heir Apparent of one of the most powerful kingdoms in the world, and with the best prospects. He will be reasonable later on and allow his Ministers to govern more, and not put himself too much forward, and in general he will get rid of many bad habits that render old gentlemen of his trade sometimes rather troublesome. For the rest, he is unaffected and straightforward; but he does not care to work much, and is quite happy if he has plenty of money and amusements, and if the newspapers praise him."

I took the liberty to ask further what sort of woman the Crown

Princess was, and whether she had much influence over her husband. "I think not," the Count said; "and as to her intelligence, she is a clever woman; clever in a womanly way. She is not able to disguise her feelings, or at least not always. I have cost her many tears, and she could not conceal how angry she was with me after the annexations (that is to say of Schleswig and Hanover). She could hardly bear the sight of me, but that feeling has now somewhat subsided. She once asked me to bring her a glass of water, and as I handed it to her she said to a lady-in-waiting who sat near and whose name I forget, 'He has cost me as many tears as there is water in this glass.' But that is all over now."

Finally we descended from the sphere of the gods to that of ordinary humanity. After I had referred to the Coburg-Belgian-English clique, the conversation turned on the Augustenburger in his Bavarian uniform. "He's an idiot," said the Chancellor. "He might have secured much better terms. At first I did not want from him more than the smaller Princes were obliged to concede in 1866. Thanks, however, to Divine Providence and the pettifogging wisdom of Samwer, he would agree to nothing. I remember an interview I had with him in 1864, in the billiard-room near my study, which lasted until late in the night. I called him 'Highness' for the first time, and was altogether specially polite. When however I mentioned Kiel Harbour, which we wanted, he remarked that that might mean something like a square mile, or perhaps even several square miles, a remark to which I was of course obliged to assent; and when he also refused to listen to our demands with regard to the army, I assumed a different tone, and addressed him merely as 'Prince.' Finally, I told him quite coolly in Low German that we could wring the necks of the chickens we had hatched. At Ligny he basely tricked me the other day in shaking hands with him. I did not know who the Bavarian general was who held out his hand to me, or I should have gone out of his way."

After an unusually long drive up hill and down dale, we arrived at 7 o'clock at the small market-town of Vendresse, where the Chancellor put up at the house of a Widow Baudelot, with the rest of his party, who had already taken possession of their quarters.

CHAPTER IV

Sedan—A brilliant assembly of Princes—The Battle—The Capitulation—Napoleon surrenders—Bismarck's interview with Napoleon at Donchery—The prisoner of Sedan leaves for Wilhelmshöhe.

ON the 1st of September Moltke's chase after the French in the Meuse district was, from all we could hear, evidently approaching its close. I had the good fortune to be present at it next day. After rising very early in order to write up my diary from the hasty notes taken on the previous day in the carriage and by the roadside at Chemery, I went to the house of Widow Baudelot. As I entered, a large cavalry detachment, formed of five Prussian hussar regiments, green, brown, black and red, rode past under the Chief's window. These were to accompany the King to a point near Sedan, whence he could witness the catastrophe which was now confidently expected. When the carriage came and the Chancellor appeared he looked about him. Seeing me he said, "Can you decipher, doctor?" I answered, "Yes," and he added, "Then get a cipher and come along." I did not wait to be asked twice. We started soon afterwards, Count Bismarck-Bohlen this time occupying the seat next to the Minister.

After a while the King, with his suite of Princes, generals, and courtiers, got on horseback, as did also the Chief, and the whole party moved towards the crest of the height. The distant roar of the cannon announced that the battle was in full progress. It was a bright sunny day, with a cloudless sky. Leaving Engel in charge of the carriage I after a while followed the horsemen, whom I found in a ploughed field from which one had an extensive view of the district. Beneath was a deep wide valley, mostly green, with patches of wood on the heights that surrounded it. The blue stream of the Meuse flowed past a town of moderate

size, the fortress of Sedan. On the crest of the hill next us, at about the distance of a rifle shot, is a wood, and there are also some trees to the left. To the right in the foreground, which sloped obliquely, in a series of steps as it were, towards the bottom of the valley, was stationed a Bavarian battery, which kept up a sharp fire at and over the town. Behind the battery were dark columns of infantry and cavalry. Still farther to the right, from a hollow, rose a thick column of smoke. It comes, we are told, from the burning village of Bazeilles. We are only about an English mile in a beeline from Sedan, and in the clear atmosphere one can easily distinguish the houses and churches. In the distance, to the left and right, three or four villages, and beyond them all towards the horizon, a range of hills, covered throughout with what appears to be a pine forest, serves as a frame for the whole picture. It is the Ardennes, on the Belgian frontier.

The main positions of the French appear to be on the hillocks immediately beyond the fortress, and it looks as if our troops intended to surround them there. For the moment we can only see their advance on the right, as the lines of our artillery, with the exception of the Bavarians, who are posted under us, are lost behind the heights as they slowly move forward. Gradually the smoke of the guns is seen beyond the rising ground already mentioned, with the defile in the middle. The corps that are advancing in half circle to enclose the enemy are steadily endeavouring to complete the circle. To the left all is still. At 11 o'clock a dark grey pillar of smoke with yellow edges rises from the fortress, which has hardly taken any part in the firing. The French troops beyond Sedan deliver an energetic fire, and at the same time, over the wood in the defile, rise numbers of small white clouds from the shells—whether French or German we cannot say. Sometimes, also, we hear the rattle of the mitrailleuse.

There was a brilliant assembly upon the hill. *The King, Bismarck, Moltke, Roon, a number of Princes, Prince Charles, their Highnesses of Weimar and Coburg, the Hereditary Grand Duke of Mecklenburg, generals, aides-de-camp, Court officials, Count Hatzfeldt, who disappeared after a while, Kutusoff, the Russian, and Colonel Walker, the English Military Plenipotentiary, together with General Sheridan and his aide-de-camp, all in

uniform, and all looking through field-glasses. The King stood, while others sat on a ridge at the edge of the field, as did the Chancellor also at times. I hear that the King sent word round that it was better not to gather into large groups, as the French in the fortress might in that case fire at us.

After 11 o'clock our line of attack advanced further on the right bank of the Meuse towards the main position of the French, who were thus more closely invested. In my eagerness I began to express my views to Count Pückler, probably somewhat louder than was necessary or quite fitting in the circumstances, and so attracted the attention of the Chief, who has sharp ears. He turned round and beckoned to me to come to him. "If you have strategic ideas to communicate to the Count it would be well if you managed to do so somewhat more quietly, doctor, as otherwise the King might ask who is speaking, and I should be obliged to present you to him." Shortly afterwards he received telegrams, six of which he gave me to decipher, so that for the time I had to resign my part as a spectator.

On returning to the carriage I found in Count Hatzfeldt a companion who had also been obliged to combine business with pleasure. The Chief had instructed him to copy out a French letter of four pages which had been intercepted by our troops. I mounted the box and set to work deciphering, while the battle roared like half-a-dozen thunderstorms on the other side of the height.

It was now 1 o'clock. By this time our line of fire encircled the greater part of the enemy's position on the heights beyond the town. Clouds of smoke rose in a wide arch, while the well-known small puff-balls of the shrapnels appeared for an instant and burst in the air. Only to the left there yet remained a space where all was still. The Chancellor now sat on a chair, studying a document of several pages. I asked if he would like to have something to eat or drink, as we had come provided. He declined, however, saying, "I should be very glad, but the King has also had nothing."

The opposing forces on the other side of the river must be very near each other, as we hear oftener than before the hateful rattle of the mitrailleuse. Its bark, however, we are told, is worse than its bite. Between 2 and 3 o'clock, according to my watch, the King passed near where I stood. After looking for a while

through his glass towards the suburbs of Sedan, he said to those who accompanied him, "There, to the left, they are pushing forward large masses of troops; I think it is a sortie." It was, as a matter of fact, an advance of some columns of infantry, which, however, soon retired, probably because they found that although this place was quiet it was by no means open. Shortly afterwards, with the assistance of the field-glass, one could see the French cavalry deliver several attacks on the crest of the hill to the left of the wood near the defile, which were repelled by volleys from our side. After these charges it could be seen, even with the naked eye, that the ground was covered with white objects, horses or soldiers' cloaks. Soon afterwards the artillery fire grew weaker at all points, and there was a general retreat of the French towards the town and its immediate vicinity. As already mentioned, they had for some time past been closed in on the left, where the Würtemberg troops had a couple of batteries not far from our hill, and where, as we were informed, the 5th and 11th Army Corps had cut off all escape, with the exception of a small gap towards the Belgian frontier. After half-past 4 all their guns were silent, and somewhat later ours also ceased firing.

Once again the scene becomes more animated. Suddenly bluish white clouds rise first in one and then in a second part of the town, showing that it is burning in two places. Bazeilles also is still in flames, and is sending up a pillar of dense grey yellow vapour into the clear evening air. The soft radiance of the declining sun is spreading more and more over the valley at our feet, like burnished gold. The hillocks of the battle-field, the ravine in the midst, the villages, the houses, the towers of the fortress, the suburb of Torcy, and the broken bridge in the distance to the left, stand out in clear relief, from moment to moment more distinct as if seen through stronger and stronger glasses.

Towards 5 o'clock General Hindersin speaks to the King, and I fancy I catch the words, "Bombard the town," and a "heap of ruins." A quarter of an hour later a Bavarian officer gallops up the height towards us. General von Bothmer sends word to the King that General Mailinger, who is stationed at Torcy with the chasseurs, reports that the French desire to capitulate, and that their unconditional surrender has been demanded. The King replied, "No one can negotiate this matter except myself. Tell the general that the bearer of the flag of truce must come to me."

The Bavarian rides back into the valley. The King then speaks to Bismarck, and together they join the Crown Prince (who had arrived a little before), Moltke and Roon. Their Highnesses of Weimar and Coburg are also with them, standing a little to one side. After a while a Prussian aide-de-camp appears, and reports that our losses, so far as they can be ascertained up to the present, are not great—those of the Guards being moderate, of the Saxons somewhat more, while the remaining corps engaged suffered less. Only a small proportion of the French have escaped into the woods in the direction of the Belgian frontier, where search is now being made for them. All the rest have been driven towards Sedan.

"And the Emperor?" questioned the King.

"We do not know," answered the officer.

Towards 6 o'clock, however, another aide-de-camp appeared, and reported that the Emperor was in the town, and would immediately send out a *parlementaire*. "That is a grand success!" said the King, turning to the company. "I thank thee (he added to the Crown Prince) for thy share in it." With these words he gave his hand to his son, and the latter kissed it. He then held out his hand to Moltke, who also kissed it. Finally he likewise shook hands with the Chancellor, and spoke to him alone for some time. This seemed to excite the displeasure of some of their Highnesses.

Towards half-past 6, after a detachment of cuirassiers had been posted near the King as a guard of honour, the French General Reille, Napoleon's *parlementaire*, rode slowly up the hill. He dismounted at a distance of some ten paces from the King, and after approaching his Majesty took off his cap and handed over a letter of large size with a red seal. The general is an elderly gentleman of medium height and slender figure, in an unbuttoned black tunic with epaulettes and shoulder straps, black vest, red trousers and polished riding boots. He has no sword, but carries a walking stick in his hand. All the company move away from the King, who opens and reads the letter, afterwards communicating the contents, which are now generally known, to Bismarck, Moltke, the Crown Prince and the other personages. Reille stands a little further off, at first alone, and later in conversation with some Prussian generals. The Crown Prince, Moltke and his Highness of Coburg also speak to him while the King takes counsel with the Chancellor, who then commissions Hatzfeldt to

prepare a draft of the answer to the imperial letter. Hatzfeldt brings it in a few minutes and the King copies it, sitting on one chair, while the seat of another, held by Major von Alten, who kneels before him, serves as a desk.

Shortly before 7 o'clock the French general rides back towards Sedan in the twilight, accompanied by an officer and a uhlan trumpeter carrying a white flag. The town is now in flames in three places, and the lurid columns of smoke that rise from Bazeilles shows it to be still burning. The tragedy of Sedan is over, and night lets down the curtain.

There might be an epilogue on the following day, but for the present every one returned home. The King went back to Vendresse, the Chief, Count Bismarck-Bohlen and I drove to the little town of Donchery, where it was quite dark when we arrived. We put up at the house of a Dr. Jeanjot. The town was full of Würtemberg soldiers, who were encamped in the market-place. Our reason for coming here was that an arrangement had been made according to which the Chancellor and Moltke were this evening to meet the French plenipotentiary to try to settle the conditions of the capitulation of the four French army corps now confined in Sedan.

I slept here in an alcove near the back room on the first floor, with only the wall between me and the Minister, who had the large front room. Towards 6 o'clock in the morning I was awakened by hasty footsteps, and heard Engel say: "Excellency, Excellency, there is a French general at the door. I cannot understand what he wants." The Minister would appear to have got up hurriedly and spoken a few words to the French officer, who turned out to be General Reille. The consequence was that he dressed immediately, and without waiting either for breakfast or to have his clothes brushed, mounted his horse and rode rapidly off. I rushed to his window to see in what direction he went. I saw him trot off towards the market-place. In the room everything was lying about in disorder. On the floor lay the "*Täglich Lösungen und Lehrtexte der Brüdergemeinde für 1870*" (Daily Watchwords and Texts of the Moravian Brethren for 1870), and on the toilet stand was another manual of devotion, "*Die tägliche Erquickung für gläubige Christen*" (Daily Spiritual Refreshment for Believing Christians), which Engel told me the Chancellor was accustomed to read at night.

I now hastily dressed myself also, and after I had informed them downstairs that the Chief had gone off to Sedan to meet the Emperor Napoleon, who had left the fortress, I followed him as fast as I could. Some 800 paces from the bridge across the Meuse at Donchery to the right of the road, planted with poplars, stands a single house, then the residence of a Belgian weaver. It is painted yellow, is but one storey high, and has four windows on the front. I see here that the Chancellor has already met the Emperor. In front of the house are six French officers of high rank, of whom five have caps with gold trimmings, while that worn by the sixth is black. What appears to be a hackney coach with four seats is waiting on the road. Bismarck and his cousin, Count Bohlen, are standing opposite the Frenchmen. At 8 o'clock Moltke arrived with a few officers of the general staff, but leaves again after a short stay. Soon afterwards a short, thick-set man, in a red cap braided with gold lace, and wearing red trousers and a hooded cape lined with red, steps from behind the house and speaks at first to the French officers, some of whom are sitting under the hedge by the potato field. He has white kid gloves, and smokes a cigarette. It is the Emperor. At the short distance at which I stand from him I can clearly distinguish his features. There is something soft and dreamy in the look of his light grey eyes which resemble those of people who have lived fast. His cap is set a little to the right, in which direction the head is also bent. The short legs do not seem in proportion with the long upper part of the body. His whole appearance has something unmilitary about it. The man is too soft, I am inclined to think too pulpy, for the uniform he wears. One could even fancy that he is capable of becoming sentimental at times. Those ideas, which are mere impressions, force themselves upon one all the more when one glances at the tall, well-set figure of our Chancellor. Napoleon seems fatigued, but not very much depressed. Nor does he look so old as I had expected. He might pass for a tolerably well-preserved man of fifty. After a while he goes over to the Chief, and speaks to him for about three minutes, and then—still smoking and with his hands behind his back—walks up and down by the potato garden. A further short conversation follows between the Chancellor and the Emperor, begun by Bismarck, after which Napoleon once more converses with his French suite. About a quarter to 9 o'clock Bismarck

and his cousin leave, going in the direction of Donchery, whither I follow them.

The Minister repeatedly related the occurrences of this morning and the preceding night. In the following paragraphs I unite all these various statements into a connected whole. The sense of what the Chancellor said is faithfully given throughout, and his own words are in great part reproduced.

"After the battle of the 1st of September, Moltke and I went to Donchery, about five kilometres from Sedan, for the purpose of carrying on the negotiations with the French. We spent the night there, the King and his suite returning to Vendresse. The negotiations lasted until midnight, without, however, leading to an understanding. In addition to Moltke and myself, Blumenthal and three or four other officers of the general staff were present. General Wimpffen was the French spokesman. Moltke's demand was very short. The whole French army must surrender as prisoners of war. Wimpffen considered that too hard. The army had deserved better treatment by the gallantry it had shown in action. We ought to be content to let them go on condition that they took no further part in the war, and removed to some district in France to be fixed upon by us, or to Algiers. Moltke quietly maintained his demand. Wimpffen dwelt upon his own unfortunate position. He had joined the troops two days before on his return from Africa, and only took over the command when MacMahon was wounded towards the close of the battle—and yet he must now put his signature to such a capitulation. He would rather try to hold the fortress or venture a sortie. Moltke regretted that it was impossible for him to make allowance for the position of the general, the hardship of which he appreciated. He recognised the gallantry of the French troops, but they could not possibly hold Sedan, and a sortie was out of the question. He was prepared to allow one of the general's officers to inspect our positions, in order that he might convince himself of that fact. Wimpffen then urged that from a political standpoint it was advisable to grant better terms. We must desire a speedy and permanent peace, and we could now secure it if we acted generously. A considerate treatment of the army would put both the soldiers and the whole people under an obligation of gratitude, and would inspire friendly feelings towards us. An opposite course would lead to

endless war. I intervened at this point, as my trade came into question here. I told Wimpffen it was possible to trust to the gratitude of a Prince but not to that of a people, and least of all to that of the French. They had no permanent institutions, they were constantly changing governments and dynasties, which were not bound by what their predecessors had undertaken. If the Emperor's throne was secure it would be possible to count upon his gratitude in return for more favourable conditions. As matters stood it would be foolish not to avail themselves to the full of the advantages of our success. The French were an envious, jealous people. They were angry with us for our victory at Sadowa, and could not forgive us for it, although it had not injured them. How then could any generosity on our part prevent them from bearing us a grudge for Sedan? Wimpffen could not agree to that. The French had changed latterly, and had learnt under the Empire to think more of peaceful interests than of the glory of war. They were ready to proclaim the brotherhood of nations and so on. It was not difficult to prove the contrary, and to show that the acceptance of his proposals would lead rather to a prolongation of the war, than to its termination. I finished by saying that we must maintain our conditions. Castelnau then spoke, explaining on behalf of the Emperor that the latter had only given up his sword on the previous day in the hope of an honourable capitulation. I asked, 'Whose sword was that? The Emperor's, or that of France?' He replied, 'Merely the Emperor's.' 'Well then,' interjected Moltke, sharp as lightning—a gleam of satisfaction overspreading his hawk-like features—'There can be no further question of any other conditions.' 'Very well,' declared Wimpffen, 'in that case we shall renew the fight to-morrow.' 'I will see that our fire commences at 4 o'clock,' said Moltke, on which the French expressed a wish to retire. I induced them, however, to remain a little longer and to consider the matter once more. The result was that they ultimately begged for an extension of the armistice, in order to consult with their people in Sedan. At first Moltke did not wish to agree to this, but finally consented on my pointing out to him that it could do no harm.

"Towards 6 o'clock on the morning of the 2nd of September, General Reille appeared before my lodging at Donchery, and

said the Emperor wished to speak to me. I dressed immediately and got on horseback, dirty, unwashed, and dusty as I was, to ride to Sedan, where I expected to see the Emperor. I met him, however, on the road near Fresnois, three kilometres from Donchery. He sat with three officers in a two-horse carriage, three others accompanying him on horseback. Of these officers I only knew Reille, Castelneau, Moscowa, and Vaubert. I had my revolver buckled round my waist, and as I found myself alone in the presence of the six officers I may have glanced at it involuntarily. I may perhaps even have instinctively laid my hand upon it. Napoleon probably noticed that, as his face turned an ashy grey. Possibly he thought that history might repeat itself—I think it was a Prince de Condé who was murdered while a prisoner after a battle.¹

"I saluted in military fashion. The Emperor took off his cap, the officers following his example, whereupon I also removed mine, although it was contrary to the regulations to do so. He said, 'Couvrez-vous, donc.' I treated him exactly as if we were at Saint Cloud, and asked him what his commands were. He wished to know whether he could speak to the King. I said that was impossible, as his Majesty's quarters were about two German miles away. I did not wish him to see the King before we had come to an understanding as to the capitulation. He then asked where he could wait, and indicated that he could not return to Sedan, as he had either experienced or apprehended some unpleasantness there. The town was full of drunken soldiers, which was a great hardship for the inhabitants. I offered him my quarters at Donchery, which I was prepared to leave immediately. He accepted the offer, but when we had come within a few hundred yards of the town he asked whether he could not stay in a house which he saw by the road. I sent my cousin, who had followed me, to view the house. On his report I told the Emperor that it was a very poor place. He replied that it did not matter. After he had gone over to the house and come back again, having probably been unable to find the stairs which were at the back, I accompanied him to the first floor, where we

¹ Louis de Condé was treacherously murdered on the 12th of March, 1569, after the engagement at Jarnac, just as he had delivered up his sword to an officer of the royal army, being shot by one Montesquieu, a captain of the Guards.

entered a small room with one window. It was the best in the house, but its only furniture was a deal table and two rush-bottomed chairs.

"Here I had a conversation with him which lasted for nearly three-quarters of an hour. He complained first of this fatal war, which he had not desired. He was forced into it by the pressure of public opinion. I replied that in Germany nobody had wished for war, and the King least of all. We had regarded the Spanish question as a matter concerning Spain and not Germany, and we were justified in expecting from the good relations between the princely house of Hohenzollern and himself that an understanding could be easily come to with the Hereditary Prince. We then went on to speak of the present situation. He wished above all to obtain more favourable terms of capitulation. I explained that I could not go into that question, as it was a purely military one, with which Moltke would have to deal. On the other hand it was open to us to discuss an eventual peace. He replied that he was a prisoner, and therefore not in a position to decide. On my asking him whom he regarded as competent to treat, he referred me to the Government in Paris. I observed that the situation had therefore not changed since yesterday, and that we must maintain our demand respecting the army in Sedan, as a guarantee that we should not lose the benefits of our victory. Moltke, to whom I had sent word, and who had arrived in the meantime, was of the same opinion, and went to the King in order to tell him so.

"Standing before the house the Emperor praised our army and the manner in which it had been led. On my acknowledging that the French had also fought well, he came back to the conditions of the capitulation, and asked whether we could not allow the troops shut up in Sedan to cross the Belgian frontier, there to be disarmed and held as prisoners. I tried again to make it clear to him that that was a question for the military authorities, and could not be settled without the concurrence of Moltke. Besides, he himself had just declared that as a prisoner he was not able to exercise his authority, and that accordingly negotiations respecting questions of that kind should be carried on with the principal officer in command at Sedan.

"In the meantime a search had been made for a better lodging for the Emperor, and the officers of the general staff found that

the little château of Bellevue near Fresnois, where I first met him, was suitable for his reception, and was not yet requisitioned for the wounded. I advised him to remove there, as it would be more comfortable than the weaver's house, and that possibly he wanted rest. We would let the King know that he was there. He agreed to this, and I rode back to Donchery to change my clothes. I then accompanied him to Bellevue with a squadron of the 1st Cuirassier Regiment as a guard of honour. The Emperor wished the King to be present at the negotiations which began here—doubtless counting on his soft-heartedness and good nature—but he also desired me to take part in them. I had however decided that the soldiers, who were made of sterner stuff, should settle the affair by themselves; and so I whispered to an officer as I went up the stairs to call me in five minutes and say that the King wanted to speak to me. This was accordingly done. Napoleon was informed that he could only see the King after the conclusion of the capitulation. The matter was therefore arranged between Moltke and Wimpffen, much on the lines that were laid down the evening before. Then the two monarchs met. As the Emperor came out after the interview his eyes were filled with heavy tears. In speaking to me he was much less affected, and was perfectly dignified."

We had no detailed particulars of these events on the forenoon of the 2nd of September; and from the moment when the Chief, in a fresh uniform and cuirassier's helmet, rode off from Donchery until late at night, we only heard vague rumours of what was going on. As we did not know how long the Minister would remain away we did not venture to leave Donchery.

About 1.30 P.M. some thousands of prisoners marched through the town on their way to Germany. Most of them were on foot, but some of them were in carts. They included about sixty to seventy officers, and a general who was on horseback. At 2 o'clock followed a second batch of about 2000 prisoners, amongst whom were negroes in Arab costume—tall, broad-shouldered fellows, with savage, ape-like features, and some old soldiers wearing the Crimean and Mexican medals.

Considerable distress prevailed in the town, and even our landlord (he and his wife were good souls) suffered from a scarcity of bread. The place was overcrowded with soldiers, who were quartered on the inhabitants, and with the wounded who

were sometimes put up in stables. Some of the people attached to the Court tried to secure our house for the Hereditary Grand Duke of Weimar, but we held out successfully against them. Then an officer wanted to quarter a Prince of Mecklenburg upon us, but we also sent him packing, telling him it was out of the question, as the Chancellor of the Confederation lodged there. After a short absence, however, I found that the Weimar gentlemen had forced themselves into the house. We had reason to be thankful that they did not turn our Chief out of his bed.

The Minister only returned after 11 o'clock, and I had supper with him, the party also including the Hereditary Grand Duke of Weimar, in the uniform of the Light Blue Hussars, and Count Solms-Sonnenwalde, formerly attached to the Embassy in Paris, and now properly speaking a member of our staff, although we had seen very little of him recently.

The Chancellor gave us very full particulars of his ride over the battle-field. He had been nearly twelve hours in the saddle, with short intervals. They had been over the whole field, and were received with great enthusiasm in all the camps and bivouacs. It was said that during the battle our troops had taken over 25,000 prisoners, while 40,000 who were in Sedan surrendered under the capitulation, which was concluded about noon.

The Minister told us that Napoleon was to leave for Germany, that is to say for Wilhelmshöhe, on the following morning. "The question is," said the Chief, "whether he is to go by way of Stenay and Bar le Duc or through Belgium." "In Belgium he would no longer be a prisoner," said Solms. "Well, that would not matter," replied the Chief, "and it would not even do any harm if he took another direction. I was in favour of his going through Belgium, and he seemed also inclined to take that route. If he failed to keep his word it would not injure us. But it would be necessary to communicate beforehand with Brussels, and we could not have an answer in less than two days."

The morning following was cold, dull and rainy. The masses of Prussian and Würtemberg troops who marched through the town seemed however in the best of spirits. They sang to the music of their bands. In all probability the feelings of the prisoners who sat in the long line of carts that passed in the opposite direction at the same time were more in harmony with

the disagreeable weather and the clouded sky. About 10 o'clock, as I waded in the drizzling rain through the deep mud of the market-place in fulfilment of my mission to the wounded, I met a long procession of conveyances coming from the Meuse bridge under the escort of the black death's-head hussars. Most of them were covered coaches, the remainder being baggage and commissariat carts. They were followed by a number of saddle horses. In a closed coupé immediately behind the hussars sat the "Prisoner of Sedan," the Emperor Napoleon, on his way to Wilhelmshöhe through Belgium. General Castelnau had a seat in his carriage. He was followed in an open waggonette by the infantry general, Adjutant-General von Boyen, who had been selected by the King as the Emperor's travelling companion, and by Prince Lynar and some of the officers who had been present at Napoleon's meeting with the Chancellor on the previous day. "Boyen is capitally suited for that mission," said the Chief to us the night before; "he can be extremely rude in the most polite way." The Minister was probably thinking of the possibility that some of the officers in the *entourage* of the august prisoner might take liberties.

We learned afterwards that an indirect route through Donchery had been taken, as the Emperor was particularly anxious not to pass through Sedan. The hussars went as far as the frontier near Bouillon, the nearest Belgian town. The Emperor was not treated with disrespect by the French prisoners whom the party passed on the way. The officers on the other hand had occasionally to listen to some unpleasant remarks. Naturally they were "traitors," as indeed from this time forward everybody was who lost a battle or suffered any other mishap. It seems to have been a particularly painful moment for these gentlemen when they passed a great number of French field pieces that had fallen into our hands. Boyen related the following anecdote. One of the Emperor's aides-de-camp, I believe it was the Prince de la Moscowa, thought the guns belonged to us, as they were drawn by our horses, yet was apparently struck by something in their appearance. He asked:—

"Quoi, est-ce que vous avez deux systèmes d'artillerie?"

"Non, monsieur, nous n'avons qu'un seul," was the reply.

"Mais ces canons-là?"

"Ils ne sont pas les nôtres, monsieur."

CHAPTER V

From Sedan to Fèrrières—Peace to be dictated in Paris—Pourparlers with Austria—An Anti-revolutionary League—The Germ of the Three Emperors' Alliance—Russia and the Treaty of Paris—Revision of the Black Sea Clauses—Jules Favre arrives at Headquarters—Abortive Negotiations.

I AGAIN quote from my diary.

Saturday, September 3rd.—We left Donchery shortly before 1 o'clock.

I drove with the Councillors. Count Bohlen gave us numerous details of the events of yesterday. Napoleon had left Sedan at such an early hour—it must have been before or shortly after daybreak—because he felt it was unsafe to remain in the midst of the furious soldiery, who were packed into the fortress like herrings in a barrel, and who burst into paroxysms of rage, breaking their rifles and swords, on hearing of the capitulation. During the first interview at Donchery the Minister had, amongst other things, told Wimpffen he must be well aware that the arrogance and quarrelsomeness of the French, and their jealousy at the success of neighbouring peoples, did not originate with the working and industrial classes, but with the journalists and the mob. These elements, however, swayed public opinion, constraining it to their will. For that reason the moral guarantees to which the general had referred would be of no value. We must have material guarantees, at present by the capitulation of the army in Sedan, and then by the cession of the great fortresses in the East.

The Minister dined with the King at Vendresse, where we once more put up for the night, but he nevertheless took some refreshment with us afterwards. He read over to us a portion of a letter

from his wife, energetically expressing in biblical terms her hope that the French would be destroyed. He then added meditatively, "Well, in 1866—seven days. This time possibly seven times seven. Yes—when did we cross the frontier? On the 4th? No, on the 10th of August. Five weeks ago. Seven times seven—it may be possible."

Rethel, September 4th, evening.—Early this morning before we left Vendresse I was called to the Chief, to receive instructions respecting reports for the newspapers of his meeting with Napoleon.

We arrived at Rethel about 5.30 P.M. After dinner I was summoned three times to receive instructions from the Chief. Amongst other things he said: "Metz and Strassburg are what we require and what we wish to take—that is the fortresses. Alsace is a professorial idea." He evidently referred to the strong emphasis laid upon the German past of that province and the circumstance that the inhabitants still retained the use of the German language.

In the meantime the German newspapers were delivered. It was highly satisfactory to observe that the South German press also began to oppose the efforts of foreign diplomacy which desired to mediate in the negotiations for peace between ourselves and France. In this respect the *Schwäbische Merkur* was perfectly in accord with the Chief's views in saying: "When the German peoples marched to the Rhine in order to defend their native land, European diplomacy said the two antagonists must be allowed to fight out their own quarrel, and that the war must be thus localised. Well, we have carried on that war alone against those who threatened all Europe, and we now also desire to localise the conclusion of peace. In Paris we shall ourselves dictate the conditions which must protect the German people from a renewal of such predaceous invasion as the war of 1870, and the diplomats of foreign Powers who looked on as spectators shall not be allowed to have anything to say in the matter. Those who took no part in the fight shall have no voice in the negotiations." "We must breed other articles from this one," said the Chief, and it did.

Reims, September 5th.—In the evening the Chief dined with us, and as we are here in the centre of the champagne country we try several brands. In the course of conversation the Chief mentions

that he is usually bored at the royal table. "When there are but few guests I sit near the King, and then it is tolerable. But when there are a great number present I am placed between the Bavarian Prince and the Grand Duke of Weimar, and then the conversation is inexpressibly tedious." Some one remarked that yesterday a shot was fired out of a café at a squadron of our hussars. The Minister said the house must be immediately destroyed, and the proprietor tried by court martial. Stieber should be instructed to inquire into the matter.

I understand we are to remain here for ten or twelve days.

Tuesday, September 6th.—I have been working hard from 10 to 3 o'clock without interruption in preparing, amongst other things, exhaustive, and also shorter, articles respecting the conditions upon which Germany should make peace. At dinner Count Bohlen remarked, as he counted the places, "I hope we are not thirteen." "No." "That's right, as the Minister does not like that number." Bohlen, who seems to be charged with the supervision of the fleshpots, has to-day evidently inspired the genius of our *chef-de-cuisine* to one of his greatest achievements. The dinner is magnificent. Amongst the guests are Von Knobelsdorff, a captain in the Guards; Count York, and one Count Brühl, a somewhat bashful young man, in the uniform of a lieutenant of dragoons. The latter brought the great news that a Republic had been proclaimed in Paris and a Provisional Government appointed, in which Gambetta, hitherto one of the orators of the Opposition, and Favre have portfolios. Rochefort, the editor of *La Lanterne*, is also a member of the Cabinet. It is said that they wish to continue the war against us. The position has, therefore, not improved in so far as peace is concerned; but it is also by no means worse, especially if the Republic lasts, and it becomes, later on, a question of gaining friends at foreign Courts. For the present it is all over with Napoleon and Lulu. Like Louis Philippe in 1848, the Empress has fled. We shall soon discover what the lawyers and literary men, who have now taken over the conduct of affairs, can do. Whether France will recognise their authority remains to be seen.

Our uhlans are now at Château Thierry; in two days they may reach Paris. It is now certain, however, that we shall remain another week at Reims. Count Bohlen reported to the Chief the result of his inquiries respecting the café from which our cavalry

were fired at. Yielding to the entreaties of the proprietor, who is believed to be innocent, the house has not been destroyed. Moreover, the treacherous shot failed of its effect. The proprietor has been let off with a fine of two hundred or two hundred and fifty bottles of champagne, to be presented to the squadron; and this he gladly paid.

At tea somebody (I now forget who it was) referred to the exceptional position accorded to the Saxons in the North German Confederation as regards military arrangements. The Chancellor did not consider the matter of much importance. "Moreover, that arrangement was not made on my initiative," he observed; "Savigny concluded the treaty, as I was seriously ill at the time. I am disposed to regard even less narrowly the arrangements respecting the foreign relations of the smaller States. Many people lay too much stress on this point, and apprehend danger from the retention of their diplomatic representatives besides those of the Confederation. If such States were in other respects powerful, they could, even without official representatives, exchange letters with foreign Courts and intrigue by word of mouth against our policy. That could be managed by a dentist or any other personage of that description. Moreover, the Diets will soon refuse to grant the sums required for all such luxuries."

Thursday, September 8th.—The Chancellor gives a great dinner, the guests including the Hereditary Grand Duke of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, Herr Stephan the Director-General of the Post Office, and the three Americans. Amongst other matters mentioned at table were the various reports as to the affair at Bazeilles. The Minister said that peasants could not be permitted to take part in the defence of a position. Not being in uniform they could not be recognised as combatants—they were able to throw away their arms unnoticed. The chances must be equal for both sides. Abeken considered that Bazeilles was hardly treated, and thought the war ought to be conducted in a more humane manner. Sheridan, to whom MacLean has translated these remarks, is of a different opinion. He considers that in war it is expedient, even from the political point of view, to treat the population with the utmost rigour also. He expressed himself roughly as follows: "The proper strategy consists in the first place in inflicting as telling blows as possible upon the enemy's army, and then in causing the inhabitants so much suffering that they must

long for peace, and force their Government to demand it. The people must be left nothing but their eyes to weep with over the war." Somewhat heartless it seems to me, but perhaps worthy of consideration.

Friday, September 9th.—Engaged all the forenoon and until 3 o'clock in writing various articles, amongst others one on the inconceivable attachment of the Alsacians to France, their voluntary helotry, and the blindness which will not permit them to see and feel that the Gauls only regard them as a kind of second-rate Frenchmen, and in many respects treat them accordingly.

Saturday, September 10th.—The Chief dined with the King to-day, but also joined us at table for half-an-hour. Bohlen, who had visited the Imperial château at Mourmelon, near Châlons, told us how the people had wrecked the whole place, breaking the furniture, mirrors, &c. After dinner the Chancellor had a long talk alone with Boyen and Delbrück, who were amongst the guests. I was afterwards summoned to the Minister to receive instructions respecting a *communiqué* to the two French newspapers published here, namely the *Courier de la Champagne* and the *Indépendant Rémois*. It was to the following effect: "If the Reims press were to declare itself in favour of the proclamation of a French Republic, and recognise the new Government by publishing its decrees, it might be inferred that as the town is occupied by German troops the organs in question were acting in harmony with the views of the German Government. This is not the case. The German Government respects the liberty of the press here as at home. It has however up to the present recognised no Government in France except that of the Emperor Napoleon. Therefore until further notice it can only recognise the Imperial Government as authorised to enter upon international negotiations."

Sunday, September 11th.—After dinner I was summoned several times to the Chief to receive instructions. In Belgium and Luxemburg our wounded were received in an unfriendly manner, and it is suspected, probably not without reason, that ultramontane influence is at the bottom of this conduct. Favre, "who does not exist for us," as the Chief declared to-day, has asked, indirectly through London, whether we are disposed to grant an armistice and to enter into negotiations. Favre seems to con-

sider this question as very pressing. The Chancellor, however, does not.

When Bölsing brought in the despatch from Bernstorff, stating that Lord Granville requested an early reply from the Chancellor of the Confederation to Favre's inquiry, the Minister simply remarked, "There is no hurry to answer this rubbish."

After 10 P.M. the Chief joined us at tea.

The conversation ultimately turned on the politics of recent years. The Chancellor said: "What I am proudest of, however, is our success in the Schleswig-Holstein affair, in which the diplomatic intrigues would furnish matter for a play. In the first place, Austria could not well have sided with the Augustenburger in presence of her previous attitude as recorded in the proceedings of the Germanic Diet, for which she was bound to show some regard. Then she wanted to find some tolerable way out of the embarrassment in which she had involved herself with the Congress of Princes at Frankfort. Immediately after the death of the King of Denmark I explained what I wanted in a long speech at a sitting of the Council of State. The official who drew up the minutes of the sitting omitted the most important part of my speech; he must have thought that I had lunched too well, and would be glad if he left it out. But I took care that it was again inserted. It was difficult, however, to carry my idea into execution. Everything was against it—Austria, the English, the small States—both Liberal and anti-Liberal, the Opposition in the Diet, influential personages at Court, and the majority of the Press.

"Yes, at that time there was some hard fighting, the hardest being with the Court, and it demanded stronger nerves than mine. It was about the same at Baden-Baden before the Congress at Frankfort, when the King of Saxony was in Baden, and wanted our King to go to that Assembly. It was literally in the sweat of my brow that I prevented him from doing so." I asked the Chief, after some further remarks, if the King had really wished to join the other Princes. "He certainly did," replied the Minister, "and I only succeeded with the utmost difficulty in preventing him, literally hanging on to his coat-tails." The Chief then continued to the following effect: "His Majesty said he could not well do otherwise when a King had come to him as a courier to bring the invitation. All the women were in favour of his going, the Dowager Queen, the reigning Queen, and the Grand Duchess

of Baden. I declared to the Dowager that I would not remain Minister nor return to Berlin if the King allowed himself to be persuaded. She said she was very sorry, but if I seriously meant that, she must surrender her own view and use her influence with the King in the other direction, although it was greatly opposed to her own convictions. The affair was, however, still made quite disagreeable enough for me. After the King of Saxony and Beust had been with him, his Majesty lay on the sofa and had an attack of hysterical weeping; and when at length I had succeeded in wringing from him the letter of refusal, I was myself so weak and exhausted that I could scarcely stand. Indeed, I actually reeled as I left the room, and was so nervous and unhinged that in closing the outer door I tore off the handle. The aide-de-camp asked me if I was unwell. I said, 'No, I am all right again *now*.' I told Beust, however, that I would have the regiment stationed at Rastatt brought over to guard the house, and to prevent anybody else having access to the King in order to put fresh pressure upon him." Keudell also mentioned that the Minister had intended to get Beust arrested. It was getting late when the Chief had finished his narrative of those events, so he retired, saying: "Yes, gentlemen, a delicate nervous system has to endure a good deal. I shall therefore be off to bed. Good night."

Monday, September 12th.—Engaged writing various paragraphs till noon.

According to some of the German papers the Chief had declared that in the battle of Sedan, Prussia's allies fought best. What he said, however, was only that they co-operated in the best possible way. "The Belgians," said the Minister, "display such hatred towards us and such warm attachment for the French, that perhaps after all something might be done to satisfy them. It might at any rate be well to suggest that arrangements even with the present French Government are not entirely out of the question, which would gratify Belgian yearnings towards France. Call attention," added the Chief, "to the fact that the present animosity in Belgium is due chiefly to ultramontane agitation."

A report has been received to the effect that America has offered her services as a mediator between ourselves and the new French Republic. This mediation will not be declined, and as a matter of fact would be preferred to that of any other State. It may be assumed that the authorities at Washington are not disposed to

interfere with our necessary military operations, which would however probably be the consequence of such mediation. The Chief appears to have been for a considerable time past well disposed towards the Americans, and not long ago it was understood that he hoped to secure permission to fit out ships in the American harbours against the French navy. Doubtless there is no longer any probability of this being done.

To conclude from a communication which he has forwarded to Carlsruhe, the Minister regards the general situation as follows:—"Peace seems to be still very remote, as the Government in Paris does not promise to be permanent. When the proper moment for negotiations has arrived, the King will summon his allies to consider our demands. Our principal object is and remains to secure the South-Western German frontier against the danger of a French invasion, to which it has now been subjected for centuries. A neutral buffer State like Belgium or Switzerland would not serve our purpose, as it would unquestionably join France in case of a fresh outbreak of war. Metz and Strassburg, with an adequate portion of surrounding territory, must belong to all Germany, to serve as a protective barrier against the French."

Before dinner to-day Prince Luitpold of Bavaria had a long interview with the Chief. In the evening at tea the Minister, referring to this interview, said: "The Prince is certainly a good fellow, but I rather doubt whether he understood the historical and political statements which I made to him to-day."

I have reason to believe that this interview was the beginning of negotiations (which were several times interrupted) between the Chancellor of the Confederation and the Emperors of Austria and Russia, which gradually led to an understanding and finally resulted in the so-called *Drei Kaiser Bündniss*, or Three Emperors' Alliance. The object of these "historical and political statements" was to induce Prince Luitpold to write a letter to his brother-in-law, the Archduke Albrecht, submitting certain views to the personal consideration of the Emperor Francis Joseph. This was one of the few ways in which it appeared possible for those considerations to reach the Emperor's own ear in an ungarbled form. They were as follows: The turn which events have taken in Paris renders it possible to regard the present war between Germany and France as a defence of monarchical conservative principles against the republican and socialistic

tenets adopted by the present holders of power in France. The proclamation of the Republic in Paris has been welcomed with warm approval in Spain, and it is to be expected that it will obtain a like reception in Italy. In that circumstance lies the great danger for those European States that are governed on a monarchical system. The best security for the cause of order and civilisation against this solidarity of the revolutionary and republican elements would be a closer union of those countries which, like Germany, Russia, and Austria, still afford a firm support to the monarchical principle. Austria, however, can only be included in such an understanding when it is recognised in that country that the attempts hitherto made in the Cisleithan half of the monarchy to introduce a liberal system are based on a mistaken policy, as are also the national experiments in a Polish direction. The appointment of Klaczko, a Polish literary man, to a position in which he is in close relations with Beust, the Chancellor of the Empire, whose policy and tendency are well known, together with the latest declarations of Klaczko, must be regarded as indications of Beust's own views and intentions. This co-operation with the Polish revolutionists, together with the hostility to Russia which is manifested thereby, is for the Chancellor of the German Confederation a serious hindrance to good relations with Austria, and must at the same time be regarded as an indication of hostility to ourselves. In connection with the above the position of the Cisleithan half of the dual State must be taken into consideration, and the difficulties which it presents cannot be overcome except by a conservative *régime*. It is only through the frank adoption of relations of mutual confidence towards united Germany and Russia that Austria can find the support which she requires against revolutionary and centrifugal forces, a support which she has lost through the disastrous policy of Count Beust.

Prince Luitpold's letter giving expression to these views failed to produce the desired result. It is true the Archduke Albrecht submitted it to the Emperor, but he showed it at the same time to Beust. His answer, which was inspired by Beust, was in the main to the effect that Austria, so long as no special political advantages were offered by us, did not feel any need of support. If Prussia, as it would appear, regarded a *rapprochement* with Austria as desirable or requisite, nothing had been heard so far as

to what she had to offer in return to the dual monarchy, whose interests were complex. The Emperor would gladly consider any suggestions that reached him in a direct way.

The Tsar Alexander was informed of the attempt made in Vienna through the Bavarian Prince, his attention being at the same time called to the notorious understanding which existed between the present Government in Paris and the revolutionary propagandists throughout Europe. The desirability of a close co-operation of the Eastern Powers against this movement was urged upon him on the one hand, while on the other the necessity was pointed out for Germany to avoid, when concluding peace, anything which might look like disregard for the real requirements of the country in the matter of frontier protection and security, and thus give the German revolutionary party an opportunity of poisoning the public mind. The Tsar declared himself in perfect agreement with these views, and expressed a strong desire for the realisation of the proposed union of the monarchical elements against the revolutionary movement.

Subsequently, after the insurrection of the Communists in Paris, the progress of the International, upon which considerable stress was also laid in the Press, was used as a further argument for the combination of the conservative Powers against the republican and socialistic propaganda. This time the representations in question met with more success in Vienna.

Tuesday, September 13th.—In the course of the forenoon I was called in to the Chancellor six times, and wrote as many paragraphs for the press. Amongst them were two for the local French papers, which also received some information from us yesterday. Arrangements were made to secure the insertion of the portrait and biography of General von Blumenthal in the illustrated papers with which we entertain friendly relations, a distinction which he has well deserved. "So far as one can see," said the Chief, "the papers make no mention of him, although he is chief of the staff to the Crown Prince, and, next after Moltke, deserves most credit for the conduct of the war. I should like a grant to be made to him. He won the battles of Weissenberg and Wörth, and afterwards those of Beaumont and Sedan, as the Crown Prince was not always interfering with his plans, as Prince Charles Frederick did in 1866. The latter fancied that he understood a great deal about these matters."

In the evening the Count sent for me once more. It was merely to show me a telegram, which he handed to me with a smile. It was a message from the Grand Duke of Weimar to the Grand Duchess, couched in the style of the King's despatches to the Queen, in which the Duke reported, "My army has fought very bravely." Greatness, like murder, will out. But still, there are cases in which imitation had better be avoided.

On the 14th of September, shortly before 10 o'clock, we started for Château Thierry, and reached Meaux on the next day.

Before dinner we heard that a *parlementaire* has arrived from Paris—a slight, dark-haired young gentleman, who is now standing in the courtyard before the Chief's house. From his language he would appear to be an Englishman. In the evening he has a long conversation with the Chief over a bottle of kirschwasser, and turns out to be Mr. Edward Malet, the Secretary of the British Embassy in Paris. As I had to pass through the ante-chamber I noticed the attendant, Engel, with his ear to the keyhole, curious to know what they were talking about. He had brought a letter from Lord Lyons asking whether the Count would enter into negotiations with Favre as to the conditions of an armistice. The Chancellor is understood to have replied: "As to conditions of peace, yes; but not for an armistice."

Prince Hohenlohe dines at our table, where the Chief also joins us after returning from dinner with the King. We learn that Reims will be the administrative centre of the French provinces occupied by our troops, with the exception of Alsace and Lorraine. The Grand Duke of Mecklenburg is Governor-General, and will be at the head of the administration, and Hohenlohe will take a position under him.

The Chief remarked to his cousin, who complained of not feeling well: "At your age" (Bohlen is now thirty-eight) "I was still as sound as a bell, and could take all sorts of liberties with myself. It was at St. Petersburg that my health first sprang a leak."

Somebody turned the conversation on Paris and the subject of the French and the Alsacians. The Chief gave his views on this matter very fully, addressing his remarks to me at the close, which I took to be a permission, or hint, that I should either get his words or their purport into the newspapers. The Alsacians and the Germans of Lorraine, he declared, supplied France with

numbers of capable men, especially for the army, but they are not held of much account by the French, and seldom attain to high positions in the service of the State, while they are laughed at by the Parisians, who make caricatures and stories out of them, just as the Irish are laughed at in London. "Other French provincials are treated in the same way," added the Minister, "if not quite so badly. To a certain extent, France is divided into two nations, the Parisians and the Provincials, and the latter are the voluntary helots of the former. The object to be aimed at now is the emancipation, the liberation of France from Parisian rule. When a provincial feels that he is capable of making a future for himself he comes to Paris, and is there adopted into, and becomes one of, the ruling caste. It is a question whether we should not oblige them to take back the Emperor as a punishment. That is still possible, as the peasants do not wish to be tyrannised from Paris. France is a nation of ciphers—a mere herd. The French are wealthy and elegant, but they have no individuality, no consciousness as individuals, but only as a mass. They are like thirty million obedient Kaffirs, each one of whom is in himself featureless and worthless, not fit to be compared with Russians and Italians, to say nothing of ourselves. It was an easy task to recruit out of this impersonal, invertebrate mass a phalanx ready to oppress the remainder of the country so long as it was not united."

After dinner wrote several paragraphs in accordance with the Chief's instructions and explanations. The subjects were: The German friends of the Republic—men like Jacobi, the Socialistic Democrats, and others holding similar views—will not hear of the annexation of French territory, being in the first place Republicans, and only in a secondary sense, to a certain extent, German. The security afforded to Germany by the seizure of Strassburg and Metz is detestable to them, as it is a bulwark against the Republic which they want to see established, weakening their propaganda, and injuring their prospects on our side of the Rhine. They place their party higher than their country. They welcomed the opposition to Napoleon, because he was an opponent of their doctrines, but since he has been replaced by the Republic they have become Frenchmen in sentiment and disposition. Russia has expressed a desire for a revision of the treaty entered into as the result of her defeat in

the Crimean war. The alterations proposed in certain points of that instrument must be regarded as just. The Peace of Paris includes conditions respecting the Black Sea which are unfair, in view of the fact that a great part of the coast belongs to Russia. This must, however, be cautiously expressed.

The conjecture that the Crown Prince is of opinion that the Bavarians and Suabians, if they are not disposed willingly to form part of the united Germany, must be compelled to do so, is correct. He is inclined to act on the maxim, *Der Bien muss*. I hear that at Donchery, or near that town, he had a long conversation on the subject with the Chancellor, who declared himself strongly against this idea.

Saturday, September 17th.—I did a good deal of work this morning and afternoon from instructions received yesterday. Amongst other things, I embodied in an article on the way in which we ought to treat Napoleon the following ideas, which are very characteristic of the Chancellor's manner of thinking :—

"Public opinion is only too much disposed to treat political relations and events from the standpoint of private morals, and, amongst other things, to demand that in international conflicts the victor, guided by the moral code, should sit in judgment upon the vanquished, and impose penalties not only for the transgressions of the latter towards himself, but also, if possible, towards others. Such a demand is entirely unjustifiable. To advance it shows an utter misapprehension of the nature of political affairs, with which the conceptions of punishment, reward, and revenge have nothing in common. To accede to it would be to pervert the whole character of politics. Politics must leave to Divine Providence and to the God of Battles the punishment of princes and peoples for breaches of the moral law. The statesman has neither the authority nor the obligation to assume the office of judge. In all circumstances the sole question he has to consider is what, under the conditions given, is to the advantage of the country, and how that advantage is to be best secured. The kindlier affections have as little place in the calculations of politics as they have in those of trade."

Sunday, September 18th.—The Minister joined us at lunch to-day, at which two dragoon guardsmen were also present. Both wore the Iron Cross. One of them, Lieutenant Philip von Bismarck, was the Chancellor's nephew, an official of the

Supreme Court of Judicature in times of peace. The Chief asked him whether the Prince of Hohenzollern, who was attached to the lieutenant's regiment, was "also a soldier, or merely a Prince?" The answer was favourable. The Minister replied: "I am glad of that. The fact of his having announced his election as King of Spain to his superior officer, in accordance with the regulations, impressed me in his favour."

The conversation turned upon the cost of maintaining Napoleon at Wilhelmshöhe, which is stated to be something enormous. On this the Chief remarked: "It is at the Queen's instance that Napoleon has been allowed to maintain a Court at the King's expense. His Majesty had only proposed to give him one domestic who was to keep watch over him. But he himself observed to me that women are always addicted to extravagance."

Mention was made of General Ducrot, who was taken prisoner at Sedan, and who, being allowed greater liberty on pledging his word not to escape, disgraced himself by absconding on the way to Germany. The Chief remarked: "When one catches scoundrels of that kind who have broken their word (of course, I don't blame those who get away without it) they ought to be strung up in their red breeches with the word *Parjure* written on one leg, and *Infâme* on the other. In the meantime that must be put in its proper light in the press. The fellow must be shown up." The barbarous manner in which the French were conducting the war having been again referred to, the Minister said: "If you peel the white hide off that sort of Gaul you will find a Turco under it."

Jules Favre not having arrived up to midday on the 19th of September, our party started. The Minister, however, left a letter for Favre at the Mairie, and told a servant to mention the fact to him in case he came. The Chief and the Councillors rode on ahead of the carriages, of which I had one entirely to myself. We first passed by the residence of the King, who was quartered in a handsome château on the Promenade, and between the villages of Mareuil and Montry we met a two-horse hackney, in which a Parisian officer sat with three civilians. One of the latter was an elderly gentleman with a grey beard and a protruding under lip. "That's Favre," I said to Krüger, the Chancery attendant who sat behind me. "Where is the Minister?" He

was not to be seen, but had probably gone on before us, and the long train of conveyances cut off our view in front. We drove on rapidly, and after a while I met the Chief and Keudell riding back in the opposite direction.

"Favre has driven by, Excellency," I said.

"I know," he replied, smiling, and trotted on.

Next day Count Hatzfeldt gave us some particulars of the meeting between the Chancellor of the Confederation and the Parisian lawyer, now one of the rulers of France. The Minister, Count Hatzfeldt and Keudell were half an hour ahead of us when *Hofrath* Taglioni, who drove with the King's suite, told them that Favre had passed by. He had come by another route and had only reached its junction with our road after the Chief had ridden by. The Minister was very angry at not having been sooner informed of this. Hatzfeldt galloped after Favre, with whom he returned, finally meeting the Chief at Montry. Here the attention of the Minister was called to the little château of Haute-Maison, situated on a height some ten minutes from the village, as a suitable place for the interview with the Frenchman. There the party found two Würtemberg dragoons, one of whom was instructed to take his carbine and mount guard before the house. They also met there a French peasant, who looked as if he had just received a good thrashing. While our people were asking this man whether it was possible to get anything to eat or drink, Favre, who had gone into the house with the Chancellor, came out for a moment and addressed his countryman in a speech full of pathos and noble sentiments. Disorderly attacks had been made, he said, which must be stopped. He, Favre, was not a spy, but, on the contrary, a member of the new government which had undertaken to defend the interests of the country and which represented its dignity. In the name of international law and of the honour of France he called upon him to keep watch, and to see that the place was held sacred. That was imperatively demanded by his, the statesman's, honour, as well as by that of the peasant, and so forth. The honest rustic looked particularly silly as he listened open-mouthed to all this high falutin, which he evidently understood as little as if it were so much Greek. Keudell remarked, "If this is the individual who is to preserve us from a surprise, I for my part prefer to trust to the sentry."

On the same evening I learnt from another source that lodgings

had been taken for Favre in the village near the Château of Ferrières, as he desired to have a further conference with the Chief. He was accompanied by MM. Rink and Hell, formerly Secretaries of Embassy under Benedetti, and Prince Biron. Keudell said, "As the Chancellor left the room where his interview with Favre had taken place, he asked the dragoon who was on guard before the door whence he came. The man replied, 'From Schwäbisch-Hall.' 'Well, then, you may be proud,' he continued, 'of having stood guard over the first negotiation for peace in this war.'"

The King and the first section of his suite took up their quarters for a considerable time in Baron Rothschild's château at Ferrières. The Minister was to lodge on the first floor of the right wing. Baron Rothschild was in Paris, and only left behind him three or four female domestics and a housekeeper, who gave himself great airs of importance.

It was already dark when the Chief arrived, and shortly after we sat down to dinner. While we were still at table a message was received from Favre, asking when he could come to continue the negotiations. He had a conference *tête-à-tête* with the Chancellor in our bureau from 9.30 P.M. until after 11. On leaving he looked distressed, crestfallen, almost in despair.

In connection with the news that the King has gone to Cluses in order to prevent an attack being made by our troops, the Chief, in the course of conversation at dinner, said, amongst other things, that "many of our generals have abused the devotion of the troops in order to secure victory." "Possibly," he added, "the hard-hearted reprobates of the general staff are right when they say that even if the whole five hundred thousand men whom we have now in France were to be wiped out, that should merely be regarded as the loss of so many pawns, so long as we ultimately won the game. It is very simple strategy, however, to plunge in head foremost in that way without counting the cost. Altogether, those who conduct the operations are often not worth much—armchair strategists. A plan is prepared in which the whole calculation is based first of all upon the extraordinary qualities of both soldiers and regimental officers. It is these who alone have achieved everything. Our success is due to the fact that our soldiers are physically stronger than the French, that they can march better, have more patience and sense

of duty, and are more impetuous in attack. If MacMahon had commanded Prussian soldiers and Alvensleben Frenchmen, the latter would have been defeated—although he is my friend." "It is no longer possible, as it was in the Seven Years' War, to direct a battle from the saddle—the armies are too large. There is also no genuine co-operation and mutual assistance. Battles begin usually like those described by Homer. Some of the men commence with small provocations, and go on taunting each other, then they begin to shoot; the others see this and rush forward, and so finally the engagement becomes general." "The plan of surrounding the enemy is the right one, and properly speaking that was only adopted at Sedan. The engagement of the 16th at Metz was quite correct, as it was necessary there at any cost to prevent the French from escaping. The sacrifice of the guards on the 18th however was not necessary. It was a piece of pure folly, occasioned by jealousy of the Saxons. They ought to have waited at Saint Privat until the Saxons had completed their manoeuvre for cutting off the enemy."

Keudell and Bohlen afterwards ascribed this unfavourable criticism to a quarrel which the Chief had had with Moltke at Reims.

While still at table we had a specimen of the hospitality and gentlemanly feeling of the Baron, whose house is honoured by the presence of the King, and whose property has, in consequence, been treated with every consideration. M. de Rothschild, the hundredfold millionaire, who, moreover, was, until recently, the Prussian Consul-General in Paris, has declined, through his house-keeper, to let us have the wine we require, although I informed that functionary that it would be paid for, just as everything else was. When summoned before the Chief, he had the audacity to persist in his refusal, first denying absolutely that there was any wine in the house, and afterwards admitting that there were a few hundred bottles of common Bordeaux. As a matter of fact, there were some seventeen thousand bottles. The Minister, however, explained the situation to him in a few sharp words, pointing out how niggardly and discourteous it was of his master to requite the King in such manner for the honour done to him in taking up his quarters there. As the fellow still seemed obstinate, the Chancellor asked him sternly if he knew what a bundle of straw was. The man made no answer, but seemed to suspect what it

meant, as he became deadly pale. He was then informed that it was a contrivance on which obstinate and impudent housekeepers were laid face downwards—he could imagine the rest for himself. Next day we got everything that we required, and, so far as I am aware, there was no further cause of complaint.

Next morning the Chief came into the *chambre de chasse* of the château, which we occupied as our bureau. Turning over the game book which lay on the table he pointed out the entry for the 3rd of November, 1865, which showed that he himself, with Galiffet and other guests, had that day shot forty-two head of game—fourteen hares, one rabbit, and twenty-seven pheasants. He is now engaged with Moltke and others in chasing a nobler quarry—the bear to which he referred at Grand Pré.

At 11 o'clock the Chief had his third meeting with Favre, after which followed a conference with the King, at which Moltke and Roon were also present.

Wednesday, September 21st.—At tea some further particulars were given of the last conference between the Chancellor and Jules Favre. Favre was, it seems, informed that we could not communicate to him the exact conditions of peace until they had been settled at a conference of the German Powers engaged in the war. No arrangement could be come to, however, without a cession of territory, as it was absolutely essential to us to have a better frontier as security against French attack. The conference turned less upon peace and its conditions than on the nature of French concessions, in consideration of which we might agree to an armistice. On the mention of a cession of territory Favre became terribly excited, drew a deep sigh, raised his eyes to heaven, and even shed some patriotic tears. The Chief does not expect that he will return.

Thursday, September 22nd, evening.—The French are indefatigable in denouncing us to the world as cruel and destructive barbarians; and the English press—particularly the *Standard*, which is notoriously hostile to us—willingly lends them its assistance. The grossest calumnies respecting our conduct towards the French population and the prisoners in our hands are circulated almost daily by that newspaper, and always purport to come either from eye-witnesses or other well-informed sources. A refutation of these shameful slanders is accordingly being despatched to-day to certain London newspapers that are

friendly to us. The Chief himself dictated the greater part of this communication, and, when he had finished, he added: "Write to Bernstorff that I decline in future to notice any suggestion for entering into a controversy with English newspapers. The Ambassador must act on his own responsibility."

Just as we sat down to table, one of the Court officials announced that the Crown Prince proposed to come to dinner and to stay for the night. The Prince's secretary at the time asked that the bureau and the large salon next the Chancellor's room should be prepared for the five gentlemen who accompanied his Royal Highness. The Chief replied, "We cannot give up the bureau, as we want it for our work." He then placed his dressing room at their disposal, and further proposed that either Blumenthal or Eulenburg should sleep in his bedroom. He required the salon for the reception of the French negotiators and any Princes who might call upon him. The Court official went off, pulling a long face, and was impertinent enough to make some remarks in the corridor about "discourtesy" and so forth.

Count Lehndorff dined with us, and the conversation was very lively. Some allusion having been made to Frederick the Great's statue in Unter den Linden, which had been decorated with black, red and yellow flags, the Minister condemned Wurmb for allowing this controversy to be stirred up. "This stupid quarrel about the colours should not have been reopened, and it once more proves Wurmb's incapacity. For me the question is settled and done with, since the North German flag has been adopted. Otherwise this battle of colours is a matter of indifference to me. As far as I am concerned they may be green, yellow, and all the colours of a fancy dress ball, or they can take the banner of Mecklenburg-Strelitz. Only the Prussian soldier will have nothing to do with the black, red, and yellow."

The Chief then spoke of the peace, which he still considered remote, adding: "If they (the French Government) go to Orleans, we shall follow them there, and further—right down to the sea shore." He read out some telegrams, including one giving a list of the troops in Paris. "There are supposed to be 180,000 men in all, but there are hardly 60,000 real soldiers amongst them. The mobile and national guards with their snuff-boxes (a reference to their obsolete weapons) are not to be reckoned as soldiers."

I asked if I should telegraph about the report of artillery and rifle-fire in the streets of Paris, which people fancied they had heard. He said I was to do so. "But not yet, I suppose, about the negotiations with Favre?" "Yes," he replied, and then went on as follows: "First at Haute-Maison, near Montry, then the same evening at Ferrières, and next day a third conversation, but without effect, as regards the armistice and the peace. Other French parties have also entered into negotiations with us," he said, and gave some indications from which I gathered that he referred to the Empress Eugénie.

Something else led him to speak of his skill in shooting. He said that as a young man he could hit a sheet of paper with a pistol at a hundred yards, and had shot off the heads of ducks in the pond.

He then mentioned that he had again complained to Treskow of the "short commons at the Royal table," at which Treskow pulled a long face. "But if I am to work well I must have sufficient food. I cannot make a proper peace if I do not get enough to eat and drink. That's a necessity of my trade, and therefore I prefer to dine at home."

The conversation then turned on the dead languages—I cannot now say how. "When I was in the first class at the high school," he said, "I was able to write and speak Latin very well. I should now find it extremely difficult; and I have quite forgotten Greek. I cannot understand why people take so much trouble with these languages. It must be merely because learned men do not wish to lessen the value of what they have themselves so laboriously acquired." I ventured to remind him of the mental discipline thus provided. The Chief replied, "Yes; but if you think Greek is a *disciplina mentis*, the Russian language is far better in that respect. It might be introduced instead of Greek—and it has immediate practical value in addition."

We then spoke of the way in which the Schleswig-Holstein question was treated by the Bundestag in the fifties. Count Bismarck-Bohlen, who had come in in the meantime, remarked that those debates must have been dull enough to send every one to sleep. "Yes," said the Chief, "in Frankfurt they slept over the negotiations with their eyes open. Altogether it was a sleepy and insipid crowd, and things only became endurable after I had added the pepper." He then told us a delightful story about

Count Rechberg, who was at that time Austrian Minister to the Bundestag. "On one occasion he said something to me which I was obliged to answer very roughly. He replied that unless I withdrew my words it would be a case of going out on to the Bockenheimer Haide (a place where it was customary to settle affairs of honour). 'I never withdraw my words,' said I, carelessly, 'so we must settle it in that way, and it occurs to me that the garden down stairs would be a very suitable place. But in order that people may not think that I represent my King pistol in hand, without further ceremony I shall write down here the cause of our quarrel. After you have read it over you will sign it, and thus testify to its correctness. In the meantime there is one of our officers lodging here who will oblige me, and you can choose one of your own officers.' I rang the bell and sent word to the officer, requesting him to call upon me; and then went on writing while Rechberg strode up and down the room—and gluck, gluck, gluck (here the Minister mimicked the act of drinking) he swallowed one glass of water after another. Of course not because he was afraid, but because he was considering whether he ought not first to ask permission of his Government. I quietly continued to write. The officer came and said he would gladly oblige me. I begged him to wait a moment. On my return Rechberg said he would think over the matter until morning, to which I agreed. As I did not hear from him next day, however, I sent the Mecklenburg Minister, old Oertzen, to deliver a formal challenge. Oertzen was told he was not at home. He went again next day, but Rechberg was still not to be seen. He had evidently written to Vienna and was waiting for an answer. At length Oertzen came to me after having spoken to him. Rechberg was prepared to withdraw what he had said and offer an apology, either in writing or verbally, just as I liked. He would also come to me if I wished. I went to his place, however, and the affair was settled."

I asked him then about the celebrated story of the cigars. "Which do you mean?" "Why, about the cigar you lit, Excellency, when Rechberg was smoking in your presence." "Thun, you mean. Yes, that was very simple. I went to him while he was at work, and he was smoking. He begged me to excuse him for a moment. I waited a while and finding it rather slow, as he did not offer me a cigar, I took one of

my own and asked him for a light—which he gave me with rather a surprised look. But I have another story of the same kind. At the sittings of the Military Commission, when Rochow represented Prussia at the Bundestag, Austria was the only one who smoked. Rochow, who was passionately addicted to smoking, would gladly have done the same, but had not sufficient confidence. When I came I also felt a longing for a cigar, and as I could not see why I should deny myself I begged the presiding power to give me a light, apparently much to his and the other gentleman's astonishment and displeasure. It was evidently an event for them all. For the time being only Austria and Prussia smoked. But the remaining gentlemen obviously considered the matter of so much importance that they wrote home for instructions as to how they were to act in the circumstances. The authorities were in no hurry. The affair was one that demanded careful consideration, and for nearly six months the two great Powers smoked alone. Then Schrenkh, the Bavarian Minister, began to assert the dignity of his office by lighting his weed. Nostitz, the Saxon, had certainly a great desire to do the same, but had probably not yet received the permission of his Minister. On seeing Bothmer, of Hanover, however, allow himself that liberty, Nostitz, who was strongly Austrian in his sympathies, having sons in the Austrian army, must have come to an understanding with Rechberg, with the result that he too at the next sitting pulled out his cigar case and puffed away with the rest. Only the representatives of Würtemberg and Darmstadt now remained, and they were non-smokers. The honour and dignity of their States, however, imperiously demanded that they should follow suit, and so as a matter of fact the Würtemberger pulled out a cigar at the next sitting—I can still see it in my mind's eye, a long, thin, yellow thing of the colour of rye straw—and smoked at least half of it as a burnt-offering on the altar of patriotism. Hesse-Darmstadt was the only one who finally refrained—probably conscious that he was not strong enough to enter into rivalry with the others."

Friday, September 23rd.—Beautiful weather this morning. I took a walk in the park before the Chief got up. On my return I met Keudell, who called out "War! A letter from Favre rejecting our demands. The Chief has given instructions to com-

municate the letter to the press with certain comments, hinting that the present occupant of Wilhelmshöhe is after all not so bad and might be of use to us."

Saturday, September 24th.—The Minister spoke at dinner about the ostentatious decorations of the great hall of the château, which he has now seen for the first time. The Chief's verdict was:—"All extremely costly, but not particularly beautiful, and still less comfortable." He then continued:—"A ready-made property like this would not give me any genuine satisfaction. It was made by others, and not by myself. True, there are many things in it really beautiful, but one misses the pleasure of creating and altering. It is also quite a different thing when I have to ask myself if I can afford to spend five or ten thousand thalers on this or that improvement, and when there is no need to think about the cost. In the end it must become tiresome to have always enough and more than enough."

Sunday, September 25th.—At table we somehow came to discuss the Jews. "They have no real home," said the Chief. They are international—Europeans, cosmopolitans, nomads. Their fatherland is Zion, Jerusalem. Otherwise they are citizens of the whole world, and hold together everywhere. There are amongst them some good, honest people, as for instance one at our own place in Pomerania, who traded in hides and such things. Business cannot have prospered with him, as he became bankrupt. He begged me not to press my claim, and promised that he would pay by instalments, when he could. Yielding to my old habit, I agreed, and he actually paid off the debt. I received instalments from him while I was still in Frankfurt as Minister to the Bundestag, and I believe that if I lost anything at all, I must have lost less than his other creditors. Certainly not many such Jews are to be met with in our large towns. They have also their own special virtues. They are credited with respect for their parents, faithfulness in marriage, and benevolence."

Monday, September 26th.—In the morning wrote various paragraphs for the press on the following theme: It is urged that we cannot be allowed to bombard Paris, with its numerous museums, beautiful public buildings and monuments; that to do so would be a crime against civilisation. But why not? Paris is a fortress, and if it has been filled with treasures of art, if it possesses

magnificent palaces and other beautiful structures, that does not alter this character. A fortress is an instrument for warlike operations which must be rendered powerless without regard to whatever else may be bound up with it. If the French wanted to preserve their monuments and collections of books and pictures from the dangers of war they should not have surrounded them with fortifications. Besides, the French themselves did not hesitate for a moment to bombard Rome, which contained monuments of far greater value, the destruction of which would be an irretrievable loss. Also sent off an article on the bellicose tendencies of the French Radicals previous to the declaration of war, for use in our newspapers in Alsace.

At dinner, as we were discussing military matters, the Chief declared, *inter alia*, that the uhlands were the best cavalry. The lance gave the men great self-confidence. It was urged that it was a hindrance in getting through underwood, but that was a mistake. On the contrary, the lance was useful in moving aside the branches. He knew that from experience, as, although he first served in the rifles, he was afterwards in the Landwehr cavalry. The abolition of the lance in the entire mounted Landwehr was a blunder. The curved sabre was not much use, particularly as it was often blunt. The straight thrusting sword was much more practical.

In the evening I was again called to the Chief on several occasions to take instructions. Amongst other things, I ascertained that, "while Favre's report respecting his interviews with the Chancellor shows it is true, a desire to give a faithful account of what passed, it is not quite accurate, which is not surprising in the circumstances, especially as there were three different meetings." In his statement the question of an armistice occupies a secondary position, whereas, in fact, it was the chief point. Favre was prepared to pay a considerable cash indemnity. In the matter of a truce two alternatives were discussed. First, the surrender to us of a portion of the fortifications of Paris, namely at a point which would give us the command of the city, we on our part to allow free communication with the outer world. The second was that we should forgo that condition, but that Strassburg and Toul should be surrendered to us. We put forward the latter demand because the retention of these towns in the hands of the French increases our difficulties of commissariat

transport. The Chancellor stated that with respect to a cession of territory, he could only disclose its extent and frontiers when our demand had been accepted in principle. On Favre requesting to have at least an indication of what we proposed in this respect, he was informed that for our security in the future we required Strassburg, "the key of our house," the departments of the Upper and Lower Rhine, Metz, and a portion of the Moselle department. The object of the armistice was to submit the question of peace to a National Assembly to be summoned for the purpose.

Again called to the Chief. "The King wishes to see some of the newspapers, and he desires to have the most important passages marked. I have proposed Brass to him, and when the papers come, put that one (the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*) always aside for him." He added, smiling, "Just mark some places for the sake of appearances, it does not much matter what, and send me up the paper."

At tea we hear a great piece of news:—the Italians have occupied Rome, the Pope and the diplomatists remaining in the Vatican.

Tuesday, September 27th.—Prince Radziwill and Knobelsdorff, of the general staff, joined us at dinner. In speaking of that part of Favre's report in which he says that he wept, the Minister thinks he can only have pretended to do so. "It is true," he said, "that he looked as if he had done so, and I tried to some extent to console him. On my observing him more closely, however, I felt quite certain that he had not succeeded in squeezing out a single tear. It was all merely a piece of acting on his part. He thought to work upon me in the same manner as a Parisian lawyer tries to move a jury. I am perfectly convinced that he was painted at Ferrières—particularly at the second interview. That morning he looked much greyer and quite green under the eyes—I am prepared to bet that it was paint—grey and green, to give himself an appearance of deep suffering. It is, of course, possible that he was deeply affected; but then he can be no politician or he would know that pity has nothing to do with politics." After a while the Minister added: "When I hinted something about Strassburg and Metz, he assumed a look as if he thought I was jesting. I could have given him the answer which the great fur dealer of Unter den Linden in Berlin once gave me. I went there to choose a fur coat, and on his naming a very

high price for one to which I had taken a fancy, I said, 'Surely you are joking.' 'No,' he replied, 'I never make jokes in business.'

The conversation then turned upon the occupation of Rome and the Pope's position in the Vatican, on which point the Chief said, amongst other things: "He must remain a Sovereign. The only question is, how? It would be possible to do more for him if the Ultramontanes were not so much opposed to us everywhere. I am accustomed to pay people back in their own coin. I should like to know how our Harry (von Arnim, the North German Envoy to the Holy See) now feels. Probably, like his reports, his feelings change three times within the twenty-four hours. He is really too distinguished an Ambassador for such a small Sovereign. The Pope, however, is not merely the ruler of the Papal States, he is also the head of the Catholic Church."

After dinner, just as we had finished our coffee, the American general, Burnside, who had called whilst we were at table, presented himself again.

After the Minister had observed to his visitor that he had come rather late to see the fighting, he went on to say that in July we had not the least desire for war, and that when we were surprised by the declaration of hostilities, no one, neither the King nor the people, had thought of any conquests. Our army was an excellent one for a war of defence, but it would be difficult to use it for schemes of aggrandisement, because with us the army was the people itself, which did not lust after glory, as it required and wished for peace. But for that very reason both popular sentiment and the press now demanded a better frontier. For the sake of the maintenance of peace we must secure ourselves in future against attack from a vainglorious and covetous nation, and that security could only be found in a better defensive position than we had hitherto had. Burnside seemed inclined to agree, and he praised very highly our excellent organisation and the gallantry of our troops.

Wednesday, September 28th.—The general conversation at dinner gradually adopted a more serious tone. The Chancellor began by complaining that Voigts-Rhetz in his report had not said a single word about the gallant charge of the two regiments of dragoon guards at Mars la Tour, which nevertheless he himself had ordered, and which had saved the 10th Army Corps. "It

was necessary—I grant that; but then it ought not to have been passed over in silence.”

The Minister then began a lengthy speech, which ultimately assumed the character of a dialogue between himself and Katt. Pointing to a spot of grease on the tablecloth, the Chief remarked: “Just in the same way as that spot spreads and spreads, so the feeling that it is beautiful to die for one’s country and honour, even without recognition, sinks deeper into the skin of the people now that it has been bathed in blood—it spreads wider and wider. . . . Yes, yes, the non-commissioned officer has the same views and the same sense of duty as the lieutenant and the colonel—with us Germans. That feeling in general goes very deep through all classes of the nation. . . . The French are a mass that can easily be brought under one influence, and then they produce a great effect. Amongst our people everybody has his own opinion. But when once a large number of Germans come to hold the same opinion, great things can be done with them. If they were all agreed they would be all-powerful. . . . The French have not that sense of duty which enables a man to allow himself to be shot dead alone in the dark. And that comes from the remnant of faith which still abides in our people; it comes from the knowledge that there is Someone there Who sees me even if my lieutenant does not see me.”

“Do you believe that the soldiers reflect on such things, Excellency?” asked Fürstenstein.

“‘Reflect?’ no. It is a feeling—a frame of mind; an instinct, if you like. When once they reflect they lose that feeling; they argue themselves out of it. . . . I cannot conceive how men can live together in an orderly manner, how one can do his duty and allow others to do theirs without faith in a revealed religion, in God, Who wills what is right, in a higher Judge and a future life.”

The Grand Duke of Weimar was announced. But the Minister continued, it might well be for a quarter of an hour longer, at times suddenly departing from his proper theme, and frequently repeating the same idea in other words: “If I were no longer a Christian I would not serve the King another hour.

“If I did not put my trust in God I should certainly place none in any earthly masters. Why, I had quite enough to live on, and had a sufficiently distinguished position. Why should I

labour and toil unceasingly in this world, and expose myself to worry and vexation if I did not feel that I must do my duty towards God? If I did not believe in a Divine Providence which has ordained this German nation to something good and great, I would at once give up my trade as a Statesman or I should never have gone into the business. Orders and titles have no attraction for me. A resolute faith in a life after death—for that reason I am a Royalist, otherwise I am by nature a Republican. Yes, I am a Republican in the highest degree; and the firm determination which I have displayed for ten long years in presence of all possible forms of absurdity at Court is solely due to my resolute faith. Deprive me of this faith and you deprive me of my fatherland. If I were not a firm believer in Christianity, if I had not the wonderful basis of religion, you would never have had such a Chancellor of the Confederation. If I had not the wonderful basis of religion I should have turned my back to the whole Court—and if you are able to find me a successor who has that basis I will retire at once. But I am living amongst heathens. I do not want to make any proselytes, but I feel a necessity to confess this faith."

Katt said that the ancients had also shown much self-sacrifice and devotion. They also had the love of country, which had spurred them on to great deeds. He was convinced that many people nowadays acted in the same way through devotion to the State, and a sense of duty to society.

The Chief replied that this self-sacrifice and devotion to duty towards the State and the King amongst us was merely a remnant of the faith of our fathers and grandfathers in an altered form,—“more confused, and yet active, no longer faith, but nevertheless faithful.” “How willingly would I go away! I enjoy country life, the woods and nature. Sever my connection with God and I am a man who would pack up to-morrow and be off to Varzin and say ‘Kiss my —,’ and cultivate his oats. You would then deprive me of my King, because why?—if there is no Divine commandment, why should I subordinate myself to these Hohenzollerns? They are a Suabian family, no better than my own, and in that case no concern of mine. Why, I should be worse than Jacoby, who might then be accepted as President or even as King. He would be in many ways more sensible, and at all events cheaper.”

Thursday, September 29th.—At dinner the conversation turned on the Grand Duke of Weimar and such matters. The Minister said that the Grand Duke had been to see him the evening before, and wished to obtain some information which he (the Chief) was unable to give him. "He thinks that I am also *his* Chancellor. On my politely declining, he said he must then apply to the King. 'Yes,' I replied, 'but in that case his Majesty will have to refer in the first place to his Minister.' 'And the Minister?' (Here the Chief bent his head a little to one side and smiled sweetly.) 'He will maintain an impenetrable silence.'"

Sunday, October 2nd.—At teatime to a remark that the poorer classes suffered comparatively more than the upper and wealthier, the Chief replied that this reminded him of Sheridan's observation at Reims, for it was perhaps after all as well it should be so, as there were more poor people than well-to-do, and we must always keep in mind the object of the war, which was to secure an advantageous peace. The more Frenchmen suffered from the war the greater would be the number of those who would long for peace, whatever our conditions might be. "And their treacherous frantireurs," he continued, "who now stand in blouses with their hands in their pockets, and in the next moment when our soldiers have passed by take their rifles out of the ditch and fire at them. It will come to this, that we will shoot down every male inhabitant. Really that would be no worse than in battle, where they fire at a distance of 2,000 yards, and cannot recognise each other's faces."

Monday, October 3rd.—We were joined at table by the Grand Chamberlain, Perponcher, and a Herr von Thadden, who was to be appointed a member of the Administration at Reims. The Chief told several anecdotes of the old Rothschild of Frankfurt. He had on one occasion heard Rothschild talking to a corn-dealer who wanted to buy some wheat. The latter said that such a rich man ought not to put the price of wheat so high. "What have my riches got to do with it?" replied the old gentleman. "Is my wheat any the worse because I am rich?" "He gave dinners however which did all honour to his wealth. I remember once when the present King, then Prince of Prussia, was in Frankfurt and I invited him to dinner. Rothschild had also intended to invite him. The Prince told him, however, that he must settle that with me, otherwise he would be quite as pleased to dine with him as with me. Rothschild then wanted me to give up his Royal

Highness to him. I refused, whereupon he had the *naïveté* to propose that his dinner should be brought to my house, as of course he did not partake of it himself—he only ate meat prepared in Jewish fashion. Naturally I also declined this proposal, although there can be no doubt that his dinner would have been better than mine.” The Chief was once told by old Metternich, —“who, by the way, was very well disposed towards me,”—that at one time when he had lodged with Rothschild, on his way to Johannisberg (Metternich’s estate), his host had put six bottles of Johannisberg wine into his lunch basket for the road. These were taken out unopened on Metternich’s arrival at Johannisberg, where the Prince asked his chief cellarer what they cost per bottle. “Twelve florins,” was the answer. “Well then,” said Metternich, “send these six bottles back to Baron Rothschild when he gives his next order, but charge him fifteen florins a piece for them then, as they will have grown older by that time.”

Tuesday, October 4th.—In the evening the Chancellor talked about Moltke, remarking how gallantly he had attacked the punch bowl on a recent occasion, and in what excellent spirits he was. “I have not seen him looking so well for a long time past. That is the result of the war. It is his trade. I remember, when the Spanish question became acute, he looked ten years younger. Afterwards, when I told him that the Hohenzollern had withdrawn, he suddenly looked quite old and infirm. And when the French showed their teeth again ‘Molk’ was once more fresh and young. The matter finally ended in a *dîner à trois*—Molk, Roon and I—which resulted (here the Chancellor smiled a cunning smile) in the Ems telegram.”

We start early to-morrow morning, as we have a long journey to make. Our next halt will be at Versailles.

CHAPTER VI

Autumn Days at Versailles—The Capitulation of Metz—Thiers's Visit—First Negotiations for an Armistice—The Bombardment delayed.

THE day after our arrival at Versailles Keudell said to me we might remain in Versailles for about three weeks. Metz would soon be obliged to capitulate, as they now had only horseflesh to eat and no salt. They were still confident in Paris, although there was great mortality amongst their cattle, which were fed on compressed food. Burnside, who had been in the city, confirmed this news. The Minister was less sanguine. He told his valet to send to Berlin for his fur coats.

In the course of conversation the Minister said: "I heard something really characteristic to-day. The host of Princes who have followed us and who are lodging at the Hôtel des Reservoirs are living at the expense of the town! They let the municipality feed them, though they have merely come out of curiosity, and are nothing more than distinguished loafers. It is particularly shabby of the Duke of Coburg, who is a rich man, with an annual revenue of a million thalers. Such a piece of meanness ought to be noticed in the press. It is shameful for a Prince to allow himself to be fed by a town already so impoverished." The Chief again returned to this subject a little later. "The royal household is a very comprehensive conception, and so it is impossible to object to these gentlemen being fed. The King pays for the Crown Prince, and the Crown Prince for the other princely personages. But it is mean of the latter to help to suck the town dry, and the newspapers should not overlook it."

I afterwards asked the Minister whether I should send the press particulars of the not very gentlemanly conduct of the

Princes. "Certainly, why not?" he replied; "and you can also give the name of the Coburger—not in our own papers, however." The bolt was accordingly despatched to Metzler, of the Foreign Office in Berlin, who was to pass it on to the *Kölnische Zeitung*.

Friday, October 7th.—Hatzfeldt informed us at lunch that the Greek Minister in Paris, with a "family" of twenty-four or twenty-five persons, has come out to us on his way to Tours to join the delegation of the Government of National Defence. The Greeks, who are anxious to get away, pestered him with their lamentations. "Yes," said the Chief, "they too must be regarded with suspicion. They must first be identified according to their descriptions, and it must then be seen whether they have been properly circumcised. But no, that is not customary among the Greeks. What seems to me, however, more suspicious even than this enormous diplomatic family, is Wittgenstein, who comes out at the risk of his life on pretence of having despatches for me, and who afterwards turns out to have none. I wonder do they fancy that we shall tolerate this running to and fro between Paris and Kutusov?"

"But," said Hatzfeldt, "he might be able to bring us news from the city."

The Chief: "For that purpose he should bear a character that inspires confidence, and that he does not do."

The conversation then turned on the exhausted condition of the town of Versailles, which has had heavy expenses to bear during the last fortnight. The new Mayor, a M. Rameau, was granted an audience with the Chief to-day. Referring to this the Minister said: "I told him that they should raise a loan. 'Yes,' he replied, 'that would be possible, but then he must ask permission to go to Tours, as he required the authority of his Government for such a measure.' Of course I could not promise him that, and besides they would hardly give him the necessary authority there. Probably they think at Tours that it is the duty of the Versailles people to starve in order that we may be starved with them. But they forget that we are the stronger and take what we want. They have absolutely no idea what war is."

A reference to the neighbourhood between the palace and the Hôtel des Reservoirs brought up the subject of the distinguished guests who are staying at the latter house. Amongst other remarks upon the "troop of princes," the Chancellor said: "They

have nothing decent to eat at that hotel, possibly because the people think their highnesses wish to have it gratis."

Finally some one broached the question of tolerance, and at first the Chancellor expressed himself much in the same sense as he had done at St. Avold. He declared in decided terms for tolerance in matters of faith. "But," he added, "the Freethinkers are also not tolerant. They persecute believers, not indeed with the stake, since that is impossible, but with insult and mockery in the press. Amongst the people, so far as they are non-believers, there has also not been much progress. What pleasure it would afford them to see Pastor Knack hanged!"

Somebody having mentioned that early Protestantism had shown no tolerance, Bucher called attention to the fact that, according to Buckle, the Huguenots were zealous reactionaries, as was, indeed, the case with all the reformers of that period. "They were not exactly reactionaries," replied the Chief, "but petty tyrants—each parson was a small Pope." He then referred to the course taken by Calvin against Servetus, and added "Luther was just the same." I pointed to the rigid intolerance of the New England States towards the members of other religious communions and to their tyrannical liquor law. "And the Sabbath-keeping," said the Chief, "that is a horrible tyranny. I remember the first time I went to England on landing at Hull I whistled in the street. An Englishman, whose acquaintance I had made on board, said to me, 'Pray, sir, don't whistle!' I asked, 'Why not? is it forbidden here?' 'No,' he said, 'but it is the Sabbath.' That made me so angry that I immediately took a ticket on another steamer for Edinburgh, as it did not at all suit me not to be able to whistle when I had a mind to. In other respects I am not at all opposed to keeping the Sabbath holy. On the contrary, as a landed proprietor, I promote it as much as possible. Only I will not force the people. Every one must know best for himself how to prepare for the future life. No work should be done on Sunday, because it is wrong as being a breach of the Divine commandment, and unfair to man, who requires rest. That of course does not apply to the service of the State and in particular to the diplomatic service, in which despatches and telegrams are delivered on Sundays which must be dealt with at once. There can also be no objection to our country people saving their hay or corn on a fine Sunday after a

long spell of bad weather. I could not bring myself to coerce my farmers in those things. . . . I can afford to do as I think right myself, as the damage done by a possible rainy Monday would not affect me. Our landed proprietors consider that it is not respectable to allow their people to work on Sunday even in such an emergency!" I mentioned that pious families in America do not even cook on the Sabbath, and that on being once invited to dinner in New York on a Sunday there was only cold meat on the table. "In Frankfurt," said the Chief, "when I had more liberty we always dined very simply on Sundays, and I never ordered the carriage out on account of the servants." I ventured to remark that in Leipzig all shops were closed on Sunday, with the exception of the bakers, and some tobacconists. "Yes, that is as it should be; but I do not want to put pressure on anybody. I might possibly do it in the country by not buying from a tradesman—that is if his goods were not of exceptionally high quality, for then I do not know whether I should be able to stand firm. Care should be taken, however, that noisy trades, such as that of the blacksmith, should not be carried on in the neighbourhood of a church on Sunday."

We were thirteen at table to-day, Dr. Lauer being one of the number. I pointed this out to Bucher, who sat near me. "Don't speak so loud," he replied. "The Chief has a very sharp ear, and he is superstitious on that point."

Monday, October 10th.—In the evening I was called to the Chief to receive instructions respecting Garibaldi, who, according to a telegram from Tours, had arrived there and offered his services to the French Republic. The Chancellor said: "But just tell me why you sometimes write in such a sledge-hammer style? It is true I have not seen the text of your telegram about Russell, but your recent article on the Ultramontanes in the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* was very strongly worded. Surely the Saxons are usually regarded as a very polite race, and if you have any ambition to become Court Historian to the Foreign Office, you must not be so violent." I ventured to reply that I could also be polite, and was capable of irony without rudeness. "Well, then," he said, "be polite but without irony. Write diplomatically. Even in a declaration of war one observes the rules of politeness."

Wednesday, October 12th.—The Chief dined with the King

to-day, but afterwards joined us at table, where he complained of the way in which the smaller potentates worried "their" Chancellor with all sorts of questions and counsels, "until Prince Charles noticed my appealing glance and saved me from their clutches."

Burnside came in while we were at tea. Apparently the Americans can do nothing further in the way of negotiations. The general wished to see the Chief again this evening. I dissuaded him, pointing out that although, owing to his great regard for the Americans, the Chancellor would receive him if he were announced, yet consideration ought to be paid to the heavy pressure upon his time. This was quite in accord with the Chief's wishes, as on my being summoned to him at 10.30 P.M. he said: "As you know Burnside, please point out to him how much I am occupied, but in such a way that he will not think I have prompted you. He never quite finishes what he has got to say, but always keeps back something for another time. It is only fair that he should know how busy I am, and that I am a matter-of-fact man. I have a weakness for these Americans, and they know it, but they ought to have some consideration for me. Point that out to him, and say that I must make short work of it, even with crowned heads. Besides, I require six or seven hours daily for my work, and must therefore remain at it until late into the night."

Thursday, October 13th. — While taking our coffee, the Chancellor again read us a portion of a letter from "Johanna" (his wife), which contained some very severe judgments upon the French, referring amongst other things, to Paris as an "abominable Babel."

Friday, October 14th. — Busy working for the post up to mid-day. Also reported that General Boyer, Bazaine's first adjutant, had arrived at Versailles from Metz for the purpose of negotiating with us. The Chief, however, does not seem to wish to treat seriously with him, at least to-day. He said in the bureau: "What day of the month is it?" "The 14th, Excellency." "Ah, that was Hochkirchen and Jena, days of disaster for Prussia. We must not begin any business to-day." It may also be observed that to-day is a Friday.

At dinner the Chief, after thinking for a moment, said, smiling: "I have a lovely idea in connection with the conclusion

of peace. It is to appoint an International Court for the trial of all those who have instigated the war, newspaper writers, deputies, senators, and ministers. The Emperor also. He is not quite so innocent as he wants to make out. My idea was that each of the great Powers should appoint an equal number of judges, America, England, Russia and so forth, and that we should be the prosecutors. But the English and the Russians would of course not agree to it, so that the Court might after all be composed of the two nations who have suffered most from the war, that is to say, of Frenchmen and Germans." The Minister also said: "I have read the article in the *Indépendance Belge*, which Gramont is believed to have written. He blames us for not having set Napoleon at liberty at Sedan, and he is not pleased at our marching on Paris, instead of merely occupying Alsace and Lorraine as a pledge. I thought at first it might have come from Beust or some other good friend in Austria, but I am now convinced that it must have been written by a Frenchman." He gave his reasons for this opinion, and then continued: "His argument would be just if his assumption were correct, namely, that we really did not want Alsace, but only an indemnity. But as it is it will be better to have Paris as well as Alsace as pledges. When one wants something decent the pledge can never be of too great value."

A reference was made to Boyer, who created a great sensation in the town, where the uniform of a French general has not been seen for a long time past, and who was greeted by the crowd with shouts of "Vive la France!" He declared, it is said, that the army in Metz remained faithful to the Emperor, and would have nothing to do with the republic of Parisian lawyers. The Chancellor also expressed himself to this effect, adding: "The General is one of those people who become suddenly lean when they grow excited. Unquestionably he is also a thorough scoundrel, but he can still blush." In reading the following further remarks by the Minister, it must be remembered that Gambetta had already preached war *à outrance*, and that the Parisian press almost daily recommended some new infamy.

The Chancellor referred to various horrors that had again been committed recently by bands of guerillas. He quoted the proverb, *Wie es in den Wald schallt, so schallt es wieder heraus*, (The wood re-echoes what is shouted into it,) and said that to show any con-

sideration to these treacherous franc-tireurs was a "culpable laziness in killing." "It is treason to our country." "Our people are very good marksmen, but bad executioners. Every village in which an act of treachery has been committed should be burnt to the ground, and all the male inhabitants hanged."

Count Bismarck-Bohlen then related that the village of Hably, where a squadron of Silesian hussars was set upon by franc-tireurs with the knowledge of the inhabitants, so that they only succeeded in bringing away eleven horses, was actually burnt to the ground. The Chief, as was only right and proper, commended this act of energy.

The Chancellor's policy appears to be hampered by other influences. He said at table: "It is really a great nuisance that I must first discuss every plan I form with five or six persons, who as a rule know nothing about the matter. I must listen to their objections, and am forced to refute them politely. In this way I have been recently obliged to spend three whole days over an affair that I could otherwise have settled in three minutes. It is exactly as if I began to give my opinion on the position of a battery, and the officers—whose business I do not understand—were obliged to reply to my argument."

The Chief afterwards related the following: "Moltke and Roon were with me yesterday, and I explained to them my ideas. Roon who is accustomed to Parliamentary procedure, was silent and let me speak, and then agreed with what I said. 'Molk,' whose profile resembles more and more every day that of a bird of prey, also appeared to be listening. But when I had finished he came out with something utterly different, and I saw that he had not paid the least attention to my explanation, but had on the contrary been spinning out some ideas of his own which had nothing to do with the matter. 'Molk' is an exceedingly able man, and I am convinced that whatever he gave his attention to he would do well. But for years past he has devoted himself to one single subject, and he has come to have no head and no interest for anything else. It put me in a temper to find I had been talking to deaf ears, but I took my revenge. Instead of repeating my explanation I observed to Roon: 'You have given me your opinion, therefore you have followed what I said. Will you now have the kindness to explain the matter once more?'"

Sunday, October 16th.—This morning I received another letter

from Bamberger, who writes from Lausanne. He thinks Bismarck can do what he likes if he will only follow a sound German policy, that is to say, "if a United German State is now firmly established." At his request I submitted a number of points in his letter to the Minister. The Chief said he would be very pleased to see Bamberger here, as his local knowledge of Paris would be very useful once we got in the city. "Then he can also on his return explain many things in his own circles which it would be difficult to write. It is strange, though, that they should think I do not desire to see Germany united. The cause is not progressing as it ought to do, owing to the constant tergiversation of Bavaria and Würtemberg, and because we do not know exactly what King Lewis thinks. For the same reasons, if this unity is at length secured, many things to which many people look forward will still be wanting."

Monday, October 17th.—In the evening we were told to pack our boxes, and that the carriages were to take their place behind those of the King's suite opposite the Prefecture, in case of an alarm in the night. A sortie has been expected since yesterday.

Tuesday, October 18th.—The Chief took lunch with us to-day, a thing which has seldom happened recently.

The Chief then read a number of particularly edifying private letters to the Emperor Napoleon which had been published by the Provisional Government, his comments upon them also containing occasional references to personages in Berlin. The Minister said, with reference to a letter from Pourtales: "Schleinitz was very discreet in speaking of his colleagues, but being a vain old coxcomb he was exceedingly loquacious with women of all sorts and conditions." (Turning to Delbrück :) "You should just have a glance at the police reports which Manteuffel had prepared on this subject."

The Minister afterwards referred to a statement in the *Kraj*, and in connection therewith to the Poles in general. He spoke a good deal about the victories of the Great Elector in the East, and the alliance with Charles the Tenth of Sweden, which had promised him great advantages. It was a pity, however, that his relations with Holland prevented him from following up those advantages and fully availing himself of them. He would otherwise have had a good prospect of extending his power in Western Poland. On Delbrück remarking that then Prussia would not

have remained a German State, the Chief replied : "It would not have done any great harm. In that case there would have been a northern State somewhat similar to Austria in the South. Poland would have been to us what Hungary is to Austria." This observation reminded me of what he had previously said on one occasion, namely, that he had advised the Crown Prince to have his son taught the Polish language, which, however, to his regret, was not done.

Wednesday, October 19th.—At dinner, at which Count Waldersee joined us, the Minister remarked : "It would be a good plan if the inhabitants of a few square miles of those districts where our troops are fired at from behind hedges, and where the rails are loosened and stones laid upon the railway lines, were transported to Germany and kept under close watch there." Bucher related how, on his journey hither, an officer had borrowed his revolver and played with it ostentatiously while they were passing under a bridge from which French scamps were accustomed to spit down upon our people. The Chief exclaimed : "Why *play*? He should have waited till they had done it, and then fired at them."

If I rightly understand, Weimar had "commanded" the Chancellor to call upon him this evening, as he wished to obtain information on some subject. The Chief said : "I sent him word that I was detained by my health and the business of State."

Waldersee understands that, during the burning of the Palace of Saint Cloud, some of the minor Princes had "saved for themselves" various "souvenirs," such as vases trinkets and books, but were forced to return them by order of the Crown Prince. Bohlen made some outrageous jokes upon the Weimar Order of the White Falcon, which led to a discussion on Orders in general, and the plentiful crop of this species of fruit which many people have already harvested. "Yes," said the Chief, "such quantities of tinplate! If it were only possible to give away the Orders of which one has too many! To you, for instance, Dr. Busch. How would you like it?"

Thursday, October 20th.—Morning and afternoon busy writing various articles and telegrams.

The arrest of Jacoby by the military authorities was one of the subjects discussed at dinner, and the Chief once more ex-

pressed great doubts as to its expediency. Bismarck-Bohlen was highly pleased that "the chattering scoundrel had been locked up!" The Chancellor's reply was very characteristic. He said: "I am not at all pleased. A party man might be, because it would gratify his vindictiveness. A statesman knows no such feeling. In politics the only question is, what good result will it do to ill-treat a political opponent?"

Some one remarked that the Grand Duke of Weimar was very angry because the Chief had not gone to see him as desired, whereupon the Minister turned to Keudell, and said rather sharply: "Tell — (I could not catch the name) immediately that I was indignant at his Gracious Master making such claims upon my time and health, and that he should have such an erroneous idea of the duties which I have to discharge." "I can now understand how poor Wartsdorf came to die so young." "The Coburger worries me almost as much. He has written me a twelve-page letter on German politics, but I have given him a proper answer. I told him that of all the points he mentioned there was only one which had not been long since dealt with, and that one was not worth discussing. He did us a good service, however, in 1866. It is true that previously he was bad enough — when he wished to be Emperor of Germany, and put himself at the head of a secret shooting club. At that time I seriously intended to have him kidnapped by a regiment of hussars and brought to Magdeburg, and I submitted my proposal to the King. He is eaten up with vanity." The Minister then related that the Duke had ordered a picture to be painted of himself as the victor of Eckernförde, seated on a prancing charger with a bombshell exploding at his feet; while, as a matter of fact, "he did not on that occasion display any heroism, but, on the contrary, kept at a respectable distance from gunshot—which was quite a sensible thing for him to do."

Sunday, October 22nd.—The surrender of Metz is expected within the next week. Prince Frederick Charles desires, if I rightly understand, a capitulation on the same conditions as at Sedan and Toul; while the Chancellor, for political reasons, is in favour of a more considerate treatment of the garrison. The King seems to hesitate between the two courses.

The Chief said yesterday to the Mayor of Versailles: "No elections, no peace. But the gentlemen of Paris will not hear of

them. The American generals who were in Paris with the object of inducing them to hold the elections tell me that there is no getting them to consider the matter. Only Trochu said they were not yet so hard pressed that they need enter into negotiations,—the others would not hear of them, not even of submitting the question to the country." "I told him finally," said the Minister, "that we should have no alternative but to come to an understanding with Napoleon, and to force him back upon the French again. He did not believe we would do that, as it would be the grossest insult we could offer them. I replied that it was nevertheless in the interests of the victor to leave the defeated nation under a *régime* which would have to rely solely upon the army. In such circumstances it would be impossible to think of foreign wars. In conclusion, I advised him not to make the mistake of thinking that Napoleon had no hold upon the people. He had the army on his side. Boyer had negotiated with me in the name of the Emperor. How far the present Government in Paris had the support of the people remained to be seen. The rural population could hardly share the opinion that peace was not to be thought of. He then gave his own view respecting the conditions of peace, namely, the razing of their fortresses and ours, and the disarmament of both countries in proportion to the population, &c. As I told him at the commencement, these people have no right conception of what war really is."

Delbrück mentioned that during the preliminary negotiations for the reorganisation of Germany, Bavaria laid claim to a kind of joint participation in the representation of the Federal State in foreign countries, the Bavarian idea being that when the Prussian, or rather the German, Minister or Ambassador was absent, the Bavarian representative should have the conduct of affairs. The Chief said: "No, whatever they like, but that is really impossible. The question is not what Ambassador we are to have, but what instructions he is to receive, and under that arrangement there would be two Ministers for Foreign Affairs in Germany." The Count then proceeded to further develop this point of view, illustrating it by examples.

Tuesday, October 25th.—This morning the Chief said, in reference to a statement in the *Pays* mentioning an indemnity of three and a half milliards: "Nonsense! I shall demand much more than that!"

During dinner the subject of "William Tell" was introduced, I cannot now remember how, and the Minister confessed that, even as a boy, he could not endure that character; first, because he shot at his own son, and secondly, because he killed Gessler in a treacherous way. "It would have been more natural and noble to my mind if, instead of shooting at the boy, for after all the best archer might hit him instead of the apple, he had immediately shot down the Governor. That would have been legitimate wrath provoked by a cruel command. But the lurking and skulking is not to my taste. It is not the proper style for a hero, not even for franc-tireurs."

Wednesday, October 26th.—In the evening I wrote another article on the instructions of the Chief to the following effect. It is rumoured that Vienna diplomacy has again taken steps to induce the Germans to grant an armistice. We find it difficult to credit this report. The only advantage to the French of an armistice at the present moment would be to strengthen their resistance and to render it more difficult for us to enforce the conditions which we recognise as essential. Can that be the object Austria has in view in taking this measure? The following considerations are of an obvious nature. If the authorities in Vienna deprive us of the fruits of our victory, if we are prevented from securing that safe western frontier which we are striving to win, a new war with France is unavoidable, or rather the continuation of the one thus interrupted. It is quite clear where in such circumstances France would seek allies and probably find them. It is equally certain that in that case Germany would not wait until the recovery of France from her present chaotic condition, which would be promoted by a cessation of the war now in progress. Germany would be obliged to deal first with this future ally of France and to seek to render it powerless, and the latter standing alone would have to bear the cost of its own act in preventing us from attaining our present object. In other words, it might then happen that Austria would have to compensate us by the cession of Bohemia for the loss of Lorraine, which it once before alienated from the German Empire.

Friday, October 28th.—In the afternoon Moltke sent the Chief a telegram which reported that the capitulation of Metz was signed to-day at 12.45 P.M. The French army thus made prisoners

number in all 173,000 men, including 16,000 sick and wounded. Bennigsen, Friedenthal, and Von Blankenburg, a friend of the Chancellor's in his youth, joined us at dinner. From the French officers captured at Metz and their approaching transportation to Germany, the conversation turned upon General Ducrot and his disgraceful escape from Pont à Mousson. The Minister said: "He has written me a long letter explaining that there is no foundation for the charge of breach of faith we have brought against him, but he has not materially modified my view of the case." The Chief then related that recently an "intermediary of Gambetta's" had called upon him, and that towards the close of the conversation he asked whether we would recognise the Republic. "I replied," continued the Chief, "certainly, without any doubt or hesitation. Not only the Republic, but, if you like, a Gambetta dynasty; only it must secure us the advantages of a safe peace." "Or for the matter of that any dynasty, whether it be a Bleichröder or a Rothschild one."

Saturday, October 29th.—At dinner our great success at Metz was discussed. "That exactly doubles our number of prisoners," said the Minister—"no, it does more. We now have in Germany the army which Napoleon had in the field at the time of the battles of Weissenburg, Wörth, and Saarbrücken, with the exception of those whom we killed. The troops which the French now have were afterwards brought from Algiers and Rome, and newly recruited, together with a few thousand men under Vincy, who made off before Sedan. We have also nearly all their generals." The Chief then said Napoleon had requested that Marshals Bazaine, Lebœuf, and Canrobert, who had been taken at Metz, should be sent to him at Wilhelmsöhe. The Minister added, "That would make a whist party. I have no objection, and shall recommend the King to do so." He then went on to say that so many extraordinary events which no one could have imagined previously were now of daily occurrence that one might regard the most wonderful as being within the range of possibility. "Amongst other things it might well happen that we should hold a German Reichstag in Versailles, while Napoleon might summon the Legislative Chamber and the Senate to Cassel to consider the terms of peace. Napoleon is convinced that the former representative body is still legally in existence, an opinion against which there is little to be said, and that he could summon

it to meet wherever he liked—of course, however, only in France. Cassel would be a debatable question." The Chief then said that he had invited the representatives of the parties "with whom it is possible to discuss matters"—Friedenthal, Bennigsen, and Blankenburg—to come here in order to ascertain their views respecting a session of our Parliament at Versailles. "I was obliged to omit the Progressist party, as they only desire what is not possible. They are like Russians, who eat cherries in winter and want oysters in summer. When a Russian goes into a shop he asks for *Kaknye bud*, that is to say, for what does not exist."

After the first course Prince Albrecht, the father, came in and took a seat on the Chief's right. The old gentleman, like a genuine Prussian Prince, always gallant and loyal to his duty, has pressed forward with his cavalry beyond Orleans. He tells us that the engagement in Châteaudun was "horrible." He warmly praised the Duke of Meiningen, who had also shirked no danger or privation. On this the Chief remarked: "I have nothing to say against Princes who go with the army and as officers and leaders share the dangers and hardships of the soldiers. But I should prefer to see those who loaf around here at Pückler's expense, and who are mere spectators of the man-hunt, anywhere rather than at headquarters. It is all the more unpleasant to me to have them here, as they storm me with questions and force wise counsels upon me respecting matters that are in course of development and which are now being worked out." . . . "May I ask," said the Prince (doubtless to get away from this subject), "how the Countess is?" "Oh, she is quite well," replied the Chief, "now that our son is better. She still suffers from her ferocious hatred of the Gauls, all of whom she would wish to see shot and stabbed to death, down to the little babies—who after all cannot help having such abominable parents."

On the morning of the 30th of October, Thiers arrived from Tours, but he only called to get a safe conduct through our lines, as he wished to go to Paris. Hatzfeldt had been the first to recognise him on his calling at our place, and told him that the Chief was just getting up. He then showed him into the salon, and informed the Minister, who hastily finished his toilet, and shortly afterwards came down. They were, however, only together alone for a few minutes, the Chief then instructing

Hatzfeldt to make the necessary preparations for Thiers' visit to Paris.

At dinner the Chief again spoke at some length of the possibility of holding a Session of the German Reichstag at Versailles, while the French Legislative Chamber should at the same time meet at Cassel. Delbrück observed that the hall of the Diet at Cassel would not be large enough for such an assembly. "Well then," said the Chief, "the Senate could meet somewhere else—in Marburg or Fritzlar, or some similar town."

Tuesday, November 1st.—At dinner Bohlen reported that the Coburger is doing his utmost to create a feeling of discontent—he says nothing happens, nothing is being done, no progress is being made. "What! He!" exclaimed the Chief, with an indescribable expression of contempt on his features. "He should be ashamed of himself. These Princes that follow the army like a flight of vultures! These carrion crows, who themselves do nothing whatever except inspect the battlefields, &c." Some one then spoke of the last engagement, and said that a portion of the 1200 prisoners that had been taken were franc-tireurs. "Prisoners!" broke in the Chief, who still seemed to be extremely angry. "Why do they continue to make prisoners? They should have shot down the whole 1200 one after the other."

Mention was made of the decree of the Minister of War or of the Commandant of the Town, ordering that particulars should be published of all valuables found in houses deserted by their owners, and that if not reclaimed within a certain time they were to be confiscated for the benefit of the war chest. The Minister said that he considered this decree to be perfectly justified, adding: "As a matter of fact such houses should be burned to the ground, only that punishment would also fall in part on the sensible people who have remained behind; and so unfortunately it is out of the question." The Chief then observed, after a pause, and apparently without any connection with what had been previously said: "After all, war is, properly speaking, the natural condition of humanity."

Shortly afterwards the Chief told us that Thiers had been with him for about three hours to-day with the object of negotiating an armistice. Probably however it would not be possible to come to an understanding as to the conditions which he proposes or is prepared to grant. Once during the conversation Thiers wished

to speak of the supply of provisions now in Paris; but the Minister interrupted him, saying, "Excuse me, but we know that better than you who have only been in the city for one day. Their store of provisions is sufficient to last until the end of January." "What a look of surprise he gave me! My remark was only a feeler, and his astonishment showed that what I had said was not true."

At dessert the Minister spoke of the large quantity he had eaten. "But then it is my only meal. It is true I take breakfast, but then it is merely a cup of tea without milk and two eggs—and after that nothing till evening. Then I over-eat myself, like a boa-constrictor, and can't sleep. Even as a child, and ever since that time, I have always gone to bed late, never before midnight. I usually fall asleep quickly, but wake soon again and find that it is not more than half-past 1 o'clock. All sorts of things then come into my head, particularly if I have been unfairly treated,—and that must be all thought out. I afterwards write letters, and even despatches, but of course without getting up—simply in my head. Formerly, for some time after my appointment as Minister, I used to get up and actually write them down. When I read them over next morning however they were worth nothing,—mere platitudes, confused trivial stuff, such as might have appeared in the *Vossische Zeitung*, or might have been composed by his Serene Highness of Weimar. I do not want to, I should prefer to sleep. But the thinking and planning goes on. At the first glimmer of dawn I fall off again, and then sleep till 10 o'clock or even later."

Wednesday, November 2nd.—On returning from a long walk at about 4.30 P.M. I heard that Thiers had remained with the Chief until a few minutes before, and looked rather pleased on taking his leave. During dinner the Minister observed, referring to his visitor of to-day: "He is a clever and amiable man, bright and witty, but with scarcely a trace of the diplomatist—too sentimental for that trade." "He is unquestionably a finer nature than Favre. But he is no good as a negotiator (*Unterhändler*)—not even as a horsedealer (*Pferdehändler*)." "He is too easily bluffed, betrays his feelings, and allows himself to be pumped. Thus I have ascertained all sorts of things from him, amongst others that they have only full rations in Paris for three or four weeks."

Thursday, November 3rd.—Amongst other subjects discussed at

dinner were the elections in Berlin. The Chancellor said: "The Berliners must always be in opposition and have their own ideas. They have their virtues—many and highly estimable ones—they fight well, but they would not consider themselves to be as clever as they ought to be unless they knew everything better than the Government." That failing, however, was not confined to Berliners, the Chief added. All great cities were much the same in that respect, and many were even worse than Berlin. They were in general more unpractical than the rural districts, where people were in closer contact with nature, and thus not only got into a more natural and practical way of thinking. "Where great numbers of men are crowded together they easily lose their individuality and dissolve into one mass. All sorts of opinions are in the air, they arise from hearsay and repetition, and are little or not at all founded on facts, but are propagated by the newspapers, popular meetings and conversations over beer, and then remain firmly, immutably rooted. It is a sort of false second nature, a faith or superstition held collectively by the masses. They reason themselves into believing in something that does not exist, consider themselves in duty bound to hold to that belief, and wax enthusiastic over narrow-minded and grotesque ideas. That is the case in all great cities, in London for instance, where the cockneys are quite a different race to other Englishmen—in Copenhagen, in New York, and above all in Paris. The Parisians with their political superstitions, are quite a distinct people in France,—they are caught and bound up in a circle of ideas which are a sacred tradition to them, although when closely examined they turn out to be mere empty phrases."

So far as Thiers was concerned, the Minister only told us that shortly after the commencement of the conference to-day he suddenly asked him whether he had obtained the authority necessary for the continuance of the negotiations. "He looked at me in astonishment, on which I said that news had been received at our outposts of a revolution having broken out in Paris since his departure, and that a new Government had been proclaimed. He was visibly perturbed, from which it may be inferred that he considers a victory of the Red Republicans as possible, and the position of Favre and Trochu as insecure."

Thiers was again with the Chief from 9 o'clock till after 10.

Friday, November 4th.—From 11 o'clock onwards Thiers con-

ferred once more with the Chancellor. Bamberger dined with us. The Chief said, amongst other things: "I see that some newspapers hold me responsible that Paris has not yet been bombarded. I do not want anything serious to be done, I object to a bombardment. Nonsense! They will ultimately make me responsible for our losses during the siege, which are certainly already considerable, as we have probably lost more men in these small engagements than a general attack would have cost us. I wanted the city to be stormed at once, and have all along desired that to be done—or it would have been still better to have left Paris on one side and continued our march."

Saturday, November 5th.—The Chancellor, who had been dining with the King, joined us in the evening and complained to Delbrück of the way in which he had been beset at the King's quarters by the Princes, who prevented him from discussing something of importance with Kutusoff. "I really could not talk to him properly. The Serene Highnesses fluttered about me like crows round a screech-owl, and tore me away from him. Each of them seemed to delight in being able to buttonhole me longer than the others. At length I asked Prince Charles if he could not get his brother-in-law to wait until I had finished what I had to say to Kutusoff, as it was an important matter of State. But although I have often spoken to him previously in the same sense he did not seem to understand me, and the end of it was that he took offence." . . . "At last they heard that the leg or the back of the old coronation chair had been discovered in one of the other rooms, and they all trooped off to inspect the wonder, while I took this opportunity to bolt." At that moment a despatch was delivered stating that Favre and the other members of the Government in Paris had once more got on the high horse, and proclaimed that they would not hear of a cession of territory, and that their sole task was the defence of the fatherland. The Chief observed: "Well then, we need not negotiate any further with Thiers."

Later on the Minister said that Thiers probably still intended to write another historical work. "Time after time he spins out our negotiation by introducing irrelevant matters. He relates what has occurred or been advised here and there, inquires as to the attitude of this or that person, and what would have happened in such and such circumstances. He reminded me of a

conversation I had with the Duc de Bauffremont in the year 1867, in the course of which I said that in 1866 the Emperor had not understood how to take advantage of the situation, that he could have done a good stroke of business although not on German soil, &c. Roughly that is quite correct. I remember it very well. It was in the gardens of the Tuileries, and a military band was playing. In the summer of 1866 Napoleon lacked courage to do what he ought to have done from his point of view. When we attacked Austria he should have occupied——, the object of the Benedetti proposal, and held it as a pledge. We could not have prevented him at that time, and most probably England would not have stirred—in any case he could have waited. If the *coup* succeeded he might have placed himself back to back with us, encouraging us to further aggression. But (turning to Delbrück, first leaning a little forward and then sitting straight upright, a habit of his on such occasions), he is and remains a muddle-headed fellow."

Sunday, November 6th.—The Chief read to us at dinner a portion of his wife's letter which was to the following effect:—"I fear you will not be able to find a Bible in France, and so I shall shortly send you the Psalms in order that you may read the prophecies against the French—'I tell thee, the godless shall be destroyed!'"

Monday, November 7th.—The postponement of the bombardment was again discussed at dinner. The Chancellor said he could not understand the absurd rumour circulated in the newspapers, to the effect that he was opposed to the bombardment while the military authorities were pressing for it. "Exactly the contrary is the case. No one is more urgent in favour of it than I am, and it is the military authorities who hesitate. A great deal of my correspondence is taken up in dispelling the scruples and excessive circumspection of the military people. It appears that the artillery are constantly requiring more time for preparation and particularly a larger supply of ammunition. At Strassburg, they also asked for much more than was necessary, as notwithstanding the foolish waste of powder and shell, two-thirds of the supply collected was never used." Alten objected that even if the forts in question were captured they would be then subjected to the fire from the enceinte, and we should have to begin over again. "That may be," said the Minister, "but

they ought to have known that sooner, as there was no fortress we knew so much about from the commencement as Paris."

Somebody remarked that in the two balloons that had been seized five persons had been taken prisoners. The Chief considered that they ought to be treated as spies without any lengthy deliberation.

After dinner I was instructed by the Chancellor to again telegraph an account of the negotiations with Thiers, only in a somewhat different form. On my venturing to observe that the contents of the despatch had been telegraphed in the morning he replied, "Not quite accurately; you see here 'Count Bismarck proposed, &c.' You must notice such fine shades if you want to work in the first Foreign Office of the world."

Tuesday, November 8th.—Delbrück, General Chauvin, and Colonel Meidam, the officer in command of the Field Telegraph, were the Chief's guests at dinner. Mention was made of the improper use of the telegraph wire by distinguished personages for their private purposes.

After a while the Chancellor remarked: "I hear that the Augustenburger also telegraphs. That really should not be. Nor has the Coburger any right to do so. The telegraph is for military and diplomatic purposes, and not for minor potentates to use for inquiries respecting their kitchens, stables and theatres. None of them has any rights here. Their rights ceased on passing the German frontier."

On some one referring to the destruction of the telegraph wires and other similar misconduct on the part of franc-tireurs and peasants near Epernay, the Minister said: "They should have immediately sent three or four battalions there, and transported six thousand peasants to Germany until the conclusion of the war."

Amongst other subjects discussed at tea was the rumour that the postponement of the bombardment was in part due to the influence of ladies, the Queen and the Crown Princess being mentioned in this connection. The Chief was in the drawing-room engaged in conference with the Bavarian General von Bothmer on the military question in connection with the closer unification of Germany now in progress. The Minister joined us afterwards, remaining for about an hour. On sitting down he breathed a deep sigh and said: "I was thinking just now, what I have indeed often thought before—If I could only for five minutes have the

power to say : 'That must be done thus and in no other way !'—If one were only not compelled to pother about the 'why' and the 'wherefore,' and to argue and plead for the simplest things !—Things made much more rapid progress under men like Frederick the Great, who were generals themselves and also knew something about administration, acting as their own Ministers. It was the same with Napoleon. But here, this eternal talking and begging !"

After a while the Chief said, with a laugh : "I have been busy to-day educating princes."

"How so, Excellency ?" asked Hatzfeldt.

"Well, I have explained to various gentlemen at the Hôtel des Réservoirs what is and what is not proper. I have given the Meininger to understand through Stein that he is not to be allowed to use the Field Telegraph for giving instructions about his kitchen garden and theatre. And the Coburger is still worse. Never mind, the Reichstag will set that right and put a stop to all that kind of thing. But only I shall not be there."

Hatzfeldt asked : "Has your Excellency seen that the Italians have broken into the Quirinal ?"

"Yes, and I am curious to know what the Pope will now do. Leave the country ? But where can he go ? He has already requested us to ask the Italians whether he would be allowed to leave and with fitting dignity. We did so, and they replied that the utmost respect would be paid to his position, and that their attitude would be governed by that determination in case he desired to depart."

"They would not like to see him go," added Hatzfeldt ; "it is in their interests that he should remain in Rome."

The Chief : "Yes, certainly. But perhaps he may be obliged to leave. But where could he go ? Not to France, because Garibaldi is there. He would not like to go to Austria. To Spain ?" I suggested to him Bavaria. The Minister then reflected for a moment, after which he continued : "There remains nothing for him but Belgium or North Germany. As a matter of fact he has already asked whether we could grant him asylum. I have no objection to it—Cologne or Fulda. It would be passing strange, but after all not so very inexplicable, and it would be very useful to us to be recognised by Catholics as what we really are, that is to say, the sole power now existing that is capable of protecting the head

of their Church. Stofflet and Charette, together with their Zouaves, could then go about their business. We should have the Poles on our side. The opposition of the Ultramontanes would cease in Belgium and Bavaria. Malinkrott would come over to the Government side. But the King will not consent. He is terribly afraid. He thinks all Prussia would be perverted, and he himself would be obliged to become a Catholic. I told him, however, that if the Pope begged for asylum he could not refuse it. He would have to grant it as ruler over ten million Catholic subjects who would desire to see the head of their Church protected. Besides, imaginative people, particularly women, may possibly feel drawn towards Catholicism by the pomp and ritual of St. Peter's, with the Pope seated upon his throne and bestowing his benediction. The danger would not be so great, however, in Germany, where the people would see the Pope amongst them as a poor old man seeking assistance—a good old gentleman, one of the Bishops, who ate and drank like the rest, took his pinch of snuff, and even perhaps smoked a cigar. And after all even if a few people in Germany became Catholic again (I should certainly not do so) it would not matter much so long as they remained believing Christians. The particular sect is of no consequence, only the faith. People ought to be more tolerant in their way of thinking." The Chief then dilated on the comic aspect of this migration of the Pope and his Cardinals to Fulda, and concluded: "Of course the King could not see the humorous side of the affair. But (smiling) if only the Pope remains true to me I shall know how to bring his Majesty round."

Thursday, November 10th.—The Chief remarked at dinner: "To-day, again, I noticed when it snowed how many points of resemblance there are between the Gauls and the Slavs. The same broad streets, with the houses standing close together, the same low roofs, as in Russia. The only thing wanting here is the green onion-shaped steeple. But, on the other hand, the versts and kilometres, the arsheens and metres are the same. And then the tendency to centralisation, the uniformity of views of the whole population and the communistic trait in the popular character."

He then spoke of the wonderful "topsy turvy" world we live in nowadays. "When one thinks that perhaps the Pope will shortly be residing in a small town of Protestant Germany, that the

Reichstag may meet in Versailles, and the Corps Législatif in Cassel, that Garibaldi has become a French general in spite of Mentana, and that Papal Zouaves are fighting side by side with him !” He followed up this train of ideas for some little time.

The Minister then remarked suddenly : “ Metternich has also written to me to-day. He wants me to allow Hoyos to enter Paris, in order that he may bring away the Austrians. I replied that since the 25th of October they have had permission to come out, but that we could allow no more people to enter, not even diplomats. We also receive none in Versailles, but I would make an exception in his favour. He will then perhaps again raise the Austrians’ claims respecting the property of the old Bund in the German fortresses.”

On the subject of doctors, and the way in which nature sometimes comes to its own assistance, the Chief related that he was once with a shooting party for two days at the Duke of ——. “ I was thoroughly out of sorts. Even the two days’ shooting and fresh air did me no good. On the third day I visited the Cuirasseurs at Brandenburg, who had received a new cup. I was to be the first one to drink out of it, thus dedicating it, and then it was to go the round of the table. It held nearly a bottle. I made my speech, however, drank and set it down empty, to the great surprise of the officers, who had but a poor opinion of mere quill-drivers. That was the result of my Göttingen training. And strangely, or perhaps naturally enough, it set me all right again. On another occasion, when I was shooting at Letzlingen in the time of Frederick William IV. the guests were asked to drink from an old puzzle goblet. It was a stag’s horn, which contained about three-quarters of a bottle of wine, and was so made that one could not bring it close to the lips, yet one was not allowed to spill a drop. I took it and drank it off at a draught, although it was very cold champagne, and not a single drop fell on my white waistcoat. Everybody was immensely surprised ; but I said, ‘ Give me another.’ The King, however, who evidently did not appreciate my success, called out ‘ No, no more.’ Such tricks were formerly an indispensable part of the diplomat’s trade. They drank the weaker vessels under the table, wormed all they wanted to know out of them, made them agree to things which were

contrary to their instructions, or for which, at least, they had no authority. Then they were compelled to put their signatures at once, and afterwards when they got sober they could not imagine how they had done it."

Bismarck-Bohlen, who seemed to be particularly communicative to-day, told the following anecdote about the Chief. At Comf-mercy a woman came to him to complain that her husband, who had tried to strike a hussar with a spade, had been arrested. "The Minister listened to her very amiably, and when she had done he replied in the kindest manner possible, 'Well, my good woman, you can be quite sure that your husband' (drawing a line round his neck with his finger) 'will be presently hanged.'"

Saturday, November 12th.—While we were at lunch the Chief was out. He shortly afterwards passed through the dining-room into the saloon, accompanied by a bearded officer in a Prussian uniform, the Grand Duke of Baden.

In about ten minutes the Chief returned to table. He was very angry and indignant, and said: "This is really too bad! No peace from these Grand Dukes even at one's meals. They will eventually force their way into one's bedroom. That must be put a stop to. It is not so in Berlin. There the people who want something from me announce their visits in writing, and I fix a suitable time for them to call. Why should it not be the same here?"

After a while the Chief said to one of the attendants who was waiting upon us, "Remember in future in such cases to say that I am not at home. Whoever brings any visitor to me unannounced will be put under arrest and sent off to Berlin;" and after eating a few mouthfuls more, he went on: "As if it were anything of importance! But merely a curiosity and a desire to kill time. He shall see, however, I will shortly pay him a surprise visit on official matter, so that he cannot send me away. . . ."

The conversation then turned on Roon's asthma, which according to Lauer is now improving. His rage at the appearance of the Grand Duke during the dinner hour still visibly affected the Chief, who asked Lauer, "What should one drink with marena when in a bad temper?" and on Lauer recommending something the name of which I could not catch, the Minister continued: "It upsets my digestion when anything exasperates me at meals;

and here I have had good reason to be angry. They think that one is only made for their use." Then addressing the servant again the Chief said: "Mind you send away the red lackeys, and say that I am not at home. Remember that! And you, Karl (to Bohlen), must take care that this is done."

Delbrück praised Harry Arnim as being well-informed and intelligent, though unsympathetic and unambitious. This was confirmed by the Chief, who said: "Yes, he is a rocket in which they forgot to put in the powder. He has, however, a good head, but his reports are not the same on any two successive days—often on the same day two thoroughly contradictory views. No reliance can be placed upon him."

Arnim's lack of ambition led some one to speak of orders and titles, and the Chief said his first decoration was a medal for saving life, which he received for having rescued a servant from drowning. "I was made an 'Excellency' at the palace in Königsberg in 1861. I, however, already had the title in Frankfurt, only there I was not a Prussian but a Federal Excellency. The German Princes had decided that each Minister to the Diet should have that title. For the matter of that I did not trouble myself much about it—nor afterwards either—I was a distinguished man without it."

Sunday, November 13th.—The Chancellor, in a general's uniform and helmet, and wearing several orders, went to-day to dine with the King. As he was leaving, Bohlen said to him: "But you ought to have the ribbon of the Iron Cross in your button-hole."

"It is there already," replied the Minister. "In other circumstances I should not wear it. I am ashamed before my own sons and many others who have earned it but not got it, while all the loafers at headquarters swagger about with it."

In the evening the Chancellor desired me to send a *démenti* of a false report published by the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung*, to the effect that Count Arnim paid a visit to headquarters before his departure for Rome. The Chief at the same time remarked: "I have told you more than once that you must not write so violently. Here you are again, speaking of 'hallucination' (in correction of an article by Archibald Forbes in the *Daily News*). Why not be civil? I, too, have to be civil. Always this carping, malignant

style! You must learn to write differently if you want to work in such a distinguished Foreign Office, or we must make other arrangements. And such a bullying style! Just like Brass, who might have had a brilliant position if he were not so brutal." "Hallucination" was the word used by the Minister himself; but in future I shall be careful to sift my phrases so as to eliminate all rough words and only let soft ones find their way into the press. Hatzfeldt told me at tea that the Chief had also "carried on awfully" with him.

CHAPTER VII

The Weary Days of Waiting—Why the Bombardment was delayed—Queen Victoria, Queen Augusta and the Crown Prince—Maudlin Sentimentality.

Wednesday, November 16th.—The Chief is still unwell. One of the causes is supposed to be his mortification at the course of the negotiations with the South German States (which once more seem as if they would come to a standstill) and at the conduct of the military authorities, who have on various occasions neglected to consult him, although the matters dealt with were not merely military questions.

Count Waldersee dines with us. The Chief complains once more that the military authorities are proceeding too slowly for him, and do not inform him of all matters of importance. He had only succeeded, "after repeated requests," in getting them to send him at least those particulars which they telegraph to the German newspapers. It was different in 1866. He was then present at all councils, and his view was frequently accepted. For instance, it was due to him that a direct attack upon Vienna was given up, and that the army marched on to the Hungarian frontier. "And that is only as it should be. It is necessary for my business. I must be informed of the course of military operations, in order that I may know the proper time at which to conclude peace."

Thursday, November 17th.—Alten and Prince Radziwill are the Chief's guests at dinner. A rumour is mentioned to the effect that Garibaldi and 13,000 of his volunteers have been made prisoners. The Minister observed: "That is really disheartening—to make prisoners of 13,000 franc-tireurs who are not even Frenchmen! Why have they not been shot?"

He again complained that the military authorities so seldom

consulted him. "This capitulation of Verdun, for instance—I should certainly not have advised that. To undertake to return their arms after peace had been concluded, and still more to let French officials continue the administration as they please. The first condition might pass, as the conditions of peace might provide that the weapons should not be returned. But that *librement*! It ties our hands in the interval, even should they place all kinds of obstacles in our way and act as if there were absolutely no war. They can openly stir up a rising in favour of the Republic, and under this agreement we can do nothing to prevent them." After dwelling upon this topic for some time, the Minister concluded by saying: "At all events, such a capitulation is unprecedented in history."

Some one referred to the article written by a diplomat in the *Indépendance Belge* prophesying the restoration of Napoleon. "No doubt," observed the Chancellor, "Napoleon fancies something of the kind will happen. Moreover, it is not entirely impossible. If he made peace with us he might return with the troops he has now in Germany. Something in the style of Klapka's Hungarian Legion on a grand scale, to work in co-operation with us. And then his Government is still the legal one. Order being once restored, he would at the outside require an army of 200,000 men for its maintenance. With the exception of Paris, it would not be necessary to garrison the large towns with troops. Perhaps Lyons and Marseilles. The National Guards would be sufficient for the protection of the others. If the Republicans were to rise in rebellion they could be bombarded and shelled out."

A telegram reporting Granville's statement with regard to the Russian declaration concerning the Peace of Paris was sent by the King to the Chief, who read it over to us. It was to the effect that Russia, in taking upon herself to denounce a portion of the Treaty of 1856, assumed the right to set aside the whole on her own initiative, a right which was only possessed by the signatory Powers collectively. England could not tolerate such an arbitrary course, which threatened the validity of all treaties. Future complications were to be apprehended. The Minister smiled, and said: "Future complications! Parliamentary speech-makers! They are not going to venture. The whole tone is also in the future. That is the way in which one speaks when he does not mean to do anything. No, there is nothing to be feared from

them now, as there was nothing to be hoped from them four months ago. If at the beginning of the war the English had said to Napoleon, 'There must be no war,' there would have been none."

After a while the Minister continued: "Gortschakoff is not carrying on in this matter a real Russian policy (that is, one in the true interests of Russia), but rather a policy of violent aggression. People still believe that Russian diplomats are particularly crafty and clever, full of artifices and stratagems, but that is not the case. If the people at St. Petersburg were clever they would not make any declaration of the kind, but would quietly build men-of-war in the Black Sea and wait until they were questioned on the subject. Then they might reply that they knew nothing about it, but would make inquiries, and so let the matter drag on. That might continue for a long time, and finally people would get accustomed to it."

Another telegram announced the election of the Duke of Aosta as King of Spain. The Chief said: "I pity him—and them. He is, moreover, elected by a small majority—not by the two-thirds originally intended. There were 190 votes for him and 115 against." Alten was pleased that the monarchical sentiments of the Spaniards had ultimately prevailed. "Ah, those Spaniards!" exclaimed the Chief. "They have no sense of what is honourable or becoming! They showed that on the outbreak of this war. If only one of those Castilians who pretend to have a monopoly of the sense of honour had but expressed his indignation at the cause of the present war, which was after all Napoleon's intervention in their previous election of a king, interfering with their free choice and treating them as vassals! . . . As a matter of fact, these Spaniards are all mere Angelo de Mirandas,—he was formerly a card sharper, and then confidant of Prim's and probably also of the King's." After the Chief had made some further remarks, some one said that it was now all over with the candidature of the Prince of Hohenzollern. "Yes," replied the Chief, "but only because he wishes it to be so. A couple of weeks ago I told him that it was still time. But he no longer wanted to go on."

Saturday, November 19th.—We were joined at dinner by General von Werder, the Prussian Military Plenipotentiary at St. Petersburg. The Chief, who looked very pleased, said, shortly after

entering the dining-room: "Well, we shall probably be able to come to an understanding with Bavaria." "Yes," exclaimed Bohlen, "something of that kind has already been telegraphed to one of the Berlin papers." "I am sorry for that," replied the Minister; "it is premature. But of course, wherever there is a mob of princes who have nothing to do and who feel bored, nothing can be kept secret!"

The conversation then turned on Vienna and Count Beust. The Chief said Beust had apologised for the recent discourteous note. It was written by Biegeleben, and not by himself. The reference to Biegeleben led to the discussion of the Gagern family and to the once celebrated Heinrich von Gagern (President of the Reichstag in the Paulskirche at Frankfurt). "I remember," the Chief said, "in 1850 or 1851, Manteuffel was instructed to bring about an understanding between the Gagern and the Conservative sections of the Prussian party—at least, as far as the King was disposed to go in the cause of German unity. Manteuffel selected Gagern and myself for this purpose, and so we were both invited one day to a *souper à trois* at his place. At first there was little or no mention of politics, but Manteuffel afterwards made some excuse for leaving us alone. When he left I immediately began to talk politics, explaining my standpoint to Gagern in a plain, business-like way. You should have heard Gagern! He assumed his Jove-like aspect, lifted his eyebrows, ran his fingers through his hair, rolled his eyes and cast them up to heaven so perpendicularly that you could hear the joints in his neck crack, and poured out his grand phrases to me as if I were a public meeting. Of course, that did not help him much with me. I replied coolly, and we remained divided as before. When Jupiter had retired, Manteuffel asked, 'Well, what arrangement have you come to together?' 'Oh,' I replied, 'no arrangement at all. The man is a fool. He takes me for a public meeting! A mere watering-can of fine phrases! Nothing can be done with him.'"

The subject of the bombardment having been introduced, the Chief said: "I told the King again yesterday that it was time to begin, and he had no objection to make. He replied that he had given orders to begin, but that the generals said they could not. I know exactly how it is. It is Stosch, Treskow, and Podbielski."

Some one asked: "And Hindersin?"

"He is also against it," said the Chief. "Podbielski" (so I

understood him to say) "could be brought round. But the other two are influenced by considerations affecting their own future."

It appeared from some further remarks of the Minister that, in his opinion, first Queen Victoria, and then, at her instance the Crown Princess, and, finally, the Crown Prince, persuaded by his consort, will not have Paris bombarded; while the generals "cannot" bombard the city out of consideration for the views of the Crown Prince, who will, of course, be the future King, and will have the appointment of Ministers of War, commandants of army corps, and field marshals.

The late General von Möllendorff having been mentioned, the Minister related the following anecdote: "I remember after the March rising, when the King and the troops were at Potsdam, I went there too. A council was being held as to what was to be done. Möllendorff was present, and sat not far from me. He seemed to be in pain, and could scarcely sit down for the beating he had received. All kinds of suggestions were made, but no one knew exactly what was to be done. I sat near the piano and said nothing, but played a few bars" (he hummed the opening of the infantry march for the charge). "Old Möllendorff suddenly stood up, his face beaming with pleasure, and, hobbling over, threw his arms round my neck, and said: 'That's right. I know what you mean. March on Berlin!' There was nothing to be done with the King, however, and the others had not the pluck."

Tuesday, November 22nd.—Prince Pless, Major von Alten, and a Count Stolberg dine with us. Mention is made of a great discovery of first-rate wine in a cellar near Bougival, which has been confiscated in accordance with the laws of war. Bohlen complains that none of it has reached us. Altogether the Foreign Office is as badly provided as possible. Care is always taken to set apart the most uncomfortable lodgings for the Chief, and they have been invariably lucky in finding such. "Yes," said the Chancellor, laughing, "it is pure churlishness on their part to treat me like that. And so ungrateful, as I have always looked after their interests in the Diet. But they shall see me thoroughly transformed. I started for the war devoted to the military, but I shall go home a convinced Parliamentary. No more military budgets."

Wednesday, November 23rd.—Bucher having alluded to the

strong Republican sympathies which Alten had yesterday displayed, Pless observed: "Really if we had known what sort of people these Princes were at the time we were discussing the Criminal Code in the Diet we should not have helped to make the provisions respecting *lèse-majesté* so severe." The Chief remarked with a laugh: "Every one of us has already deserved ten years' penal servitude if all our jibing at princes during the campaign were proved against us."

We were joined at dinner by Count Frankenberg and Prince Putbus. Both wore the Iron Cross. The guests mentioned that people were very anxious in Berlin for the bombardment to begin, and grumbled a great deal at its postponement. The rumour as to the influence of certain great ladies being one of the causes of the delay appears to be very widespread. "I have often told the King so," said the Chief, "but it cannot be done; they will not have it." "The Queen?" suggested some one. "Several queens," corrected the Chancellor, "and princesses. I believe also that Masonic influences and scruples have helped." He then again declared that he regarded the investment of Paris as a blunder. "I have never been in favour of it. If they had left it alone we should have made more progress, or at least we should have had a better position before Europe. We have certainly not added to our prestige by spending eight weeks outside Paris. We ought to have left Paris alone and sought the French in the open country. But otherwise the bombardment ought to have begun at once. If a thing has to be done, do it!"

The conversation then turned upon the treatment of the French rural population, and Putbus related that a Bavarian officer had ordered a whole village to be burned to the ground and the wine in the cellars to be poured out into the gutter because the inhabitants of the place had acted treacherously. Some one else observed that the soldiers at some other place had given a fearful dressing to a curé who had been caught in an act of treachery. The Minister again praised the energy of the Bavarians, but said with regard to the second case: "One ought either to treat people as considerately as possible or to put it out of their power to do mischief—one or the other." After reflecting for a moment, he added: "Be civil to the very last step of the gallows, but hang all the same. One should only be rude to a friend when one feels sure that he will not take it amiss. How

rude one is to his wife, for instance! That reminds me, by the way, Herr von Keudell, will you please telegraph to Reinfeld, 'If a letter comes for Count Bismarck hold it back, and forward it to the Poste Restante or to Berlin'? I have written various things to my wife which are not overflowing with loyal reverence. My father-in-law is an old gentleman of eighty-one, and as the Countess has now left Reinfeld, where she was on a visit to him, he would open and read the letter and show it to the pastor, who would tell his gossips about it, and presently it would get into the newspapers."

Bleibtreu's sketch representing General Reille as he came up the hill at Sedan to deliver Napoleon's letter to the King was then mentioned, and some one remarked that from the way in which the general was taking off his cap, he looked as if he were going to shout Hurrah! The Chief said: "His demeanour was thoroughly dignified and correct. I spoke to him alone while the King was writing his reply. He urged that hard conditions should not be imposed upon a great army which had fought so bravely. I shrugged my shoulders. He then said rather than submit they would blow up the fortress. I said, 'Well, do so—*faites sauter!*' I asked him then if the Emperor could still depend upon the army and the officers. He said yes. And whether his instructions and orders still held good in Metz? Reille answered this question also in the affirmative, and, as we saw, he was right at the time. . . . If Napoleon had only made peace then I believe he would still be a respected ruler. But he is a silly fool! I said so sixteen years ago when no one would believe me. Stupid and sentimental. The King also thought for a moment that it would be peace, and wanted me to say what conditions we should propose. But I said to him, 'Your Majesty, we can hardly have got so far as that yet.' Their Highnesses and Serene Highnesses then pressed so close to us that I had twice to beg the King to move further off. I should have preferred to tell them plainly, 'Gentlemen, leave us alone; you have nothing to do here.' The one thing which prevented me from being rude to them was that the brother of our Most Gracious was the ringleader and chief offender of the whole prying mob."

About 10 o'clock I went down to tea, and found Bismarck—Bohlen and Hatzfeldt still there. The Chief was in the *salon*

with the three Bavarian Plenipotentiaries. In about a quarter of an hour he opened one side of the door, bent his head forward with his friendliest look, and came in with a glass in his hand and took a seat at the table.

"Well," he said, his voice and looks betraying his emotion, "the Bavarian Treaty is made and signed. German unity is secure, and the German Emperor too." We were all silent for a moment. I then begged to be allowed to bring away the pen with which he had signed it. "In God's name, bring all three," he said; "but the gold one is not amongst them." I went and took the three pens that lay near the document. Two of them were still wet. Two empty champagne bottles stood close by. "Bring us another bottle," said the Chief to the servant. "It is an event." Then after reflecting for a while, he observed: "The newspapers will not be satisfied, and he who writes history in the usual way may criticise our agreement. He may possibly say, 'The stupid fellow should have asked for more; he would have got it, as they would have been compelled to yield.' And he may be right as far as the 'compelled' is concerned. But what I attached more importance to was that they should be thoroughly pleased with the thing. What are treaties when people are compelled to enter into them? And I know that they went away pleased . . . I did not want to squeeze them or to make capital out of the situation. The Treaty has its deficiencies, but it is for that reason all the more durable. The future can supply those deficiencies . . . The King also was not satisfied. He was of opinion that such a Treaty was not worth much. My opinion is quite different. I consider it one of the most important results which we have attained during recent years. I finally succeeded in carrying it through by exciting apprehensions of English intervention unless the matter were speedily settled . . . As to the question of the Emperor, I made that proposal palatable to them in the course of the negotiations by representing that it must be easier and more satisfactory for their sovereign to concede certain rights to the German Emperor than to the neighbouring King of Prussia." Over a second bottle of champagne which he drank with us, the Chief came (I forget how the subject was introduced) to speak of his own death. He asserted he should die in his 71st year, a conclusion which he arrived at from some combination of

figures which I could not understand. I said: "Excellency, you must not do that. It would be too early. One must drive away the Angel of Death!" "No," he replied. "In 1886—still fifteen years. I know it. It is a mystic number."

Thursday, November 24th.—Colonel Tilly, of the General Staff, and Major Hill are the Chief's guests at dinner to-day. The Minister again complained that the military authorities do not communicate sufficient information to him and too seldom consult him. "It was just the same with the appointment of Vogel von Falkenstein, who has now locked up Jacoby. If I have to speak on that subject in the Reichstag, I shall wash my hands of the matter. They could not possibly have done more to spoil the broth for me." "I came to the war," he repeated, "disposed to do everything for the military authorities, but in future I shall go over to the advocates of Parliamentary government, and if they worry me much more, I shall have a chair placed for myself on the extreme Left."

The Treaty with Bavaria was then mentioned, and it was said that the difficulties which had been encountered arose partly on the National side, on which the Minister observed, "It is really remarkable how many clever people there are who, nevertheless, understand nothing about politics. For instance, the man who always sat on my right here (Delbrück). A very clever man, but no politician."

Suddenly changing the subject, he said: "The English are beside themselves, and their newspapers demand war on account of a Note which is nothing more than a statement of opinion on a point of law—for that is all that Gortschakoff's Note amounts to."

Later on the Minister returned once more to the postponement of the bombardment, which he regarded as dangerous from a political standpoint. "Here we have now collected this enormous mass of siege artillery. The world is waiting for us to begin, and yet the guns remain idle up to the present. That has certainly damaged us with the neutral Powers. The effect of our success at Sedan is very seriously diminished thereby, and when one thinks on what grounds." One of the causes of the delay brought him to speak of the Crown Princess, of whom he said: "She is in general a very clever person, and really agreeable in her way; but she should not interfere in politics." He then again related the

anecdote about the glass of water which he told me near Crehanges, only this time it was in French that the Princess spoke.

Saturday, November 26th.—Wrote several articles, including one on Trochu's extraordinary production in the *Figaro* of the 22nd instant, praising those whom he considered specially deserving of commendation in the defence of the city. The Chief read over to me some of the passages he had marked, saying: "These heroic deeds of the defenders of Paris are mostly of such an ordinary kind that Prussian generals would not think them worth mentioning; while others are mere swagger and obvious impossibilities. Trochu's braves have made more prisoners when they are all reckoned up than the whole French army during the entire investment of Paris. Then here is this Captain Montbrisson, who is commended for having marched at the head of his column to the attack, and had himself lifted over a wall in order to reconnoitre,—that was merely his duty. Then here this theatrical vanity, where Private Gletty made prisoners of three Prussians, *par la fermeté de son attitude*. The firmness of his attitude! And our Pomeranians ate humble pie before him! That may do for a Boulevard theatre, or a circus,—but in reality! Then this Hoff, who on several occasions slaughtered in single combat no less than twenty-seven Prussians! He must be a Jew, this triple nine-pounder! Probably a cousin of Malz-Hoff of the Old or New Wilhelmstrasse—at any rate a Miles Gloriosus. And finally this Terreaux, who captured a *fanion*, together with the *porte-fanion*. That is a company flag for marking the line—which we do not use at all. And the Commander-in-Chief of an army officially reports such stuff! Really this list of commendations is just like the battle pictures in the gallery of *toutes les gloires de la France*, where each drummer at Sebastopol and Magenta is preserved for posterity, simply because he beat his drum."

At dinner the Chief complained: "I was yesterday visited by a whole series of misfortunes, one on top of the other. First of all some one wanted to see me on important business (Odo Russell). I send word requesting him to wait for a few moments, as I am engaged on a pressing matter. On my asking for him a quarter of an hour later, I find he has gone, and possibly the peace of Europe is at stake. Then I go to see the King as early as 12 o'clock, and the consequence is that I fall into the hands of the Grand Duke of Weimar, who obliges me, as his Chancellor,

to listen to a letter which he has written to an august personage (the Emperor of Russia), and thus wastes a good deal of my time. . . . I am to tell him what I think of the letter, but I decline to do so. Have I then anything to object to it? he asked in a piqued tone. I cannot say that either, although I would observe that I should have written the letter differently. What do I wish altered? I stick to my point, and say I cannot express an opinion, because if the letter went with my corrections I should be held responsible for its contents. 'Well, then, I must speak to the King.' 'Do so,' I reply coolly, 'and take over the office of Chancellor of the Confederation, if you like. But if the letter goes off, I for my part shall immediately telegraph to the place of destination that I have had nothing to do with it.' I thus lost an hour, so that telegrams of great importance had to wait, and in the meantime, decisions may have been arrived at and resolutions taken which would have very serious consequences for all Europe, and might change the political situation. That all came of its being a Friday. Friday negotiations, Friday measures!"

Bucher told me the Crown Prince recently said to the Chancellor that too little had been secured by the Bavarian Treaty. After such great successes we ought to have asked for more. "Yes; but how were we to get it?" asked the Chief. "Why, we ought to force them," was the Crown Prince's reply. "Then," said the Chancellor, "I can only recommend your Royal Highness to begin by disarming the Bavarian Army Corps here," a remark which, of course, was intended ironically.

Monday, November 28th.—Prince Pless and Count Maltzahn dined with us. At first the Minister spoke about Home, the American spiritualist, a doubtful character, who had been at Versailles, and who was to be arrested if he showed himself here again. The Chief then said: "The fellow managed to sneak into the Crown Prince's. But that is explained by the fact that whoever can speak even broken English is welcome there. The next thing will be for them to appoint Colonel Walker my successor as Chancellor of the Confederation."¹ Bohlen explained, "I suppose you know that Garibaldi has been thrashed." Some

¹ Walker, the English Kutusoff of Count Bismarck-Bohlen, H.B.M.'s Military Plenipotentiary at headquarters, was not held in much estimation by the Chancellor and his *entourage*.

one observed that if he were taken prisoner he ought to be shot for having meddled in the war without authority. "They ought to be first put into a cage like beasts in a menagerie," said Bohlen. "No," said the Minister; "I have another idea. They should be taken to Berlin, and marched through the town with these words on a placard suspended round their necks, 'Italians, House of Correction, Ingratitude,' and be then marched through the town." "And afterwards to Spandau," suggested Bohlen. The Chief added, "Or one might inscribe merely the words, 'Italians, Venice, Spandau.'"

The Bavarian question and the situation at Munich was then discussed. The Chief said: "The King is undecided. It is obvious that he would rather not. He accordingly pretends to be ill, has toothache, keeps to his bed, where the Ministers cannot reach him. Or he retires to a distant hunting-box in the mountains to which there is no telegraph line, nor even a proper road."

Some one having remarked that in the present circumstances he is, after all, the best Bavarian ruler for our purposes, the Chief said: "Yes; if he were to die he would be succeeded by little Otto, whom we have had here. A poor creature, with very little intelligence. He would be entirely in the hands of the Austrians and Ultramontanes. He has ruined himself; that is, if he was ever worth anything."

The question of the bombardment then came up, and, in connection therewith, the intrigues which are now being carried on by Bishop Dupanloup, and the part he played in the opposition at the Vatican Council. "Women and freemasons," said the Chief, "are chiefly responsible if our operations against Paris are not conducted as energetically as they should be. Dupanloup has influenced Augusta. . . . He also wrote me a pile of letters, and took me in to such an extent that I sent them to Twickenham." (The Chancellor must have meant Chislehurst.) "He must be packed off when our people get to Orleans, so that Von der Tann may not be swindled by him." . . . "That reminds me," continued the Chief, "that the Pope has written a very nice letter to the French Bishops, or to several of them, saying that they should not enter into any understanding with the Garibaldians."

Somebody having expressed anxiety about some matter which I was unable to catch, the Chief observed: "A more important

question for me—indeed, the most important—is what will be done at Villa Coublay; that is the main point. The Crown Prince said recently, when I mentioned the matter to him, ‘I am ready to give up the command for that purpose.’ I felt like replying, ‘And I am prepared to assume it.’ Give me the post of Commander-in-Chief for twenty-four hours, and I will take it upon myself. I would then give one command only: ‘Commence the bombardment.’”

Villa Coublay is a place not far from Versailles, where the siege park has been collected and still remains, instead of being placed in position. Bucher tells me that the Chancellor has appealed directly to the King to hasten the bombardment. The Chief continued: “The assertion of the generals that they have not enough ammunition is untrue. They do not want to begin because the Heir Apparent does not wish it. He does not wish it because his wife and his mother-in-law are against it. They have brought together three hundred cannon and fifty or sixty mortars, and five hundred rounds of ammunition for each gun. That is certainly enough. I have been speaking to artillerymen, who said that they had not used half as much ammunition at Strassburg as they have collected here; and Strassburg was a Gibraltar compared to Paris. It would be easy to fire the barracks on Mont Valérien, and if the forts of Issy and Vanvres were properly shelled so that the garrisons should be compelled to bolt, the enceinte (of course we know it) would be of little importance. The ditch is not broader than the length of this room. I am convinced that if we poured shells into the city itself for five or six days, and they found out that our guns reached farther than theirs—that is to say, 9,000 yards—Paris would give in. True enough the wealthier quarters are on this side of the city, and it is a matter of indifference to the people at Belleville whether we blow them to pieces or not; indeed, they are pleased when we destroy the houses of the richer classes. As a matter of fact, we ought to have attacked Paris from another direction; or, still better, left it altogether alone, and continued our forward march. Now, however, that we have begun, we must set about the affair in earnest. Starving them out may last a long time, perhaps till the spring. At any rate, they have flour enough up to January. . . . If we had begun the bombardment at the right time, there would have been no question of the Loire army. After the

engagement at Orleans, where Von der Tann was obliged to retire, the military authorities (not I) regarded our position in Versailles as critical. Had we begun the bombardment four weeks ago, we should now in all probability be in Paris, and that is the main point. As it is, however, the Parisians imagine that we are forbidden to fire by London, St. Petersburg, and Vienna; while, on the other hand, the neutral Powers believe that we are not able to do so. The true reason, however, will be known at a future time. One of its consequences will be to lead to a restriction of personal rule."

At dinner I suggested to Bucher that it might be well to ask the Chief's leave to hint in the press at the real cause of the postponement of the bombardment. He agreed with me that it would, and added: "I myself have already vehemently attacked Augusta in the newspapers." On the Chancellor sending for me in the evening, I said: "May I venture to ask your Excellency a question? Would you have any objection if I made a communication, in an indirect way, to non-official organs respecting the causes of the postponement of the bombardment, in the sense in which they have repeatedly been discussed at table?" He reflected for a moment, and then said, "Do as you like."

Tuesday, November 29th.—Lieutenant-General von Hartrott joined us at dinner. The distribution of the Iron Cross having been mentioned, the Chief observed: "The army doctors should receive the black and white ribbon. They are under fire, and it requires much more courage and determination to quietly allow one's self to be shot at than to rush forward to the attack. . . . Blumenthal said to me that properly speaking he could do nothing to deserve the Cross, as he was bound in duty to keep out of danger of being shot. For that reason when in battle he always sought a position from which he could see well but could not be easily hit. And he was perfectly right. A general who exposes himself unnecessarily ought to be put under arrest."

The Chancellor then remarked suddenly: "The King told me an untruth to-day. I asked him if the bombardment was not to commence, and he replied that he had ordered it. But I knew immediately that that was not true. I know him. He cannot lie, or at least not in such a way that it cannot be detected. He at once changes colour, and it was particularly noticeable when he replied to my question to-day. When I looked at him straight

into his eyes he could not stand it." The conversation then turned upon the conduct of the war. The Minister said: "Humility alone leads to victory; pride and self-conceit to an opposite result."

The Chancellor, speaking of his friend Dietze, talked of his natural inborn heartiness—*politesse du cœur*. Abeken asked if that term was originally French, as Goethe uses it—*Höflichkeit des Herzens*? "It must come from the German, I fancy." "It certainly does," replied the Chief. "It is only to be found amongst the Germans. I should call it the politeness of goodwill—good nature in the best sense of the word, the politeness of helpful benevolent feeling. You find that amongst our common soldiers, although, of course, it is sometimes expressed rather crudely. The French have not got it. They only know the politeness of hatred and envy. It would be easier to find something of the kind amongst the English," he added; and then he went on to praise Odo Russell, whose pleasant, natural manner he greatly appreciated. "At first one thing aroused a little suspicion against him in my mind. I have always heard and found that Englishmen who know French well are not worth much, and he speaks quite excellent French. But he can also express himself very well in German."

At dessert the Minister said: "I recognise that I eat too much, or, more correctly, too much at a time. It is a pity that I cannot get rid of the absurd practice of only eating once a day. Formerly it was still worse. In the morning I drank my tea and ate nothing until 5 o'clock in the evening, while I smoked incessantly. That did me a great deal of harm. Now, on the advice of my doctor, I take at least two eggs in the morning and smoke little. But I should eat oftener; yet if I take anything late I cannot sleep, as I only digest while awake. This morning, however, I got up early. I was waked by the firing just at the time when I sleep best, that is between 7 and 9 o'clock, and as it seemed to be near I sent to inquire if the King was going to the scene of the engagement. Otherwise he might start suddenly and go nobody knows where, or where nothing is to be seen."

While at tea the conversation turned once more on the now constant theme of the postponement of the bombardment, and afterwards on the Geneva Convention, which the Minister said

must be denounced, as it was impossible to conduct war in that manner.

"The principal reason why the bombardment is delayed," said the Chancellor, "is the sentimentality of the Queen of England, and the interference of Queen Augusta. . . . That seems to be a characteristic of the Hohenzollerns—their women folk have always a great influence upon them. It was not so with Frederick the Great, but with his successor and the late King, as well as the present Most Gracious and his future Majesty. The most curious example is that of Prince Charles, who is anything but a good husband, and yet depends upon his wife, indeed he is thoroughly afraid of her and is guided by her wishes. . . . But it is somewhat different with these two (the King and the Crown Prince). They want to be praised. They like to have it said in the English and French press that they are considerate and generous. They find that the Germans praise them enough as it is."

About 11 o'clock another telegram arrived from Verdy respecting this morning's sortie, which was directed against La Haye. Five hundred red breeches were made prisoners. The Chief bitterly regretted that further prisoners should be taken, and that it was not possible to shoot them down on the spot. "We have more than enough of them, while the Parisians have the advantage of getting rid of so many mouths to feed, which must now be supplied by us, and for whom we can hardly find room."

Wednesday, November 30th.—The Chief seems to be seriously considering the idea of asking the King to relieve him of his office. According to Bucher he is already on the point of resigning.

"The Chief," he said, "informed me of something to-day which nobody else knows. He is seriously considering whether he will not break with the King." I said that in that case I should also take my leave. I did not wish to serve under any one else. Bucher: "Nor I either. I, too, would then resign."

At dinner, at which Prince Putbus and Odo Russell were present, the Chief related that he had once tried to use his knowledge of State secrets for the purpose of speculating in stocks, but that his attempt was not successful. "I was commissioned in Berlin," he said, "to speak to Napoleon on the question of Neuchâtel. It must have been in the spring of 1857.

I was to inquire as to his attitude towards that question. Now, I knew that his answer would be favourable, and that this would mean a war with Switzerland. Accordingly, on my way through Frankfurt, where I lived at that time, I called upon Rothschild, whom I knew well, and told him I intended to sell certain stock which I held, and which showed no disposition to rise. 'I would not do that,' said Rothschild. 'That stock has good prospects. You will see.' 'Yes,' I said; 'but if you knew the object of my journey you would think otherwise.' He replied that, however that might be, he could not advise me to sell. But I knew better, sold out and departed. In Paris, Napoleon was very pleasant and amiable. It was true he could not agree, as the King wanted, to let us march through Alsace-Lorraine, which would have created great excitement in France, but in every other respect he entirely approved of our plans. It could only be a matter of satisfaction to him if that nest of democrats were cleared out. I was, therefore, so far successful. But I had not reckoned with my King, who had in the meantime, behind my back, made different arrangements—probably out of consideration for Austria; and so the affair was dropped. There was no war, and my stock rose steadily from that time forward, and I had reason to regret having parted with it."

Villa Coublay and the bombardment were then referred to, and the alleged impossibility of bringing up at once the necessary supply of ammunition. The Chief said: "I have already informed the august gentlemen a couple of times that we have here a whole herd of horses that must be ridden out daily merely for exercise. Why should they not be employed for once to better purpose?"

In connection with Embassy buildings and Ambassadors, the Chief spoke very highly of Napier, the former English Ambassador in Berlin. "He was very easy to get on with. Buchanan was also a good man, rather dry, perhaps, but absolutely trustworthy. Now we have Loftus. The position of an English Ambassador in Berlin has its own special duties and difficulties, if only on account of the personal relations of the two Royal families. It demands a great deal of tact and care." (Presumably a quiet hint that Loftus does not fulfil those requirements.)

The Minister then led the conversation on to Gramont. He said: "Gramont and Ollivier strike me also as a pretty pair!

If that had happened to me—if I had been the cause of such disasters, I would at least have joined a regiment, or, for the matter of that, have become a franc-tireur, even if I had had to swing for it. A tall, strong, coarse fellow like Gramont would be exactly suited for a soldier's life. He is a good sportsman, and would have made an excellent gamekeeper. But as a Minister for Foreign Affairs, one can hardly conceive how Napoleon came to select him."

The Minister joined us at the tea-table about 10 o'clock, and referred again to the bombardment. He said: "I did not from the very beginning wish to have Paris invested. If what the general staff said at Ferrières were correct, namely, that they could dispose of a couple of the forts in three days, and then attack the weak enceinte, it would have been all right. But it was a mistake to let 60,000 regulars keep an army of 200,000 men engaged in watching them." "One month up to Sedan, and here we have already spent three months, for to-morrow is the 1st of December. If we had telegraphed immediately after Sedan for siege guns we should be now in the city, and there would be no intervention on the part of the neutral Powers. If I had known that three months ago I should have been extremely anxious. The danger of intervention on the part of the neutral Powers increases daily. It begins in a friendly way, but it may end very badly." Keudell remarked: "The idea of not bombarding first arose here." "Yes," replied the Chief, "through the English letters to the Crown Prince."

Thursday, December 1st.—About 10.30 P.M. the Chief joined us at tea. After a while he remarked: "The newspapers are dissatisfied with the Bavarian Treaty. I expected as much from the beginning. They are displeased that certain officials are called Bavarian, although they will have to conform entirely to our laws. And the same with regard to the army. The beer tax is also not to their liking, as if we had not had it for years past in the Zollverein. And so on with a crowd of other objections, although after all the important point has been attained and properly secured." . . . "They talk as if we had been waging war against Bavaria as we did in 1866 against Saxony, although this time we have Bavaria as an ally on our side." . . . "Before approving the treaty they want to wait and see whether the unity of Germany will be secured in the form they prefer. They can wait a long

time for that. The course they are taking leads only to fresh delays, while speedy action is necessary. If we hesitate the devil will find time to sow dissensions. The treaty gives us a great deal. Whoever wants to have everything runs the risk of getting nothing. They are not content with what has been achieved. They require more uniformity. If they would only remember the position of affairs five years ago, and what they would then have been satisfied with!" . . . "A Constituent Assembly! But what if the King of Bavaria should not permit representatives to be elected to it? The Bavarian people would not compel him, nor would I. It is easy to find fault when one has no proper idea of the conditions which govern the situation."

The Minister then came to speak on another subject: "I have just read a report on the surprise of the Unna battalion. Some of the inhabitants of Chatillon took part in it—others, it is true, hid our people. It is a wonder that they did not burn down the town in their first outburst of anger. Afterwards, of course, in cold blood that would not do."

After a short pause, the Chief took some coins out of his pocket and played with them for a moment, remarking at the same time: "It is surprising how many respectably dressed beggars one meets with here. There were some at Reims, but it is much worse here." . . . "How seldom one now sees a gold piece with the head of Louis Philippe or Charles X. ! When I was young, between twenty and thirty, coins of Louis XVI. and of the fat Louis XVIII. were still to be seen. Even the expression 'louis d'or' is no longer usual with us. In polite circles one speaks of a *friedrich d'or*." The Chancellor then balanced a napoleon on the tip of his middle finger, as if he were weighing it, and continued: "A hundred million double napoleons d'or would represent about the amount of the war indemnity up to the present—later on it will be more, four thousand million francs. Forty thousand thalers in gold would make a hundredweight, thirty hundredweight would make a load for a heavy two-horse waggon—(I know that because I once had to convey fourteen thousand thalers in gold from Berlin to my own house. What a weight it was !)—that would be about 800 waggon loads." "It would not take so long to collect the carts for that purpose as it does for the ammunition for the bombardment," observed some one, who, like most of us, was losing patience at the slow progress

of the preparations. "Yes," said the Chief; "Roon, however, told me the other day, he had several hundred carts at Nanteuil, which could be used for the transport of ammunition. Moreover some of the waggons that are now drawn by six horses could do with four for a time, and the two spare horses thus could be used for bringing up ammunition. We have already 318 guns here, but they want forty more, and Roon says he could have them also brought up. The others however won't hear of it."

Friday, December 2nd.—The Chief said that he had taken measures for providing our sentries with more comfortable quarters. "Up to the present they occupied Madame Jesse's coach-house, which has no fireplace. That would not do any longer, so I ordered the gardener to clear out half of the greenhouse for them. 'But Madame's plants will be frozen,' said the gardener's wife. 'A great pity,' said I. 'I suppose it would be better if the soldiers froze.'"

The Chief then referred to the danger of the Reichstag rejecting, or even merely amending, the treaty with Bavaria. "I am very anxious about it. People have no idea what the position is. We are balancing ourselves on the point of a lightning conductor. If we lose the equilibrium, which at much pains I have succeeded in establishing, we fall to the ground. They want more than can be obtained without coercion, and more than they would have been very pleased to accept before 1866. If at that time they had got but half what they are getting to-day! No; they must needs improve upon it and introduce more unity, more uniformity; but if they change so much as a comma, fresh negotiations must be undertaken. Where are they to take place? Here in Versailles? And if we cannot bring them to a close before the 1st of January—which many of the people in Munich would be glad of—then German unity is lost, probably for years, and the Austrians can set to work again in Munich."

The subject of Stock Exchange speculation was again introduced, and the Chief once more denied the possibility of turning to much account the always very limited knowledge which one may have of political events beforehand. Such events only affect the Bourse afterwards, and the day when that is going to happen cannot be foreseen. "Of course, if one could contrive things so as to produce a fall—but that is dishonourable! Gramont has done so, according to what Russell recently stated. He doubled

his fortune in that way. One might almost say that he brought about the war with that object. Moustier also carried on that sort of business—not for himself, but with the fortune of his mistress—and when it was on the point of being discovered, he poisoned himself. One might take advantage of one's position in a rather less dishonest way by arranging to have the Bourse quotations from all the Stock Exchanges sent off with the political despatches by obliging officials abroad. The political despatches take precedence of the Bourse telegrams, so that one would gain from twenty minutes to half an hour. One would then want a quick-footed Jew to secure this advantage. I know people who have done it. In that way one might earn fifteen hundred to fifteen thousand thalers daily, and in a few years that makes a handsome fortune. But, all the same, it remains ugly; and my son shall not say of me that that was how I made him a rich man. He can become rich in some other way—through speculation with his own property, through the sale of timber, by marriage, or something of the kind. I was much better off before I was made Chancellor than I am now. My grants have ruined me. My affairs have been embarrassed ever since. Previously I regarded myself as a simple country gentleman; now that I, to a certain extent, belong to the peerage, my requirements are increasing and my estates bring me in nothing. As Minister at Frankfurt I always had a balance to my credit, and also in St. Petersburg, where I was not obliged to entertain, and did not."

In the afternoon Friedlander called upon me with an invitation, which I was obliged to decline. Our fat friend knew exactly why the bombardment did not take place. "Blumenthal will not agree to it because the Crown Prince does not want it," he said; "and behind him are the two Victorias," so an Artillery officer told him a few days ago.

Sunday, December 4th.—The Chief remarked at dinner: "Leaving Frankfurt and St. Petersburg out of account, I have now been longer here than in any other foreign town during my whole life. We shall spend Christmas here, which we had not expected to do, and we may remain at Versailles till Easter and see the trees grow green again, whilst we wait for news of the Loire army. Had we only known we might have planted asparagus in the garden here."

The Minister went on: "I have just looked through the

newspaper extracts. How they do abuse the treaties! They simply tear them into shreds. The *National Zeitung*, the *Kölnische*,—the *Weiser Zeitung* is still the most reasonable, as it always is. Of course one must put up with criticism; but then one is responsible if the negotiations come to nothing, while the critics have no responsibility. I am indifferent as to their censure so long as the thing gets through the Reichstag. History may say that the wretched Chancellor ought to have done better; but I was responsible. If the Reichstag introduces amendments every German Diet can do the same, and then the thing will drag on and we shall not be able to secure the peace we desire and need. We cannot demand the cession of Alsace if no political entity is created, if there is no Germany to cede it to."

The question of the peace negotiations to follow in the approaching capitulation of Paris was then discussed, and the difficulties which might arise. The Chief said: "Favre and Trochu may say, 'We are not the Government.' We were part of it at one time, but now that we have surrendered we are private persons. I am nothing more than Citizen Trochu. But at that point I should try a little coercion on the Parisians. I should say to them: 'I hold you, two million people, responsible in your own persons. I shall let you starve for twenty-four hours unless you agree to our demands.' Yes, and yet another four-and-twenty hours, come what might of it.

"I would stick to my point—but the King, the Crown Prince, the women who force their sentimental views upon them, and certain secret European connections—I can deal with those in front of me—but those who stand behind me, behind my back, or rather who weigh upon me so that I cannot breathe!—people for whom the German cause and German victories are not the main question; but, rather, their anxiety to be praised in English newspapers. Ah, if one were but the Landgrave!—I could trust myself to be hard enough. But, unfortunately, one is not the Landgrave. Quite recently, in their maudlin solicitude for the Parisians, they have again brought forward a thoroughly foolish scheme. Great stores of provisions from London and Belgium are to be collected for the Parisians. The storehouses are to be within our lines, and our soldiers are merely to look at them, but not to touch them, however much they may themselves suffer from scarcity and hunger. The supplies are to prevent the

Parisians starving when they shall have capitulated. We, in this house, it is true, have enough, but the troops are on short commons; yet they must suffer in order that the Parisians, when they learn that supplies have been collected for them, may postpone their capitulation till they have eaten their last loaf and slaughtered their last horse. I shall not be consulted, otherwise I'd rather be hanged than consent to it. But I am, nevertheless, responsible. I was imprudent enough to call attention to the famine that must ensue. It is true I mentioned it merely to the diplomatists. But they have thus become aware of the fact. Otherwise it would not have occurred to them."

Abeken, who had been with the King, came in afterwards, and reported that his Majesty considered it would be well to write again to the Emperor of Russia, and give him the views held here respecting the Gortschakoff Note. The Chief said: "I think not. Enough has been already written and telegraphed on the subject. They know in St. Petersburg what we think. At least we must not write discourteously, but rather in a friendly and amiable spirit: It is better however to say nothing. If it were England! But we shall still want Russia's goodwill in the immediate future. When that is no longer necessary, we can afford to be rude."

Bohlen said: "They are quite beside themselves in Berlin. They will have tremendous rejoicings there to-morrow, about the Emperor. They are going to illuminate the town, and are making immense preparations—a regular scene from fairyland!" "I fancy that will have a good effect on the Reichstag," observed the Chief. "It was really very nice of Roggenbach to start off at once for Berlin" (in order to urge moderation upon the grumblers in the Reichstag). "They" (the members of Parliament, or the Berliners?) "attach much more importance to the title of Emperor than the thing really deserves—although I do not mean to say it is of no value."

Bohlen: "How pleased the King will feel at being made Emperor! and still more so, the Crown Prince!"

The Chief: "Yes, and no doubt he is already thinking about the cut of the Imperial robes."

Monday, December 5th.—At dinner Bamberger, the member of the Reichstag, was on the Chief's left. He is also going to Berlin in order to plead for the adoption, without alteration, of the treaties with South Germany. The attitude of the Princes in

this matter was admitted to be correct. "Yes, but the Reichstag," said the Chancellor; "it reminds me of Kaiser Heinrich and his 'Gentlemen, you have spoiled my sport.'¹ In that instance it ultimately turned out all right, but in this! All the members of the Reichstag might sacrifice themselves one after another upon the altar of the Fatherland—it would be all to no purpose." After reflecting for a moment, the Minister continued, with a smile: "Members of the Diet and the Reichstag should be made responsible, like Ministers, no more and no less, and placed on a footing of absolute equality. A Bill should provide for the impeachment for treason of members of Parliament when they reject important State treaties, or, as in Paris, approve of a war undertaken on frivolous pretences. They were all in favour of the war, with the exception of Jules Favre. Perhaps I shall bring in some such measure one day."

The conversation then turned upon the approaching capitulation of Paris, which must take place, at latest, within a month. "Ah!" sighed the Chancellor, "it is then that my troubles will begin in earnest." . . . Bamberger was of opinion that they should not be allowed merely to capitulate, but should immediately be called upon to conclude peace. "Quite so," said the Chief. "That is exactly my view, and they should be forced to do so by starvation. But there are people who want, above all else, to be extolled for their humane feelings, and they will spoil everything—altogether forgetting the fact that we must think of our own soldiers, and take care that they shall not suffer want and be shot down to no purpose. It is just the same with the bombardment. And then we are told to spare people who are searching for potatoes; they should be shot too, if we want to reduce the city by starvation."

In connection with an article on Austrian affairs the Chief concluded with the following remarks, which I did not, however, venture to publish:—"The Hapsburgs have really become great through plundering old families—the Hungarians, for instance. At bottom they are only a family of police spies (*polizeilich-Spitzelfamilie*) who lived upon and made their fortune by confiscations."

After Bucher, Keudell and myself had been for some time at tea, we were joined by the Chief, and afterwards by Hatzfeldt,

¹ His greeting to those who brought him the news of his election as Emperor while he was netting birds in the forest.

who had been with the King. He said it was intolerably dull there. "Grimm, the Russian Councillor of State, gave us a variety of wearisome particulars about Louis Quatorze and Louis Quinze. The W. worried us, and me in particular, with silly questions." (He pouted his lips, assumed a killing smile, and bent his head to one side, imitating the Grand Duke's affectations.) "Yes, he is a fearful bore," added the Chief. "What a miserable position it must be for a man whose father was a Court official to him or one like him, and who has to assume the same office himself—a chamberlain or something of that kind, who has to listen day after day to all that twaddle, and has no prospect of ever becoming anything else! The Queen is just such another. She was educated in the same school. I remember she once questioned me on a literary subject, I believe it was about some French book or other. 'I do not know, your Majesty,' I replied. 'Ah, I suppose that does not interest you.' 'No, your Majesty.' Radowitz was very strong on those subjects. He boldly gave every kind of information, and in that way secured a great deal of his success at Court. He was able to tell exactly what Maintenon or Pompadour wore on such and such a day; such and such a gewgaw on her neck, her head-dress trimmed with humming-birds or grapes, her gown pearl-grey or peacock-green with furbelows or lace of this or that description—exactly as if he had been there at the time. The ladies were all ear for these toilette lectures, which he poured forth with the utmost fluency."

The conversation then turned upon Alexander von Humboldt, who appears to have been a courtier too, but not of the amusing variety. The Chief said: "Under the late King I was the sole victim when Humboldt chose to entertain the company in his own style. He usually read, often for hours at a time, the biography of some French savant or architect in whom nobody in the world except himself took the slightest interest. He stood by the lamp holding the paper close to the light, and occasionally paused for the purpose of making some learned observation. Although nobody listened to him he had the ear of the house. The Queen was all the time at work on a piece of tapestry, and certainly did not understand a word of what he said. The King looked through his portfolios of engravings, turning them over as noisily as possible, evidently with the intention of not hearing him. The young people on both sides and in the background enjoyed

themselves without the least restraint, so that their cackling and giggling actually drowned his reading, which however rippled on without break or stop like a brook. Gerlach, who was usually present, sat on his small round chair which could barely accommodate his voluminous person, and slept so soundly that he snored. The King was once obliged to wake him, and said, 'Pray, Gerlach, don't snore so loud!' I was Humboldt's only patient listener, that is to say I sat silent and pretended to listen, at the same time following my own thoughts, until at length cold cake and white wine were served. It put the old gentleman in very bad humour not to be allowed to have the talk all to himself. I remember once there was somebody there who managed to monopolise the conversation, quite naturally, it is true, as he was a clever raconteur and spoke about things that interested everybody. Humboldt was beside himself. In a peevish surly temper he piled his plate so high (pointing with his hand) with *pâté de foie gras*, fat eels, lobsters' tails, and other indigestible stuff,—a real mountain,—it was astounding that an old man could put it all away. At last his patience was exhausted, and he could not stand it any longer. So he tried to interrupt the speaker. 'On the peak of Popocatepetl,' he began,—but the other went on with his story. 'On the peak of Popocatepetl, seven thousand fathoms above'—but he again failed to make any impression, and the narrative maintained its easy flow. 'On the peak of Popocatepetl, seven thousand fathoms above the level of the sea,' he exclaimed in a loud and excited tone,—but with as little success as before. The talker talked on, and the company had no ears for anybody else. That was something unheard of, outrageous! Humboldt threw himself back in morose meditation over the ingratitude of mankind, and shortly afterwards left. The Liberals made a great deal of him, and counted him as one of themselves. He was however a sycophant who aspired to the favour of Princes and who was only happy when basking in the sunshine of royalty. That did not prevent him however from criticising the Court afterwards to Varnhagen, and repeating all sorts of discreditable stories about it. Varnhagen worked these up into books, which I also bought. They are fearfully dear when one thinks how few lines in large type go to the page." Keudell observed that they were nevertheless indispensable for historical purposes. "Yes, in a certain sense," replied the Chief. "Taken individually the

stories are not worth much, but as a whole they are an expression of the sourness of Berlin at a period when nothing of importance was happening. At that time everybody talked in that maliciously impotent way. It was a society which it would be hardly possible to realise to day without the assistance of such books, unless one had personal experience of it. A great deal of outward show with nothing genuine behind it. I remember, although I was a very little fellow at the time, it must have been in 1821 or '22. Ministers were still like strange animals, regarded with wonder as something mysterious. There was once a large party, which was at that time called an *assemblée*, given at Schuckmann's—what a monstrous huge beast he was as a Minister! My mother also went there. I remember it as if it were to-day. She wore long gloves that went up to here." (He pointed to the upper part of his arm.) "A dress with a short waist, her hair puffed out on both sides, and a big ostrich feather on her head." (The Chief left this anecdote unfinished, if indeed there was any conclusion to it, and returned to his former subject.) "Humboldt, however," he continued, "had a great many interesting things to tell when one was alone with him, about the times of Frederick William III., and in particular about his own first sojourn in Paris. As he liked me, owing to the attention with which I listened to him, he told me a number of pretty anecdotes. It was the same with old Metternich, with whom I spent a few days at Johannisburg. Thun afterwards said to me, 'I do not know how you have managed to get round the old Prince, but he has indeed looked into you as if you were a golden goblet, and he told me if you do not come to an understanding with him then I really don't know what to say.' 'I can explain that to you,' I replied. 'I listened to all his stories, and often prompted him to continue them. That pleases the garrulous old people.'"

Tuesday, December 6th.—I wrote an article in which I politely expressed surprise at the brazen impudence with which Gramont reminds the world of his existence in the Brussels *Gaulois*. "A blockhead, a coward, an impudent fellow!" said the Chief, when he instructed me to write this article. "You can use the strongest expressions in dealing with him."

CHAPTER VIII

The Prospects outside Paris improve—The Bombardment still delayed—How the Ems Telegram was edited—Russia and Germany—Bismarck criticises the Conduct of the Campaign.

Wednesday, December 7th.—At dinner the Chief related some of his Frankfurt reminiscences. "It was possible to get on with Thun," he said. "He was a respectable man. Taken altogether, Rechberg¹ was also not bad. He was at least honourable from a personal standpoint, although violent and irascible—one of those passionate, fiery blondes! It is true that as an Austrian diplomat of those days he was not able to pay too strict a regard to truth. I remember his once receiving a despatch in which he was instructed to maintain the best relations with us, a second despatch being sent to him at the same time enjoining him to follow an exactly opposite course. I happened to call upon him, and he inadvertently gave me the second despatch to read. I saw immediately how matters stood and read it through. Then handing it back to him I said: 'I beg your pardon, but you have given me the wrong one.' He was fearfully embarrassed, but I consoled him, saying I would take no advantage of his mistake, using it merely for my personal information." The third, however,—Prokesch—was not at all to my liking. In the East he had learnt the basest forms of intrigue and had no sense of honour or truth. A thoroughpaced liar. I remember being once in a large company where some Austrian assertion which was not in accordance with the truth was being discussed. Prokesch, raising his voice in order that I might hear him, said: 'If that be not true, then the Imperial and Royal Cabinet has commissioned me to commit an act of perfidy, indeed his Imperial and Apostolic

¹ Thun, Rechberg and Prokesch held in succession the position of Austrian Minister to the Bundestag.

Majesty has *lied* to me!’ and he emphasised the word *lied*. He looked at me whilst he was speaking, and when he had finished, I replied, quietly: ‘Quite so, Excellency!’ He was obviously aghast, and as he looked round and found all eyes cast down and a deep silence which showed approval of what I had said, he turned away without a word and went into the dining-room where the table was laid. He had recovered himself, however, after dinner, and came over to me with a full glass in his hand—but for that I should have thought he was going to challenge me—and said, ‘Well, let us make peace.’ ‘Certainly,’ I replied, ‘but what I said in the other room was true, and the protocol must be altered.’ The protocol was altered, an admission that it had contained an untruth. A rascally fellow!”

Thursday, December 8th.—Some one asked at dinner how the question of Emperor and Empire now stood. The Chief replied *inter alia*: “We have had a great deal of trouble with it in the way of telegrams and letters. But after all Holstein has done the greater part of the work. He is a clever fellow, and not in the least spoilt by or prepossessed in favour of Court manners.” Putbus asked what position he held. “Master of the Horse. He showed himself very willing and energetic, making the journey to Munich and back in six days. In the present condition of the railways that requires a great deal of good will. Of course he has the necessary physique. Indeed, not merely to Munich, but to Hohenschwangau,—and there saw the King who had just been operated under chloroform for a tumour in the gum. But King Lewis also greatly contributed to the speedy settlement of the matter. He received the letter immediately, and at once gave a definite answer. He might easily have said that he must first take some fresh air in the mountains, and would answer in three or four days. The Count has certainly done us a very good service in the affair; but I really do not know how we can reward him.” I forget how the conversation came to deal with the terms “Swell,” “Snob,” and “Cockney,” which were the subject of much discussion. The Chief mentioned a certain diplomat as a “swell,” and observed: “It is really a capital word, but we cannot translate it into German. ‘*Stutzer*,’ perhaps, but that conveys at the same time pompousness and self-importance. ‘Snob’ is something quite different, while it is also very difficult for us to render properly. It denotes a variety of attri-

butes, but principally one-sidedness, narrowness, slavery to local or class prejudices, philistinism. A 'snob' is something like our '*Pfalzbürger*,' yet not quite. It includes also a pretty conception of family interests, political narrow-mindedness, rigid adherence to ideas and habits that have become a second nature. There are also female snobs and very distinguished ones. The feminine half of our Court are snobs. Our two most exalted ladies are snobs. The male element is not snobbish. One may also talk of party snobs—those who in larger political issues cannot emancipate themselves from the rules that govern private conduct—the 'Progressist snob.' The cockney again is quite another person. That term applies more particularly to Londoners. There are people there who have never been outside their own walls and streets, never got away from the brick and mortar, who have never seen life anywhere else nor travelled beyond the sound of Bow Bells. We have also Berliners who have never left their city. But Berlin is a small place compared to London, or even Paris, which has also its cockneys, although they are known by another name there. There are hundreds of thousands in London who have never seen anything but London. In such great cities conceptions are formed which permeate the whole community, and harden into the most inveterate prejudices. Such narrow and silly ideas arise in every great centre of population where the people have no experience, and often not the faintest notion of how things look elsewhere. Silliness without conceit is endurable, but to be silly and unpractical, and at the same time conceited, is intolerable. Country life brings people into much closer contact with realities. They may be less educated there, but what they know they know thoroughly. There are, however, snobs in the country also. (Turning to Putbus.) Just take a really clever shot. He is convinced that he is the first man in the world, and that sport is everything, and that those who do not understand it are worth nothing. And then a man who lives on his estate in a remote district, where he is everything, and all the people depend upon him; when he comes to the wool-market and finds that he is not of the same importance with the townspeople as he is at home, he gets into a bad temper, sits sulking on his sack of wool, and takes no notice of anything else."

At tea, Keudell said that I ought really to see, not merely those

political despatches, reports and drafts which I received from the Minister, but everything that came in and went out. He would speak on the subject to Abeken, who acts here as Secretary of State. I accepted his proposal with many thanks.

Bucher informed me that the Minister had made some very interesting remarks in the drawing-room while they were taking coffee. Prince Putbus mentioned his desire to travel in far distant lands. "It might be possible to manage that for you," said the Chief. "You might be commissioned to notify the foundation of the German Empire to the Emperor of China and the Tycoon of Japan." The Minister then discussed at length the duties of the German aristocracy, of course with special reference to his guest.

The King was faithful to his duty, but he was born in the last century and thus he regarded many things from a point of view which was no longer suitable to the times. He would allow himself to be cut to pieces in the interests of the State, as he understood them, if he knew that his family would be provided for. The future king was quite different. He had not this strong sense of duty. When he found himself in good case, had plenty of money at his disposal and was praised by the newspapers, he was quite satisfied. He would choose his Ministers in the English fashion from the Liberal or from other parties just as things happened in the Diet, in order to avoid trouble. In that way, however, he would ruin everything, or at least produce a condition of constant instability. The great nobles ought then to intervene. They must have a sense of the necessities of the State and recognise their mission, which is to preserve the State from vacillation and uncertainty in the struggles of parties, to give it a firm support, &c. There was no objection to their associating with a Strousberg, but they would do better to become bankers straight away.

Tuesday, December 13th.—About 1.30 P.M. I was summoned to the Chancellor. He wished me to call attention to the difficulties of the King of Holland with regard to a new Ministry, and to point to this as the result of a purely Parliamentary system under which the advisers of the Crown must retire, whatever the condition of affairs may be, when a majority of the representatives is opposed to them on any question. He observed: "I remember when I became Minister that there had been twenty or

twenty-one Ministries since the introduction of the constitutional system. If the principal of Ministers retiring before a hostile majority be too strictly enforced, far too many politicians will be used up. Then mediocrities will have to be taken for the post, and finally there will be no one left who will care to devote himself to such a trade. The moral is that either the advantages of a Minister's position must be increased, or the Parliamentary system must be applied less stringently."

The Chief went out for a drive at 3 o'clock, after Russell had again called upon him.

He talked after dinner about his negotiations with Russell and the demands of Gortschakoff. He said amongst other things: "They do not want in London to give an unqualified approval to the proposal that the Black Sea shall be again given up to Russia and the Turks with full sovereignty over its coast. They are afraid of public opinion in England, and Russell returns again and again to the idea that some equivalent might possibly be found. He asked, for instance, whether it would not be possible for us to join in the agreement of the 16th of April, 1856. I replied that Germany had no real interest in the matter. Or whether we would bind ourselves to observe neutrality in case of a conflict some day breaking out there. I told him I was not in favour of a conjectural policy, such as his suggestion involved. It would depend altogether on circumstances. For the present we saw no reason why we should take any part in the matter. That ought to suffice for him. Besides I did not believe that gratitude had no place in politics. The present Tsar had always acted in a friendly and benevolent manner towards us. Austria, on the other hand, was up to the present little to be trusted and took up at times a very dubious attitude. Of course he knew himself how far we were indebted to England. The friendship of the Tsar was the legacy of old relations, based partly on family connections, but partly also on the recognition that our interests are not opposed to his. We did not know what those relations would be in future, and therefore it was impossible to speak about them. . . . Our position was now different to what it was formerly. We should be the only Power that had reason to be satisfied; we had no call to oblige any one of whose willingness to reciprocate our services we could not altogether feel sure. . . . He returned again and again to the suggestion as to an equivalent,

and at length asked me if I could not propose something. I spoke of making the Dardanelles and the Black Sea free to all. That would please Russia, as she could then pass from the Black Sea into the Mediterranean, and Turkey also as she could have her friends, including the Americans, near her. It would remove one of the reasons why the Americans held with the Russians, namely, their desire for free navigation in all seas. He seemed to recognise the truth of that." The Chancellor added: "As a matter of fact, the Russians should not have been so modest in their demands. They ought to have asked for more, and then the matter of the Black Sea would have been granted to them without any difficulty." Turning to Abeken the Minister said: "Write that to Bernstorff and also to Reuss for his information. In writing to the latter, suggest that in St. Petersburg they should try to find something harmless that would look like an equivalent."

The conversation then turned upon the four new points of international law respecting navigation—that no privateers should be fitted out, that goods should not be seized so far as they were not contraband of war, and that a blockade was only valid when effective, &c. The Chief remarked that one of these was flagrantly violated by the French in burning a German ship. He concluded the conversation on this head by saying, "We must see how we are to get rid of this rubbish."

Thursday, December 15th.—Count Frankenberg and Count Lehdorff joined us at dinner, Prince Pless coming in half an hour later. The Chief was in high spirits and very talkative. The conversation at first turned on the question of the day, that is to say, the commencement of the bombardment. The Minister said it might be expected within the next eight or ten days. It would possibly not be very successful during the first weeks, as the Parisians had had time to take precautions against it. Frankenberg said that in Berlin, and particularly in the Reichstag, no subject was so much discussed as the reasons why the bombardment had been postponed up to the present. Everything else gave way to that. The Chief replied; "Yes, but now that Roon has taken the matter in hand something will be done. A thousand ammunition waggons with the necessary teams are on their way here, and it is said that some of the new mortars have arrived. Now that Roon has taken it up something will at last be done."

The manner in which the restoration of the imperial dignity in Germany had been brought before the Reichstag was then discussed, and Frankenberg as well as Prince Pless were of opinion that it might have been better managed. The Conservatives had not been informed beforehand, and the statement was actually made when they were sitting at lunch. To all appearance Windthorst was not wrong when, with his usual dexterity in seizing his opportunities, he remarked that he had expected more sympathy from the Assembly.

"Yes," said the Chief, "there ought to have been a better stage manager for the farce. It should have had a more effective *mise-en-scène*,—but Delbrück does not understand that sort of thing. Some one should have got up to express his dissatisfaction with the Bavarian Treaties, which lacked this, that, and the other. Then he should have said: 'If, however, an equivalent were found to compensate for these defects, something in which the unity of the nation would find expression, that would be different,'—and then the Emperor should have been brought forward." . . . "Moreover, the Emperor is more important than many people think. I could not tell them (that is to say, the Princes) what it all means—if I had, I certainly should not have succeeded. . . . I admit that the Bavarian Treaty has defects and deficiencies. That is, however, easily said when one is not responsible. How would it have been, then, if I had refused to make concessions and no treaty had been concluded? It is impossible to conceive all the difficulties that would have resulted from such a failure, and for that reason I was in mortal anxiety over the easy unconcern of centralising gentlemen in the Diet." . . . "Last night, after a long interval, I had again a couple of hours of good deep sleep. At first I could not get off to sleep, worrying and pondering over all sorts of things. Then suddenly I saw Varzin before me, quite distinctly to the smallest detail like a big picture, with all the colours even—green trees, the sunshine on the stems and a blue sky above it all. I saw each single tree. I tried to get rid of it, but it came back and tormented me, and at length when it faded away it was replaced by other pictures, documents, notes, despatches, until at last towards morning I fell asleep."

Monday, December 19th.—Abeken was talking before dinner about the events at Ems which preceded the outbreak of the war,

and related that on one occasion, after a certain despatch had been sent off, the King said, "Well, he" (Bismarck) "will be satisfied with us now!" And Abeken added, "I believe you were." "Well," replied the Chancellor, laughing, "you may easily be mistaken. That is to say I was quite satisfied with you. But not quite as much with our Most Gracious, or rather not at all. He ought to have acted in a more dignified way—and more resolutely." "I remember," he continued, "how I received the news at Varzin. I had gone out, and on my return the first telegram had been delivered. As I started on my journey I had to pass our pastor's house at Wussow. He was standing at his gate and saluted me. I said nothing but made a thrust in the air—thus" (as if he were making a thrust with a sword). "He understood me, and I drove on." The Minister then gave some particulars of the wavering and hesitation that went on up to a certain incident, which altered the complexion of things, and was followed by the declaration of war. "I expected to find another telegram in Berlin answering mine, but it had not arrived. In the meantime I invited Moltke and Roon to dine with me that evening, and to talk over the situation, which seemed to me to be growing more and more unsatisfactory. Whilst we were dining, another long telegram was brought in. As I read it to them—it must have been about two hundred words—they were both actually terrified, and Moltke's whole being suddenly changed. He seemed to be quite old and infirm. It looked as if our Most Gracious might knuckle under after all. I asked him (Moltke) if, as things stood we might hope to be victorious. On his replying in the affirmative, I said 'Wait a minute!' and seating myself at a small table I boiled down those two hundred words to about twenty, but without otherwise altering or adding anything. It was Abeken's telegram, yet something different—shorter, more determined, less dubious. I then handed it over to them, and asked, 'Well, how does that do now?' 'Yes,' they said, 'it will do in that form.' And Moltke immediately became quite young and fresh again. He had got his war, his trade. And the thing really succeeded. The French were fearfully angry at the condensed telegram as it appeared in the newspapers, and a couple of days later they declared war against us."

Tuesday, December 20th.—The Crown Prince and his aide-de-camp arrived shortly after six o'clock. The former had on his

shoulder straps the badges of his new military rank as field-marshal. He sat at the head of the table, with the Chief on his right, and Abeken on his left. After the soup the conversation first turned on the subject which I had this morning worked up for the press, namely, that according to a communication from Israel, the secretary of Laurier, who acts as agent for the Provisional Government in London, Gambetta no longer believed in the possibility of successful resistance, and was disposed to conclude peace on the basis of our demands. Trochu was the only member of the Government who wished to continue the struggle, but on his undertaking the defence of Paris, the others had bound themselves to act in concert with him in this respect.

The Chancellor observed: "He is understood to have had Mont Valérien provisioned for two months, so that he may fall back upon that position with the regular troops when it becomes necessary to surrender the city—probably in order to influence the conclusion of peace." He then continued: "Indeed, I believe that France will break up into several pieces—the country is already split up into parties. There are great differences of opinion between the different districts. Legitimists in Brittany, Red Republicans in the south, and Moderate Republicans elsewhere, while the regular army is still for the Emperor, or at least the majority of the officers are. It is possible that each section will follow its own convictions, one being Republican, another Bourbon, and a third Orleanist, according to the party that happens to have the most adherents, and then Napoleon's people—tetrarchies of Judea, Galilee, &c."

The Crown Prince said it was believed that Paris must have a subterranean communication with the outer world. The Chief thought so too, and added: "But they cannot get provisions in that way, although, of course, they can receive news. I have been thinking whether it might not be possible to flood the catacombs from the Seine, and thus inundate the lower parts of the city. Of course the catacombs go under the Seine."

The Chief then said that if Paris could be taken now it would produce a good effect upon public opinion in Bavaria, whence the reports were again unsatisfactory. Bray was not to be trusted, had not the interests of Germany at heart, inclined to the Ultramontanes, had a Neapolitan wife, felt happiest in his memories of Vienna, where he lived for a long time, and seemed disposed to

tack about again. "The King is, after all, the best of them all in the upper circles," said the Chancellor, "but he seems to be in bad health and eccentric, and nobody knows what may yet happen." "Yes, indeed," said the Crown Prince. "How bright and handsome he was formerly—a little too slight, but otherwise the very ideal of a young man. Now his complexion is yellow and he looks old. I was quite shocked when I saw him." "The last time I saw him," said the Chancellor, "was at his mother's at Nymphenburg, in 1863, when the Congress of Princes was being held. Even at that time he had a strange look in his eyes. I remember that, when dining, he on one occasion drank no wine, and on another took eight or ten glasses—not at intervals, but hastily, one glass after another, at one draught, so that the servant scarcely liked to keep on filling his glass."

The conversation then turned on the Bavarian Prince Charles, who was said to be strongly anti-Prussian, but too old and feeble to be very dangerous to the cause of German unity. Some one remarked: "Nature has very little to do with him as it is." "That reminds me of old Count Adlerberg," said the Minister, "who was also mostly artificial—hair, teeth, calves, and one eye. When he wanted to get up in the morning all his best parts lay on chairs and tables near the bed. You remember the newly-married man in the *Fliegende Blätter* who watched his bride take herself to pieces, lay her hair on the toilet table, her teeth on the chimney piece, and other fragments elsewhere, and then exclaimed, 'But what remains for me?'" Moreover, Adlerberg, he went on to say, was a terrible bore, and it was owing to him that Countess Bismarck once fainted at a diplomatic dinner where she was seated between him and Stieglitz. "She always faints when she is exceptionally bored, and for that reason I never take her with me to diplomatic dinners." "That is a pretty compliment for the diplomats," observed the Crown Prince.

The Chief then related that one evening, not long ago, the sentry on guard at the Crown Prince's quarters did not want to let him go in, and only agreed to do so on his addressing him in Polish. "A few days ago I also tried to talk Polish with the soldiers in the hospital, and they brightened up wonderfully on hearing a gentleman speak their mother tongue. It is a pity that my vocabulary was exhausted. It would, perhaps, be a good thing if their commander-in-chief could speak to them." "There

you are, Bismarck, coming back to the old story," said the Crown Prince, smiling. "No, I don't like the Polish and I won't learn it. I do not like the people." "But, your Royal Highness, they, are, after all, good soldiers and honest fellows when they have been taught to wash themselves and not to pilfer." The Crown Prince: "Yes, but when they cast off the soldier's tunic they are just what they were before, and at bottom they are and still remain hostile to us." The Chief: "As to their hostility, that only applies to the nobles and their labourers, and all that class. A noble, who has nothing himself, feeds a crowd of people, servants of all sorts, who also belong to the minor nobility, although they act as his domestics, overseers, and clerks. These stand by him when he rises in rebellion, and also the Komorniks, or day labourers. . . . The independent peasantry does not join them, however, even when egged on by the priests, who are always against us. We have seen that in Posen, when the Polish regiments had to be removed merely because they were too cruel to their own fellow countrymen. . . . I remember at our place in Pomerania there was a market, attended, on one occasion, by a number of Kassubes (Pomeranian Poles). A quarrel broke out between one of them and a German, who refused to sell him a cow because he was a Pole. The Kassube was mortally offended, and shouted out: 'You say I'm a Polack. No I'm just as much a Prussack as yourself;' and then, as other Germans and Poles joined in, it soon developed into a beautiful free fight."

The Chief then added that the Great Elector spoke Polish as well as German, and that his successors also understood that language. Frederick the Great was the first who did not learn it, but then he also spoke better French than German. "That may be," said the Crown Prince, "but I am not going to learn Polish. I do not like it. They must learn German." With this remark the subject was allowed to drop.

After dinner the Crown Prince and the Minister retired with the Councillors to the drawing-room, where they took coffee. Later on we were all sent for, and formally presented to the future Emperor by the Chief. We had to wait for about a quarter of an hour while the Chancellor was deep in conversation with the Crown Prince. His august guest stood in the corner near one of the windows. The Chief spoke to him in a low tone, with his

eyes mostly cast down, while the Crown Prince listened with a serious and almost sullen look.

After the presentation I returned to the bureau, where I read the diplomatic reports and drafts of the last few days, amongst others the draft of the King's reply to the Reichstag deputation. This had been prepared by Abeken, and greatly altered by the Chief. Then an instruction from the Minister to the Foreign Office to the effect that if the *Provinzial Correspondenz* should again contain a commendation of Gambetta's energy or anything of that kind, every possible means should be immediately employed to prevent the publication. Also a report from Prince Reuss to the effect that Gortschakoff had replied in a negative sense to a sentimental communication of Gabrial's, adding that all the Russian Cabinet could do for the French at present was to act as letter-carrier in conveying their wishes to the Prussian Government.

Wednesday, December 21st.—At dinner the Chief spoke of his great-grandfather, who, if I rightly understood him, fell at Czaslau. "The old people at our place often described him to my father. He was a mighty hunter before the Lord, and a great toper. Once in a single year he shot 154 red deer, a feat which Prince Frederick Charles will scarcely emulate, although the Duke of Dessau might. I remember being told that when he was stationed at Gollnow, the officers messed together, the Colonel presiding over the kitchen. It was the custom there for five or six dragoons to march in and fire a volley from their carbines at each toast. Altogether they had very curious customs. For instance, instead of a plank bed they had as a punishment a so-called wooden donkey with sharp edges, upon which the men who had been guilty of any breach of discipline were obliged to sit, often for a couple of hours—a very painful punishment. On the birthday of the Colonel or of other officers, the soldiers always carried this donkey to the bridge and threw it into the river. But a new one was invariably provided. The Burgomaster's wife told my father that it must have been renewed a hundred times. I have a portrait of this great-grandfather in Berlin. I am the very image of him, that is to say, I was when I was young—when I saw myself in the looking-glass."

The Minister then related that it was owing to a relative of his, Finanzrath Kerl, that he was sent to Göttingen University.

He was consigned to Professor Hausmann, and was to study mineralogy. "They were thinking, no doubt, of Leopold von Buch, and fancied it would be fine for me to go through the world like him, hammer in hand, chipping pieces off the rocks. Things, however, turned out differently. It would have been better if I had been sent to Bonn, where I should have met countrymen of my own. At Göttingen I had no one from my own part of the country, and so I met none of my University acquaintances again until I saw a few of them in the Reichstag."

Abeken said that after a brisk fire from the forts this morning there had been a sortie of the Paris garrison, which was principally directed against the positions occupied by the Guards. It was, however, scarcely more than an artillery engagement, as the attack was known beforehand and preparations had been made to meet it. Hatzfeldt said he should like to know how they were able to discover that a sortie was going to take place. It was suggested that in the open country movements of transport and guns could not escape detection, as large masses of troops could not be concentrated on the point of attack in one night. "That was quite true," observed the Chief, with a laugh; "but often a hundred louis-d'ors also form an important part of this military prescience."

After dinner I read drafts and despatches, from which I ascertained, amongst other things, that as early as the 1st of September, Prussia had intimated in St. Petersburg that she would put no difficulties in the way of such action in the matter of the Black Sea as has now been taken.

Thursday, December 22nd.—This time there were no strangers at dinner. The Chief was in excellent spirits, but the conversation was of no special importance.

A reference was made to yesterday's sortie, and the Chief remarked: "The French came out yesterday with three divisions, and we had only fifteen companies, not even four battalions, and yet we made nearly a thousand prisoners. The Parisians with their attacks, now here and now there, remind me of a French dancing master conducting a quadrille.

"Ma commère, quand je danse
Mon cotillon, va-t-il bien?
Il va de ci, il va de là,
Comme la queue de notre chat."

Later on the Chief remarked: "Our august master is not at all pleased at the idea of Antonelli at length deciding to come here. He is uneasy about it. I am not." Abeken said: "The newspapers express very different opinions about Antonelli. At one time he is described as a man of great intelligence and acumen; then again as a sly intriguer, and shortly afterwards as a stupid fellow and a blockhead." The Chief replied: "It is not in the press alone that you meet with such contradictions. It is the same with many diplomats. Goltz and our Harry (von Arnim). We will leave Goltz out of the question—that was different. But Harry—to-day this way and to-morrow that! When I used to read a number of his reports together at Varzin, I found his opinion of people change entirely a couple of times every week, according as he had met with a friendly or unfriendly reception. As a matter of fact, he sent different opinions by every post, and often by the same post."

Friday, December 23rd.—It was mentioned at dinner that General von Voigts-Rhetz was outside Tours, the inhabitants having offered so much resistance that it was found necessary to shell the town. The Chief added, "He ought not to have stopped firing when they hoisted the white flag. I would have continued to shell them until they sent out four hundred hostages." He again condemned the leniency of the officers towards civilians who offer resistance. Even notorious treachery was scarcely punished as it ought to be, and so the French imagined that they could do what they liked against us. "Here is, for instance, this Colonel Krohn," he continued. "He first has a lawyer tried for aiding and abetting franc-tireurs, and then, when he sees him condemned, he sends in first one and then another petition for mercy, instead of letting the man be shot, and finally despatches the wife to me with a safe conduct. Yet he is generally supposed to be an energetic officer and a strict disciplinarian, but he can hardly be quite right in his head."

From the discussion of this foolish leniency the conversation turned to General von Unger, Chief of the Staff to the 7th Army Corps, who had gone out of his mind, and had to be sent home. He is, it seems, generally moody and silent, but occasionally breaks out into loud weeping. "Yes," sighed the Chief, "officers in that position are terribly harrassed. Constantly at work, always responsible, and yet unable to get things done, and

hampered by intrigue. Almost as bad as a Minister. I know that sort of crying myself. It is over excitement of the nerves, hysterical weeping. I, too, had it at Nikolsburg, and badly. A Minister is just as badly treated—all sorts of worries—an incessant plague of midges. Other things can be borne, but one must be properly treated. I cannot endure shabby treatment. If I were not treated with courtesy I should be inclined to throw my riband of the Black Eagle into the dustbin."

The Versailles *Moniteur* having been mentioned, the Chief observed: "Last week they published a novel by Heyse, the scene of which is laid in Meran. Such sentimental twaddle is quite out of place in a paper published at the cost of the King, which after all this one is. The Versailles people do not want that either. They look for political news and military intelligence from France, from England, or, if you like, from Italy, but not such namby-pamby trash. I have also a touch of poetry in my nature, but the first few sentences of that stuff were enough for me." Abeken, at whose instance the novel was published, stood up for the editor, and said the story had been taken from the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, an admittedly high-class periodical. The Chief, however, stuck to his own opinion. Somebody remarked that the *Moniteur* was now written in better French. "It may be," said the Minister, "but that is a minor point. However, we are Germans, and as such we always ask ourselves, even in the most exalted regions, if we please our neighbours and if what we do is to their satisfaction. If they do not understand, let them learn German. It is a matter of indifference whether a proclamation is written in a good French style or not, so long as it is otherwise adequate and intelligible. Moreover, we cannot expect to be masters of a foreign language. A person who has only used it occasionally for some two and a half years cannot possibly express himself as well as one who has used it for fifty-four years." Steinmetz's proclamation then received some ironical praise, and a couple of extraordinary expressions were quoted from it. Lehndorff said: "It was not first-class French, but it was, at any rate intelligible." The Chief: "Yes, it is their business to understand it. If they cannot, let them find some one to translate it for them. Those people who fancy themselves merely because they speak good French are of no use to us. But that is our misfortune. Whoever

cannot speak decent German is a made man, especially if he can murder English. Old —— (I understood : Meyendorff) once said to me : ‘Don’t trust any Englishman who speaks French with a correct accent.’ I have generally found that true. But I must make an exception in favour of Odo Russell.”

The name of Napoleon III. then came up. The Chief regarded him as a man of limited intelligence. “He is much more good-natured and much less acute than is usually believed.” “Why,” interrupted Lehndorff, “that is just what some one said of Napoleon I. : ‘a good honest fellow, but a fool.’” “But seriously,” continued the Chief, “whatever one may think of the *coup d’état* he is really good-natured, sensitive, even sentimental, while his intellect is not brilliant and his knowledge limited. He is a specially poor hand at geography, although he was educated in Germany, even going to school there,—and he entertains all sorts of visionary ideas. In July last he spent three days shilly-shallying without being able to come to a decision, and even now he does not know what he wants. People would not believe me when I told them so a long time ago. Already in 1854–55 I told the King, Napoleon has no notion of what we are. When I became Minister I had a conversation with him in Paris. He believed there would certainly be a rising in Berlin before long and a revolution all over the country, and in a plebiscite the King would have the whole people against him. I told him then that our people do not throw up barricades, and that revolutions in Prussia are only made by the Kings. If the King could only bear the strain for three or four years he would carry his point. Of course the alienation of public sympathy was unpleasant and inconvenient. But if the King did not grow tired and leave me in the lurch I should not fail. If an appeal were made to the population, and a plebiscite were taken, nine-tenths of them would vote for the King. At that time the Emperor said of me : ‘*Ce n’est pas un homme sérieux.*’ Of course I did not remind him of that in the weaver’s house at Donchery.”

Somebody then mentioned that letters to Favre began “Mon-sieur le Ministre,” whereupon the Chief said : “The next time I write to him I shall begin *Hochwohlgeborner Herr!*” This led to a Byzantine discussion of titles and forms of address, *Excellens*, *Hochwohlgeboren*, and *Wohlgeboren*. The Chancellor entertained decidedly anti-Byzantine views. “All that should be dropped,”

he said. "I do not use those expressions any longer in private letters, and officially I address councillors down to the third class as *Hochwohlgeboren*."

Abeken, a Byzantine of the purest water, declared that diplomats had already resented the occasional omission of portions of their titles, and that only councillors of the second class were entitled to *Hochwohlgeboren*. "Well," said the Chief, "I want to see all that kind of thing done away with as far as we are concerned. In that way we waste an ocean of ink in the course of the year, and the taxpayer has good reason to complain of extravagance. I am quite satisfied to be addressed simply as 'Minister President Count von Bismarck.'"

Saturday, December 24th.—We are joined at dinner by Lieutenant-Colonel von Beckedorff, an old and intimate friend of the Chief, who said to him: "If I had been an officer—I wish I were—I should now have an army and we should not be here outside Paris." He proceeded to give reasons for believing that it was a mistake to have waited and invested Paris. With regard to the operations of the last few weeks, he criticised the advance of the army so far to the north and south-west and the intention of advancing still further. "If it should become necessary to retire from Rouen and Tours, the French will think they have beaten us. It is an unpractical course to march on every place where a mob has been collected. We ought to remain within a certain line. It may be urged that in that case the French would be able to carry on their organisation beyond that line. But they will always be able to do that even if we advance, and we may be obliged ultimately to follow them to the Pyrenees and the Mediterranean." "When we were still at Mayence, I thought that the best plan would be for us to take what we wanted to keep and occupy some five other departments as a pledge for the payment of the cost of the war, and then let the French try to drive us out of our positions."

A further discussion of the conduct of the war followed, in the course of which the Chief remarked: "With us it occasionally happens that it is not so much the generals who begin and direct the course of battles as the troops themselves. Just as it was with the Greeks and Trojans. A couple of men jeer at each other and come to blows, lances are flourished, others rush in with their spears, and so it finally comes to a pitched battle. First the out-

posts fire without any necessity, then if all goes well others press forward after them ; at the start a non-commissioned officer commands a batch of men, then a lieutenant advances with more men, after him comes the regiment, and finally the general must follow with all the troops that are left. It was in that way that the battle of Spicheren began, and also that of Gravelotte, which properly speaking should not have taken place until the 19th. It was different at Vionville. There our people had to spring at the French like bulldogs and hold them fast. At St. Privat the Guards made a foolish attack merely out of professional jealousy of the Saxons, and then when it failed threw the blame on the Saxon troops, who could not have come a minute sooner with the long march they had had to make, and who afterwards rescued them with wonderful gallantry."

Later on I was summoned to see the Chief. Various articles are to be written on the barbarous manner in which the French are conducting the war—and not merely the franc-tireurs, but also the regulars, who are almost daily guilty of breaches of the Geneva Convention.

At 10 P.M. the Chief received the first class of the Iron Cross.

Sunday, December 25th.—We had no guests at dinner, and the conversation was, for the most part, not worth repeating. The following may, however, be noted. Abeken said he had observed that I was keeping a very complete diary, and Bohlen added in his own lively style: "Yes, he writes down: 'At 45 minutes past 3 o'clock Count or Baron So-and-so said this or that,' as if he were going to swear to it at some future time." Abeken said: "That will one day be material for history. If one could only live to read it!" I replied that it would certainly furnish material for history, and very trustworthy material, but not for thirty years to come. The Chief smiled and said: "Yes, and the reference will then be: 'Conf. Buschii, cap. 3, p. 20.'"

After dinner I read State documents and ascertained from them that an extension of the German frontier towards the west was first officially submitted to the King, at Herny, on the 14th of August. It was only on the 2nd September that the Baden Government sent in a memorial in the same sense.

Monday, December 26th.—Waldersee dined with us. The conversation was almost entirely on military subjects. With respect to the further conduct of the war, the Chief said that the wisest

course would be to concentrate our forces in Alsace-Lorraine, the department of the Meuse, and another neighbouring department, which would amount to a strip of territory with about 2,600,000 inhabitants. If one took in a few other departments in addition, without Paris, it would amount to about seven millions, or with Paris to about nine million inhabitants. In any case the operations should be limited to a smaller area than that occupied by our armies at present.

People's ability to carry liquor was then discussed, and the Chief observed: "Formerly drink did not affect me in the least. When I think of my performances in that line! The strong wines, particularly Burgundy!" The conversation afterwards turned for a while on card-playing, and the Minister remarked that he had also done a good deal in that way formerly. He had once played twenty-one rubbers of whist, for instance, one after the other—"which amounts to seven hours time." He could only feel an interest in cards when playing for high stakes, and then it was not a proper thing for the father of a family.

This subject had been introduced by a remark of the Chief's that somebody was a "Riemchenstecher." He asked if we understood what the word meant, and then proceeded to explain it. "Riemchenstechen" is an old soldiers' game, and a "Riemchenstecher" is not exactly a scamp, but rather a sly, sharp fellow. The Minister then related how he had seen a father do his own son at cards out of a sum of twelve thousand thalers. "I saw him cheat, and made a sign to the son, who understood me. He lost the game and paid, although it cost him two years' income. But he never played again."

CHAPTER IX

The Bombardment begins at last—The new Imperial Title—The Proclamation of the German Empire—Awaiting the Capitulation—Favre arrives.

ON Tuesday, the 27th of December, the long-wished-for bombardment of Paris at length began, commencing on the east side. The Minister remained in bed the whole day, not because he was particularly unwell, but, as he told me, to maintain an equable warmth.

The Chief has given directions to adopt the severest measures against Noquet le Roi, where a surprise by franc-tireurs was assisted by the inhabitants. He has also rejected the appeal of the mayor and municipality of Chatillon to be relieved from a contribution of a million francs imposed upon the town as a penalty for similar conduct. In both cases he was guided by the principle that the population must be made to suffer by the war in order to render them more disposed to peace.

Thursday, December 29th.—At 10 o'clock I was called to the Chief, who was lying before the fire on the sofa, wrapt in a blanket. He said: "Well, we've got him!" "Whom, your Excellency?" "Mont Avron." He then showed me a letter from Count Waldersee, reporting that this redoubt was occupied by the troops of the 12th Army Corps this afternoon. "It is to be hoped that they have laid no mine and that the poor Saxons will not be blown up." I telegraphed the news of this first success in the bombardment to London, but in cipher, "as otherwise the general staff might be angry."

Friday, December 30th.—In reading documents in the evening I find that the Chief has had a letter sent to General Bismarck-

Bohlen stating that he does not agree with the general in thinking that his main task should be to alleviate the misery caused by the war, and to render the Alsacians well disposed towards the future masters of the country. For the moment his first business must be to promote the objects of the war and to secure the safety of the troops. He should therefore expel such French officials as will not take service under us, including the magistrates who will not discharge the duties of their office; and he should also withhold the payment of pensions directing the pensioners to apply to the Government at Tours. Under such conditions the people would be more disposed to call for peace.

Friday, January 6th.—After dinner I read despatches and drafts. A demand has been addressed to the German railways to supply a number of waggons ("2,800 axles") for the purpose of transporting provisions to Paris. The Chief entered an energetic protest against this measure, which would be prejudicial to us from a political standpoint, as the knowledge of those provisions would enable the holders of power in Paris to exhaust all their supplies before finally yielding, without any fear of famine at the last moment. A telegram was sent to Itzenplitz on the 3rd of January suggesting that he should not deliver a single wagon for this purpose, and asking him to reply by wire whether he would decline such requisitions. If not, the Chief "would request his Majesty to relieve him from all responsibility." Itzenplitz telegraphed back that he agreed with the views of the Chancellor of the Confederation, and would act accordingly. A letter from the King of Sweden, addressed to a Commandant Verrier in Erfurt, is to be returned through the Dead Letter Office. His Swedish Majesty, whom we know not to be particularly well disposed towards us, says in this epistle, which, by the way, is written in bad French with many orthographical errors, that he regrets to have to watch the struggle with "folded arms," and to be obliged to "eat his bread in peace." "*Nous nous armions tardivement, hélas ! mais avec vigueur, et j'espère que le jour de vengeance arrivera !*" Vengeance? What have the Swedes to avenge upon us? It would seem as if Prince Charles of Rumania were no longer able to manage the local extremists, and were thinking of abdicating and leaving the country. "We have no political interests in Rumania." The Chief has made representations to the King suggesting a limitation of the seat of war for

political reasons, namely on the ground that only thus shall we be able to maintain our position in the occupied portions of France and take full advantage of our occupation; and he has further proposed that we should give notice to withdraw from the Geneva Convention, which is unpractical. In the London Conference on the Black Sea question we are to give every possible support to Russia's demands.

Sunday, January 8th.—At dinner the Chief gave some further reminiscences of his youth. He spent the time from his sixth to his twelfth year at the Plahmann Institute in Berlin, an educational establishment worked on the principles of Pestalozzi and Jahn. It was a period he could not think of with pleasure. The *régime* was artificially Spartan. While there he never fully satisfied his hunger, except when he was invited out. "The meat was like india-rubber, not exactly hard, but too much for one's teeth. And carrots—I liked them raw,—but cooked, and with hard potatoes, square junks!"

This led up to the pleasures of the table, the Chief giving his views chiefly of certain varieties of fish. He had a pleasant recollection of fresh-river lampreys, of which he could eat eight or ten; he then praised schnäpel, a kind of whiting, and the Elbe salmon, the latter being "a happy mean between the Baltic salmon and that of the Rhine, which is too rich for me." With regard to bankers' dinners, "nothing is considered good unless it is dear,—no carp because it is comparatively cheap in Berlin, but *zander* (a kind of perch-pike) because it is difficult to carry. As a matter of fact I do not care for these, and just as little for lampreys, of which the flesh is too soft for me. But I could eat marena every day of the week. I almost prefer them to trout, of which I only like those of a medium size, weighing about half-a-pound. The large ones that are usually served at dinners in Frankfurt, and which mostly come from the Wolfsbrünnen near Heidelberg, are not worth much. They are expensive, and so one must have them. That's also the way at Court with oysters. They don't eat any in England when the Queen is present, as they are too cheap there."

Wagener having mentioned his former journalistic work, the Minister said: "I know my first newspaper article was about shooting. At that time I was still a wild junker. Some one had written a spiteful article on sport, which set my blood boiling, so

that I sat down and wrote a reply, which I handed to Altwater, the editor, but without success. He answered very politely, but said it would not do, he could not accept it. I was beside myself with indignation that any one should be at liberty to attack sportsmen without being obliged to listen to their reply; but so it was at that time."

The defence put forward by the Luxemburg Government in reply to our complaints respecting breaches of neutrality is insufficient. It perhaps shows the good will of that Government, but certainly the facts prove that they are not able to maintain their own neutrality. They have been again warned, further evidence being given in support of our charges. If this does not prove effective, we shall be obliged to occupy the Grand Duchy, and hand over his passports to the Grand Ducal Minister in Berlin. A communication to the same effect has been made to the Powers that signed the Treaty of 1867. According to a memorandum in which the Chief proposed to the King that the statesmen who concluded the treaties providing for the accession of Baden and Würtemberg to the North German Confederation should receive decorations, an exception was to be made in the case of Dalwigk, because he had constantly intrigued and worked against Prussia and the cause of German unity, and only finally gave way on the compulsion of necessity; and his decoration would, therefore, have a bad effect upon public opinion, which had frequently urged the exercise of Prussian influence to secure his dismissal.

Monday, January 9th.—The Chief was shaved as usual on coming to dinner to-day. He first mentioned that Count Bill had received the Iron Cross, and seemed to think that it should more properly have been given to his eldest son, as he was wounded in the cavalry charge at Mars la Tour. "The wound was an accident," he went on, "and others who were not wounded may have been equally brave. But it is, after all, a distinction, a kind of compensation for the wounded. I remember when I was a young man that one Herr von Reuss went about Berlin also wearing the Cross. I thought to myself what wonders he must have done; but I afterwards ascertained that he had an uncle who was a Minister, and he had been attached to the general staff as a kind of private aide-de-camp."

The Chancellor suddenly remarked, "It must be three weeks

since I saw Serenissimus.¹ It is not so long since I saw Serenior.² I cut the Sereni." The Chancellor then continued, obviously with reference to the Sereni, that is the Princes at the Hôtel des Reservoirs, or one of them, but without any connecting sentence: "I remember at Göttingen I once called a student a silly youngster. (Dummer Junge, the recognised form of offence when it is intended to provoke a duel.) On his sending me his challenge I said I had not wished to offend him by the remark that he was a silly youngster, but merely to express my conviction."

The French Rothschild recalled the German one, of whom the Chief related a very amusing story. He said: "When the members of the Reichstag were here recently, I was seated next to Rothschild at the Crown Prince's. The Prince sat next to me, and on his other side was Simson. Rothschild smokes a great deal, and smelt of that and other things, and so I thought I would play a little practical joke before we sat down. But it did not succeed. It is only after dinner that stewards of the household, begin to be sensible and listen to a body. I had my revenge however, by letting my neighbour have the benefit of my remarks. I said to him, 'You should have a house in Berlin, and invite people to see you, and so on.' 'What do you mean?' he asked, in a loud and almost angry voice. 'Am I to give dinners in a restaurant?' 'Well, you might do that too,' I replied, 'but to other people, not to me. In my opinion you owe it to the credit of your house. But the best thing would be to have a place of your own in Berlin. 'You know there is nothing to be expected any longer from the Paris and London Rothschilds, and so you ought to do something in Berlin. People are constantly surprised that you have not yet got into the Almanach de Gotha. Of course, what has not been done up to now may yet happen, but I am afraid you are not going the right way to work.'"

Finally polite literature came to be discussed, and Spielhagen's *Problematische Naturen* was mentioned. The Chancellor had read it, and did not think badly of it, but he said: "I shall certainly not read it a second time. One has absolutely no time here. Otherwise a much-occupied Minister might well take up such a book and forget his despatches over it for a couple of hours." Freytag's *Soll und Haben* was also mentioned, and his description of the Polish riots, as well as the story of the

¹ The King.

² The Crown Prince.

bread-and-butter miss and the ball, were praised, while his heroes were considered insipid. One said they had no passion, and another no souls. Abeken, who took an active part in the conversation, observed that he could not read any of these things twice, and that most of the well-known modern authors had only produced one good book apiece. "Well," said the Chief, "I could also make you a present of three-fourths of Goethe—the remainder, certainly—I should like to live for a long spell on a desert island with seven or eight volumes out of the forty." Fritz Reuter was then referred to, and the Minister remarked, "*Uit de Franzosentid*, very pretty but not a novel." *Stromtid* was also mentioned. "H'm," said the Chief, "*Dat is as dat ledder is*" (that's just how it is, a favourite expression of one of the characters in the book)—that, it is true, is a novel, and it contains many good and others indifferent, but all through the peasants are described exactly as they are."

Tuesday, January 10th.—Earth and sky are full of snow. A shot is only to be heard now and again from our batteries, or from the forts.

The first subject mentioned at dinner is the bombardment. The Chief holds that most of the Paris forts are of little importance, except perhaps Mont Valérien—"Not much more than the redoubts at Düppel." That is to say the moats are not very deep, and formerly the walls were also weak. The conversation then turns on the International League of Peace and its connection with social democracy as shown by the fact that Karl Marx, who is now living in London, has been appointed President of the German branch. Bucher describes Marx as an intelligent man with a good scientific education and the real leader of the international labour movement. With reference to the League of Peace the Chief says that its efforts are all of an equivocal character, and that its aims are something very different to peace. It is a cloak for communism. "But," he concludes, "certain august personages have even now no idea of that. Foreign countries and peace!" In this connection he referred to the influence and attitude of Queen Augusta.

The Chief told us it was when he was negotiating the Treaty of Gastein with Blome that he played *quinze* for the last time in his life. "Although I had not played then for a long time, I gambled recklessly, so that the others were astounded. But I

knew what I was at. Blome had heard that *quinze* gave the best opportunity of testing a man's character, and he was anxious to try the experiment on me. I thought to myself, I'll teach him. I lost a few hundred thalers, for which I might well have claimed reimbursement from the State as having been expended on his Majesty's service. But I got round Blome in that way, and made him do what I wanted. He took me to be reckless, and yielded."

The conversation then turned upon Berlin, some one having remarked that it was from year to year assuming more the appearance of a great capital, also in its sentiments and way of thinking, a circumstance which to some extent reacted on its Parliamentary representatives. "They have greatly altered during the last five years," said Delbrück. "That is true," said the Chief; "but in 1862, when I first had to deal with those gentlemen, they recognised what a hearty contempt I entertained for them, and they have never become friends with me again."

The Jews then came to be discussed, and the Minister wished to know how it was the name Meier was so common amongst them. That name was after all of German origin, and in Westphalia it meant a landed proprietor, yet formerly the Jews owned no land. "I am of opinion," continued the Minister, "that to prevent mischief, the Jews will have to be rendered innocuous by cross breeding. The results are not bad." He then mentioned some noble houses, Lynars, Stirums, Gusserows: "All very clever, decent people." He then reflected for a while and, omitting one link from the chain of thought, probably the marriage of distinguished Christian ladies to rich or talented Israelites, he proceeded: "It is better the other way on. One ought to put a Jewish mare to a Christian stallion of German breed. The money must be brought into circulation again, and the race is not at all bad. I do not know what I shall one day advise my sons to do."

At 10.30 P.M. the Chief comes down to tea, at which Count Bill also joins us. Abeken returns from Court and brings the news that the fortress of Péronne, with a garrison of 3,000 men has capitulated. The Chief, who was just looking through the *Illustrirte Zeitung*, sighed and exclaimed: "Another, 3,000! If one could only drown them into the Seine—or at least their Commander, who has broken his word of honour!"

This led the conversation to the subject of the numerous prisoners in Germany, and Holstein said that it would be a good idea to hire them out to work on the Strousberg railway. "Or," said the Chief, "if the Tsar could be induced to settle them in military colonies beyond the Caucasus. It is said to be a very fine country. This mass of prisoners will really form a difficulty for us after the peace. The French will thus have an army at once, and one fresh from a long rest. But there will be really no alternative. We shall have to give them back to Napoleon, and he will require 200,000 men as a Pretorian Guard to maintain himself." "Does he then really expect to restore the Empire?" asked Holstein. "Oh, very much," replied the Chief, "extremely, quite enormously much. He thinks of it day and night, and the people in England also."

Holstein then related how certain people belonging to the English Embassy had behaved very unbecomingly outside the place where the French prisoners are confined in Spandau, and had fared badly in consequence. Cockerell was knocked down and beaten black and blue, so that he afterwards looked "quite as if he had been painted." Loftus did not at first want to intervene, but was ultimately induced by the other diplomats to enter a complaint. "Did they give this Cockerell a sound hiding?" asked Count Bill. "Oh, certainly," replied Holstein, "and Miss — (name escaped me), who tried to interfere on his behalf, also received a few blows." "Well, I am glad Cockerell got a proper dressing," said the Chief, "it will do him good. I am sorry for the lady. But it is a pity that Loftus" (the British Ambassador) "himself did not get thrashed on the occasion, as we should then be rid of him."

Wednesday, January 11th.—During dinner the bombardment was discussed, as is now usually the case. Paris was said to be on fire, and some one had clearly seen thick columns of smoke rising over the city. "That is not enough," said the Chief. "We must first smell it here. When Hamburg was burning the smell could be distinguished five German miles off." The opposition offered by the "Patriots" in the Bavarian Chamber to the Versailles Treaty was then referred to. The Chief said: "I wish I could go there and speak to them. They have obviously got into a false position and can neither advance nor retire. I have already been doing my best to bring them into the right way. But one is so badly

wanted here in order to prevent absurdities and to preach sense."

Thursday, January 12th.—At dinner the conversation again turned on the bombardment. On somebody observing that the French complain of our aiming at their hospitals, the Chief said: "That is certainly not done intentionally. They have hospitals near the Pantheon, and the Val de Grâce, and it is possible that a few shells may have fallen there accidentally. H'm, Pantheon, Pandemonium?"

The Chancellor then told us that the King preferred the title "Emperor of Germany" to that of "German Emperor." "I gave him to understand that I did not care a brass farthing. He was of a different opinion. Rather the country than the people. I then explained to him that the first would be a new title and would at least have no historical basis. There had never been an Emperor of Germany, and though it was true there had also been no German Emperor, there had been a German King." Bucher confirmed that statement and remarked that Charlemagne assumed the title of "Imperator Romanorum." Subsequently the Emperor was called "Imperator Romanus, semper augustus, and German King."

At 11 P.M. the King sent the Chief a pencil note in his own handwriting on a half sheet of letter paper, informing him that we had just won a great victory at Le Mans. The Minister, who was visibly pleased and touched at this attention, said as he handed me the slip of paper in order that I should telegraph the news: "He thinks the General Staff will not let me know, and so he writes himself."

Saturday, January 14th.—Count Lehndorff dined with us to-day. The Chief mentions that Jules Favre has written to him. He wishes to go to the Conference in London, and asserts that he only ascertained on the 10th inst. that a safe conduct was held in readiness for him. He desires to take with him an unmarried and a married daughter, together with her husband—who has a Spanish name—and a secretary. "He would doubtless prefer a pass for M. le Ministre et suite. He has the longing of a vagabond for a passport." But he is not to receive one at all, the soldiers being simply instructed to let him through. "One would be inclined to think," added the Chief, "from his desire to take his family with him, that he wants to get out of harm's way."

In the further course of conversation the Minister observed : "Versailles is really the most unsuitable place that could have been chosen from the point of view of communications. We ought to have remained at Lagny or Ferrières. But I know well why it was selected. All our princely personages would have found it too dull there. It is true they are bored here too, and doubtless everywhere else."

The Chancellor afterwards spoke about Manteuffel, and said : "He is now heaping up coals of fire on my head by taking Bill with him. We were on bad terms during the last few years. One of the reasons was his extravagance in Schleswig. He kept a regular Court there, and gave great dinners of forty to fifty covers, spending three to four thousand thalers a month. That was all very well before the war, but later on, when I had to account for it to the Treasury Committee, it could not go on, and when I had to tell him so, he was angry."

Monday, January 16th.—Prince Pless and Maltzahn dine with us. We learn that the proclamation to the German people is to be read the day after to-morrow, at the festival of the Orders, which will be held in the Galerie des Glaces at the Palace. The Chief has altered his mind as to letting Favre pass through our lines, and has written him a letter which amounts to a refusal. "Favre," he said, "with his demand to be allowed to attend the Conference in London, reminds me of the way children play the game of Fox in the Hole. They touch and then run off to a place where they cannot be caught. But he must swallow the potion he has brewed. His honour requires it, and, so I wrote him." This change of view was due to Favre's circular of the 12th of January.

Tuesday, January 17th.—We were joined at dinner by the Saxon, Count Nostiz-Wallwitz, who, it is understood, is to take up an administrative appointment here, and a Herr Winter, or von Winter, who is to be Prefect at Chartres. On some one referring to the future military operations, the Chief observed : "I think that when, with God's help, we have taken Paris, we shall not occupy it with our troops. That work may be left to the National Guard in the city. Also a French commandant. We shall occupy merely the forts and walls. Everybody will be permitted to enter, but nobody to leave. It will, therefore, be a great prison until they consent to make peace."

The Minister then spoke to Nostiz about the French Conseils Généraux, and said we should try to come to an understanding with them. They would form a good field here for further political operations. "So far as the military side of the affair is concerned," he continued, "I am in favour of greater concentration. We should not go beyond a certain line, but deal with that portion thoroughly, making the administration effectual, and in particular collect the taxes. The military authorities are always for advancing. They have a centrifugal plan of operations, and I a centripetal. It is a question whether we ought to hold Orleans, and even whether it would not be better to retire also from Rouen and Amiens. In the south-east—I do not know why—they want to go as far as Dijon. And if we cannot supply garrisons for every place within our sphere of occupation, we should from time to time send a flying column wherever they show themselves recalcitrant, and shoot, hang, and burn. When that has been done a couple of times they will learn sense." Winter was of opinion that the mere appearance of a detachment of troops entrusted with the task of restoring order, would be sufficient in such districts. The Chief: "I am not so sure. A little hanging would certainly have a better effect, and a few shells thrown in and a couple of houses burned down. That reminds me of the Bavarian who said to a Prussian officer of artillery: 'What do you think, comrade? shall we set that little village on fire, or only knock it about a little?' but they decided after all to set it on fire."

I do not now remember how it was that the Chief came to speak again of his letter he wrote yesterday to Favre. "I have given him clearly to understand that it would not do, and that I could not believe that he who had taken part in the affair of the 4th of September would fail to await the issue. I wrote the letter in French, first because I do not regard the correspondence as official but rather as private, and then in order that every one may be able to read it in the French lines until it reaches him." Nostiz asked how diplomatic correspondence in general was now conducted. The Chief: "In German. Formerly it was in French. But I have introduced German—only, however, with Cabinets whose language is understood in our own Foreign Office. England, Italy and also Spain—even Spanish can be read in case of need. Not with Russia, as I am the only one in the Foreign

Office who understands Russian. Also not with Holland, Denmark and Sweden—people do not learn those languages as a rule. They write in French and we reply in the same language." "At Ferrières I spoke to Thiers" (he meant Favre) "in French. But I told him that was only because I was not treating with him officially. He laughed, whereupon I said to him: 'You will see that we shall talk plain German to you in the negotiations for peace.'"

Wednesday, January 18th.—In the morning read despatches and newspapers. Wollmann tells me that an order has been issued promoting our Chief to the rank of Lieutenant-General. When Wollmann took the order up to him and congratulated him, the Chancellor threw it angrily on the bed and said: "What is the good of that to me?" (*"Wat ik mich davor koofte?"*—Low German dialect.) Doubtless imagination, but it appears that the Minister is to-day in very bad humour and exceptionally irritable.

The festival of the Orders and the Proclamation of the German Empire and Emperor took place in the great hall of the palace between 12 and 1.30 P.M. It was held with much military pomp and ceremony, and is said to have been a very magnificent and imposing spectacle. In the meantime I took a long walk with Wollmann.

The Chief did not dine with us, as he was bidden to the Emperor's table. On his return I was called to him twice to receive instructions. His voice was an unusually weak voice, and looked very tired and worn out.

Thursday, January 19th.—At dinner the Chief refers to a report that the taxes cannot be collected in various districts of the occupied territory. He says it is difficult, indeed impossible, to garrison every place where the population must be made to pay the taxes. "Nor," he adds, "is it necessary to do so? Flying columns of infantry accompanied by a couple of guns are all that is needed. Without even entering into the places, the people should be simply told, 'If you do not produce the taxes in arrear within two hours we shall pitch some shells in amongst you.' If they see that we are in earnest they will pay. If not the place should be bombarded, and that would help in other cases. They must learn what war means."

The conversation afterwards turned on the grants that were to

be expected after the conclusion of peace, and alluding to those made in 1866, the Chief said, *inter alia*: "They should not be grants of money. I at least was reluctant for a long time to accept one, but at length I yielded to the temptation. Besides, it was worse still in my case, as I received it not from the King but from the Diet. I did not want to take any money from people with whom I had fought so bitterly for years.

"Moreover, the King was to some extent in my debt, as I had sent him forty pounds of fine fresh caviar—a present for which he made me no return. It is true that perhaps he never received it. Probably that fat rascal Borck intercepted it." "These rewards ought to have taken the form of grants of land, as in 1815; and there was a good opportunity of doing so, particularly in the corner of Bavaria which we acquired, and which consisted almost entirely of State property."

Friday, January 20th.—Bohlen again came to dinner, at which the Chief was very cheerful and talkative. He related, amongst other things, that while he was at Frankfurt he frequently received and accepted invitations from the Grand Ducal Court at Darmstadt. They had excellent shooting there. "But," he added, "I have reason to believe that the Grand Duchess Mathilde did not like me. She said to some one at that time: 'He always stands there and looks as important as if he were the Grand Duke himself.'"

While we were smoking our cigars, the Crown Prince's aide-de-camp suddenly appeared, and reported that Count—— (I could not catch the name) had come, ostensibly on behalf of, and under instructions from, Trochu, to ask for a two days' armistice in order to remove the wounded and bury those who fell in yesterday's engagement. The Chief replied that the request should be refused. A few hours would be sufficient for the removal of the wounded and the burial of the dead; and, besides, the latter were just as well off lying on the ground as they would be under it. The Major returned shortly afterwards and announced that the King would come here; and hardly a quarter of an hour later, his Majesty arrived with the Crown Prince. They went with the Chancellor into the drawing-room, where a negative answer was prepared for Trochu's messenger.

Saturday, January 21st.—Voigts-Rhetz, Prince Putbus, and the Bavarian Count Berghem were the Chancellor's guests at

dinner. The Bavarian brought the pleasant news that the Versailles treaties were carried in the second chamber at Munich by two votes over the necessary two-thirds majority. The German Empire was, therefore, complete in every respect. Thereupon the Chief invited the company to drink the health of the King of Bavaria, "who, after all, has really helped us through to a successful conclusion." "I always thought that it would be carried," he added, "if only by one vote—but I had not hoped for two. The last good news from the seat of war will doubtless have contributed to the result."

It was then mentioned that in the engagement the day before yesterday the French brought a much larger force against us than was thought at first, probably over 80,000 men. The Montretout redoubt was actually in their hands for some hours, and also a portion of Garches and Saint Cloud. The French had lost enormously in storming the position—it was said 1,200 dead and 4,000 wounded. The Chancellor observed: "The capitulation must follow soon. I imagine it may be even next week. After the capitulation we shall supply them with provisions as a matter of course. But before they deliver up 700,000 rifles and 4,000 guns they shall not get a single mouthful of bread—and then no one shall be allowed to leave. We shall occupy the forts and the walls and keep them on short commons until they accommodate themselves to a peace satisfactory to us. After all there are still many persons of intelligence and consideration in Paris with whom it must be possible to come to some arrangement."

Then followed a learned discussion on the difference between the titles "German Emperor" and "Emperor of Germany," and that of "Emperor of the Germans" was also mooted. After this had gone on for a while the Chief, who had taken no part in it, asked: "Does any one know the Latin word for sausage (*Wurst*)?" Abeken answered "*Farcimentum*," and I said "*Farcimen*." The Chief, smiling: "*Farcimentum* or *farcimen*, it is all the same to me. *Nescio quid mihi magis farcimentum esset.*" ("*Es ist mir Wurst*" is student's slang, and means "It is a matter of the utmost indifference to me.")

Sunday, January 22nd.—In the forenoon I wrote two paragraphs for the German newspapers, and one for the *Moniteur*, in connection with which I was twice called to see the Chief.

Von Könneritz, a Saxon, General von Stosch, and Löper joined

us at dinner. There was nothing worth noting in the conversation except that the Minister again insisted that it would be only fair to invest the wounded with the Iron Cross. "The Coburger," he went on, "said to me the other day, 'It would really be a satisfaction if the soldiers also got the Cross now.' I replied, 'Yes, but it is less satisfactory that we two should have received it.'"

Monday, January 23rd.—Shortly after 7 P.M. Favre arrived, and the Chancellor had an interview with him, which lasted about two and a half hours. In the meantime Hatzfeldt and Bismarck-Bohlen conversed down stairs in the drawing-room with the gentleman who accompanied Favre, and who is understood to be his son-in-law, del Rio. He is a portrait painter by profession, but came with his father-in-law in the capacity of secretary. Both were treated to a hastily improvised meal, consisting of cutlets, scrambled eggs, ham, &c., which will doubtless have been welcome to these poor martyrs to their own obstinacy.

The Chief drove off to see the King at 10.30 P.M., returning in about three-quarters of an hour. He looks exceedingly pleased as he enters the room where we are sitting at tea. He first asks me to pour him out a cup of tea, and he eats a few mouthfuls of bread with it. After a while he says to his cousin, "Do you know this?" and then whistled a short tune, the signal of the hunter that he has brought down the deer. Bohlen replies, "Yes, in at the death." The Chief: "No, this way," and he whistled again. "A *hallali*," he adds. "I think the thing is finished." Bohlen remarked that Favre looked "awfully shabby." The Chief said: "I find he has grown much greyer than when I saw him at Ferrières—also stouter, probably on horseflesh. Otherwise he looks like one who has been through a great deal of trouble and excitement lately, and to whom everything is now indifferent. Moreover, he was very frank, and confessed that things are not going on well in Paris. I also ascertained from him that Trochu has been superseded. Vinoy is now in command of the city."

Tuesday, January 24th.—The Chief gets up early and drives off to see the King, or, let us now say, the Emperor. It is nearly 1 o'clock when he returns to lunch. After a while he heaves a sigh and says: "Until now I always thought that Parliamentary negotiations were the slowest of all, but I no

longer think so. There was at least one way of escape there—to move 'that the question should be now put.' But here everybody says whatever occurs to him, and when one imagines the matter is finally settled, somebody brings forward an argument that has already been disposed of, and so the whole thing has to be gone over again, which is quite hopeless. That is stewing thought to rags—mere flatulence which people ought really to be able to restrain. Well, it's all the same to me! I even prefer that nothing should have been yet decided or shall be decided till to-morrow. It is merely the waste of time in having to listen to them, but of course such people do not think of that."

Favre arrived at 1.30 P.M. and spent nearly two hours in negotiation with the Chancellor. He afterwards drove off towards Paris, being accompanied by Bismarck-Bohlen as far as the bridge at Sèvres.

These negotiations were not mentioned at dinner. It would appear, however, to be a matter of course that the preliminaries of the capitulation were discussed. The Chief spoke at first of Bernstorff, and said: "Anyhow, that is a thing I have never yet been able to manage—to fill page after page of foolscap with the most insignificant twaddle." Somebody observed that it was only Goltz who wrote as much as Bernstorff, and wondered what Goltz would say if he now heard that the Emperor was a prisoner, and the Empress in London, while Paris was being besieged and bombarded by us. "Well," replied the Chief, "he was not so desperately attached to the Emperor—but the Empress in London! Nevertheless, in spite of his devotion to her, he would not have given himself away as Werther did."

The Minister then related that Favre complained of our firing at the sick and blind—that is to say, the blind asylum. "I said to him, 'I really do not see what you have to complain about. You yourselves do much worse, seeing that you shoot at our sound and healthy men.' He will have thought: What a barbarian!" Hohenlohe's name was then mentioned, and it was said that much of the success of the bombardment was due to him. The Chief: "I shall propose for him the title of Poliorketes." The conversation then turned on the statues and paintings of the Restoration, and their artificiality and bad taste. "I remember," said the Chief, "that Schuckmann, the Minister, was painted by his wife, *en coquille* I think it was called at that

time, that is, in a rose-coloured shell, and wearing a kind of antique costume. He was naked down to the waist—I had never seen him like that.” “That is one of my earliest remembrances. They often gave what used to be called *assemblées*, and are now known as routs—a ball without supper. My parents usually went there.” Thereupon, the Chief once more described his mother’s costume, and then continued: “There was afterwards a Russian Minister in Berlin, Ribeaupierre, who also gave balls, where people danced till 2 o’clock in the morning, and there was nothing to eat. I know that, because I and a couple of good friends were often there. At length we got tired of it, and played them a trick. When it got late, we pulled out some bread and butter from our pockets, and after we had finished, we pitched the paper on the drawing-room floor. Refreshments were provided next time, but we were not invited any more.”

CHAPTER X

Negotiations with Favre and with Thiers—Capitulation and armistice—Gambetta's decree—The peace preliminaries ratified—We return to Berlin

Wednesday, January 25th.—Count Lehnendorff dined with us, and talked about hunting and hunting dinners, including a great banquet given by some Baron which consisted of no less than twenty-four courses. His brother was present and fell asleep propped on his elbows, while a neighbour of his sunk into slumber on the shoulder of a governess who was sitting next him. The dinner lasted over five hours, and the people were most horribly bored, as often happens in the country. The Chief remarked: "I always know how to get over that difficulty. One must put down a good bit of liquor right at the beginning, and under its influence one's neighbours to the left and right grow ever so much cleverer and pleasanter."

The Minister then spoke about his first journey to St. Petersburg. He drove in a carriage, as at first there was no snow. It fell very heavily later on, however, and progress was terribly slow. It took him five full days and six nights to reach the first railway station, and he spent the whole time cramped up in a narrow carriage without sleep and with the thermometer at fifteen degrees Reaumur below zero. In the train, however, he fell so fast asleep that on their arrival in St. Petersburg, after a ten hours' run, he felt as if he had been only five minutes in the railway carriage.

"The old times before the railways were completed had also their good side," continued the Minister. "There was not so much to do. The mail only came in twice a week, and then one worked as if for a wager. But when the mail was over we got on horseback, and had a good time of it until its next arrival."

The Minister then returned to the subject of tiresome journeys and long rides. He said: "I remember after the battle of Sadowa I was the whole day in the saddle on a big horse. At first I did not want to ride him as he was too high and it was too much trouble to mount. At last, however, I did so, and I was not sorry for it. It was an excellent animal! But the long waiting above the valley had exhausted me and my seat and legs were very sore. The skin was not broken, that has never happened to me, but afterwards when I sat down on a wooden bench I had a feeling as if I were sitting on something that came between me and the wood. It was only a blister. After Sadowa we arrived late at night in the market-place of Horsitz. There we were told that we were to seek out our own quarters. That, however, was much easier said than done. The houses were bolted and barred, and the sappers, who might have broken in the doors for us, were not to arrive before five in the morning." "His Excellency knew how to help himself in a similar case at Gravelotte," interrupted Delbrück. The Chief continued his story: "Well, I went to several houses at Horsitz, three or four, and at length I found a door open. After making a few steps into the dark I fell into a kind of pit. Luckily it was not deep, and I was able to satisfy myself that it was filled with horse-dung. I thought at first, 'How would it be to remain here,'—on the dung-heap, but I soon recognised other smells. What curious things happen sometimes! If that pit had been twenty feet deep, and full, they would have had a long search next morning for their Minister, and doubtless there would be no Chancellor of the Confederation to-day." "I went out again and finally found a corner for myself in an arcade on the market-place. I laid a couple of carriage cushions on the ground and made a pillow of a third, and then stretched myself out to sleep. Later on some one waked me. It was Perponcher, who told me that the Grand Duke of Mecklenburg had a room for me and an unoccupied bed. That turned out to be correct, but the bed was only a child's cot. I managed to fix it, however, by arranging the back of a chair at the end of it. But in the morning I could hardly stand, as my knees had been resting on the bare boards." "One can sleep quite comfortably if one has only a sackful of straw, however small. You cut it open in the middle, push the straw to the two ends, and let yourself into the hollow part. I used to do that in Russia when out hunting. I ripped

the bag open with my hunting knife, crept into it and slept like a log." "That was when the despatch from Napoleon came," observed Bohlen. The Chief replied: "Yes, the one at which the King was so pleased, because it showed that he had won a great battle—his first great battle." "And you were also glad," said Bohlen, "and you swore an oath that you would one day requite the Gauls when an opportunity offered."

Finally the Chief related: "Favre told me the day before yesterday that the first shell that fell in the Pantheon cut off the head of the statue of Henri IV." "He doubtless thought that was a very pathetic piece of news," suggested Bohlen. "Oh, no," replied the Chief, "I rather fancy that, as a democrat, he was pleased that it should have happened to a King." Bohlen: "That is the second piece of bad luck that Henri has had in Paris. First a Frenchman stabbed him there, and now we have beheaded him."

The dinner lasted very long this evening, from 5.30 till after 7. Favre was expected back from Paris every moment. He came at length at 7.30, again accompanied by his son-in-law with the Spanish name.

After Favre's departure the Chief came out to us, ate some cold partridge, asked for some ham, and drank a bottle of beer. After a while he sighed, and sitting up straight in his chair, he exclaimed: "If one could only decide and order these things one's self! But to bring others to do it!" He paused for a minute and then continued: "What surprises me is that they have not sent out any general. And it is difficult to make Favre understand military matters." He then mentioned a couple of French technical terms of which Favre did not know the meaning. "Well, it is to be hoped that he had a proper meal to-day," said Bohlen. The Chief replied in the affirmative, and then Bohlen said he had heard it rumoured that this time Favre had not despised the champagne. The Chief: "Yes, the day before yesterday he refused to take any, but to-day he had several glasses. The first time he had some scruples of conscience about eating, but I persuaded him, and his hunger doubtless supported me, for he ate like one who had had a long fast."

The Minister then related some particulars of the interview. "I like him better now than at Ferrières," he said. "He spoke a good deal and in long, well-rounded periods. It was often not necessary to pay attention or to answer. They were anecdotes of

former times. He is a very good *raconteur*." "He was not at all offended at my recent letter to him. On the contrary, he felt indebted to me for calling his attention to what he owed to himself." "He also spoke of having a villa near Paris, which was, however, wrecked and pillaged. I had it on the tip of my tongue to say, 'But not by us!' but he himself immediately added that it had doubtless been done by the Mobiles." "He then complained that Saint Cloud had been burning for the last three days, and wanted to persuade me that we had set the palace there on fire." "In speaking of the franc-tireurs and their misdeeds, he wished to call my attention to our guerillas in 1813—they indeed had been much worse. I said to him: 'I don't want to deny that, but you are also aware that the French shot them whenever they caught them. And they did not shoot them all in one place, but one batch on the spot where the act was committed, another batch at the next halt, and so on in order to serve as a deterrent.'" "He maintained that in the last engagement, on the 19th, the National Guard, recruited from the well-to-do classes, fought best, while the battalions raised from the lower classes were worthless."

The Chief paused for a while and seemed to be reflecting. He then continued: "If the Parisians first received a supply of provisions and were then again put on half rations and once more obliged to starve, that ought, I think, to work. It is like flogging. When it is administered continuously it is not felt so much. But when it is suspended for a time and then another dose inflicted, it hurts! I know that from the criminal court where I was employed. Flogging was still in use there."

The subject of flogging in general was then discussed, and Bohlen, who favours its retention, observed that the English had re-introduced it. "Yes," said Bucher, "but first for personal insult to the Queen, on the occasion of an outrage against the Royal person, and afterwards for garrotting." The Chief then related that in 1863, when the garroters appeared in London, he was often obliged to go, after twelve o'clock at night, through a solitary lane, containing only stables and full of heaps of horse-dung, which led from Regent Street to his lodgings in Park Street. To his terror he read in the papers that a number of these attacks had taken place on that very spot.

Then, after a pause, the Minister said: "This is really an unheard-of proceeding on the part of the English. They want to

send a gunboat up the Seine" (Odo Russell put forward this demand, which the Chancellor absolutely refused) "in order, they say, to remove the English families there. They merely want to ascertain if we have laid down torpedoes and then to let the French ships follow them. What swine! They are full of vexation and envy because we have fought great battles here—and won them. They cannot bear to think that shabby little Prussia should prosper so. The Prussians are a people who should merely exist in order to carry on war for them in their pay. This is the view taken by all the upper classes in England. They have never been well-disposed towards us, and have always done their utmost to injure us." "The Crown Princess herself is an incarnation of this way of thinking. She is full of her own great condescension in marrying into our country. I remember her once telling me that two or three merchant families in Liverpool had more silver-plate than the entire Prussian nobility. 'Yes,' I replied, 'that is possibly true, your Royal Highness, but we value ourselves for other things besides silver.'"

The Minister remained silent for a while. Then he said: "I have often thought over what would have happened if we had gone to war about Luxemburg—should I now be in Paris, or would the French be in Berlin? I think I did well to prevent war at that time. We should not have been nearly so strong as we are to-day. At that time the Hanoverians would not have made trustworthy soldiers. I will say nothing about the Hessians—they would have done well. The Schleswig-Holstein men have now fought like lions, but there was no army there then. Saxony was also useless. The army had been disbanded and had to be recruited over again. And there was little confidence to be placed in the South Germans. The Würtembergers, what excellent fellows they are now, quite first rate! But in 1866 they would have been laughed at by every soldier as they marched into Frankfurt like so many militiamen. The Baden troops were also not up to the mark. Beyer, and indeed the Grand Duke, has since then done a great deal for them." "It is true that public opinion throughout Germany would have been on our side had we wished to fight for Luxemburg. But that was not enough to compensate for such deficiencies. Moreover, we had not right on our side. I have never confessed it publicly, but I can say it here: after the dissolution of the Confederation the Grand Duke had

become the sovereign of Luxemburg and could have done what he liked with the country. It would have been mean of him to part with it for money, but it was open to him to cede it to France. Our right of occupation was also not well founded. Properly speaking, after the dissolution of the Confederation we ought no longer to have occupied even Rastadt and Mainz. I said that in the Council—I had at that time yet another idea, namely, to hand over Luxemburg to Belgium. In that case we should have united it to a country on behalf of whose neutrality, as people then thought, England would intervene. That would also have strengthened the German element there against the French speaking inhabitants, and at the same time have secured a good frontier. My proposal was not received with any favour, and it is just as well as it has turned out."

Thursday, January 26th.—At dinner the Chief again talked about Favre: "He told me that on Sundays the boulevards are still full of fashionably dressed women with pretty children. I remarked to him, 'I am surprised at that. I wonder you have not yet eaten them!'" As some one noticed that the firing was particularly heavy to-day, the Minister observed: "I remember in the criminal court we once had a subordinate official—I believe his name was Stepki—whose business it was to administer the floggings. He was accustomed to lay on the last three strokes with exceptional vigour—as a wholesome memento!" The conversation then turned upon Strousberg, whose bankruptcy was said to be imminent, and the Chief said: "He once told me, 'I know I shall not even die in my own house.' But for the war, it would not have happened so soon, perhaps not at all. He always kept afloat by issuing new shares, and the game succeeded, although other Jews, who had made money before him, did their best to spoil it. But now comes the war, and his Rumanians have fallen lower and lower, so that at present one might ask how much they cost per hundredweight. For all that, he remains a clever man and indefatigable." The mention of Strousberg's cleverness and restless activity led on to Gambetta, who was said to have also "made his five millions out of the war." But doubts were expressed on this point, and I believe rightly. After the Dictator of Bordeaux, it was Napoleon's turn to be discussed, and according to Bohlen, people said he had saved at least fifty millions during the nineteen years of his reign. "Others say

eighty millions," added the Chief, "but I doubt it. Louis Philippe spoiled the business. He had riots arranged, and then bought stocks on the Amsterdam Exchange, but at last business men saw through it." Hatzfeldt or Keudell then observed that this resourceful monarch used to fall ill from time to time with a similar object.

Morny was then spoken of as having been specially ingenious in making money in every possible way under the Empire. The Chief told us that "when Morny was appointed Ambassador to St. Petersburg he appeared with a whole collection of elegant carriages, some forty-three of them altogether, and all his chests, trunks and boxes were full of laces, silks, and feminine finery, upon which, as Ambassador, he had to pay no customs duty. Every servant had his own carriage, and every attaché and secretary had at least two. A few days after his arrival he sold off the whole lot by auction, clearing at least 800,000 roubles. He was a thief, but an amiable one." The Chief then, pursuing the same subject and quoting further instances, continued: "For the matter of that, influential people in St. Petersburg understood this sort of business—not that they were willing to take money directly. But when a person wanted something, he went to a certain French shop, and bought expensive laces, gloves or jewellery, perhaps for five or six thousand roubles. The shop was run on behalf of some official or his wife. This process repeated, say, twice a week, produced quite a respectable amount in the course of the year."

When I came down to tea at 10.30 P.M. I found the Chief in conversation with the members of Parliament, Von Köller and Von Forckenbeck. The Minister was just saying that more money would soon be required. "We did not want to ask more from the Reichstag," he said, "as we did not anticipate that the war would last so long. I have written to Camphausen, but he suggests requisitions and contributions. They are very difficult to collect, as the immense area of country over which we are dispersed requires more troops than we can spare for purposes of coercion. Two million soldiers would be necessary to deal thoroughly with a territory of 12,000 German square miles. But we must first find out what Moltke proposes to extort from the Parisians, that is to say, from the city of Paris—for that is what we are dealing with for the present."

Friday, January 27th.—Moltke arrives at 8.30 A.M., and remains in conference with the Chief for about three-quarters of an hour. The Frenchmen put in an appearance shortly before 11. Favre (who has had his grey Radical beard clipped), with thick underlip, yellow complexion, and light grey eyes; General Beaufort d'Hautpoul, with his aide-de-camp, Calvel; and Dürrbach, a "Chief of the Engineers of the Eastern Railway." Beaufort is understood to have led the attack on the redoubt at Montretout on the 19th. Their negotiations with the Chief appear to have come to a speedy conclusion, or to have been broken off. Shortly after twelve o'clock, just as we sit down to lunch, they drive off again in the carriages that brought them here. Favre looks very depressed. The general is noticeably red in the face, and does not seem to be quite steady on his legs. Shortly after the French had gone the Chancellor came in to us and said: "I only want a breath of fresh air. Please do not disturb yourselves." Then, turning to Delbrück and shaking his head, he said: "There is nothing to be done with him. Mentally incapable—drunk I believe. I told him to think it over until half past one. Perhaps he will have recovered by that time. Muddle-headed and ill-mannered. What is his name? Something like Bouffre or Pauvre." Keudel said: "Beaufort." The Chief: "A distinguished name, but not at all distinguished manners." It appears, then, that the general has actually taken more than he was able to carry, perhaps in consequence of his natural capacity having been weakened by hunger.

The Frenchmen left for Paris, about 4 o'clock, and will return to-morrow at noon for the purpose of completing the capitulation.

At dinner, the Chief, speaking of Beaufort, said he had behaved like a man without any breeding. "He blustered and shouted and swore like a trooper, and with his 'moi, général de l'armée française,' he was almost unendurable. Favre, who is not very well bred either, said to me: 'J'en suis humilié!' Besides, he was not so very drunk; it was, rather, his vulgar manners. At the General Staff they were of opinion that a man of that sort had been chosen in order that no arrangement should be come to. I said that, on the contrary, they had selected him because it did not matter for such a person to lose credit with the public by signing the capitulation."

The Chief then continued: "I said to Favre during our last

interview: 'Vous avez été trahi—par la fortune.' He saw the point clearly, but only said: 'A qui le dites-vous? Dans trois fois vingt quatre heures je serai aussi compté au nombre des traîtres.' He added that his position in Paris was very critical. I proposed to him: 'Provoquez donc une émeute pendant que vous avez encore une armée pour l'étouffer.' He looked at me quite terror-stricken, as if he wished to say, How bloodthirsty you are! I explained to him, however, that that was the only right way to manage the mob." "Then, again, he has no idea of how things are with us. He mentioned several times that France was the land of liberty, while Germany was governed by a despotism. I told him, for instance, that we wanted money and that Paris must supply some. He suggested that we should raise a loan. I replied that that could not be done without the approval of the Diet. 'Ah,' he said, 'you can surely get five hundred million francs without the Chamber.' I answered: 'No, not five francs.' But he would not believe it. I told him that I had been at logger-heads with the popular representatives for four whole years, but that the raising of a loan without the Diet was the limit to which I went, and which it never occurred to me to overstep. That seemed to disconcert him somewhat, but he only said that in France 'on ne se gênerait pas.' And yet he returned afterwards to the immense freedom which they enjoy in France. It is really funny to hear a Frenchman talk in that way, and particularly Favre, who has always been a member of the Opposition. But that's their way. You can give a Frenchman twenty-five lashes, and if you only make a fine speech to him about the freedom and dignity of man of which those lashes are the expression, and at the same time strike a fitting attitude, he will persuade himself that he is not being thrashed."

"Ah, Keudell," said the Chief suddenly, "it just occurs to me. I must have my full powers drawn up for to-morrow, of course in German. The German Emperor must only write German. The Minister can be guided by circumstances." Official communications must be written in the language of the country, not in a foreign tongue. Bernstorff was the first to try to introduce that system in our case, but he went too far with it. He wrote to all the diplomatists in German, and they replied, of course by agreement, each in his own language, Russian, Spanish, Swedish and what not, so that he had to have a whole army of translators

in the office. That was how I found matters when I came into power. Budberg (the Russian Ambassador in Berlin) sent me a note in Russian. That was too much for me. If they wanted to have their revenge Gortschakoff should have written in Russian to our Ambassador in St. Petersburg. That would have been the right way. It is only fair to ask that the representatives of foreign countries should understand and speak the language of the State to which they are accredited. But it was unfair to send me in Berlin a reply in Russian to a note in German. I decided that all communications received in other languages than German, French, English and Italian should be left unnoticed and put away in the archives. Budberg then wrote screeed after screeed, always in Russian. No answer was returned and the documents were all laid by with the State papers. At last he came himself and asked why he had received no reply. 'Reply!' I exclaimed. 'To what?' Why, he had written a month ago and had afterwards sent me several reminders. 'Ah, quite so!' I said. 'There is a great pile of documents in Russian down stairs, and yours are probably amongst them. But we have no one who understands Russian, and I have given instructions for all documents written in a language we do not understand to be put away in the archives.' It was then arranged that Budberg should write in French, and the Foreign Office also when it suited them.

The Chief then talked about the French negotiators and said: "M. Dürrbach introduced himself as '*membre de l'administration du chemin de fer de l'Est ; j'y suis beaucoup intéressé.*'—If he only knew what we intend." (Probably the cession of the Eastern Railway.) Hatzfeldt: "He threw up his hands in dismay when the General Staff pointed out to him on the map the tunnels, bridges, &c., destroyed by the French themselves. 'I have always been against that,' he said, 'and I pointed out to them that a bridge could be repaired in three hours—but they would not listen to me.'" The Chief: "Repaired after a fashion, certainly, but not a railway bridge capable of carrying a train. They will find it hard now to bring up provisions to Paris, particularly if they have committed the same stupid destruction in the west. I think they rely upon drawing supplies from Brittany and Normandy, where there are large flocks of sheep, and from the ports. To my knowledge there are plenty of bridges and tunnels in those parts too, and if they have destroyed

them they will find themselves in great straits. I hope, moreover, that people in London will only send them hams and not bread !”

Saturday, January 28th.—At 11 o'clock the French negotiators again arrived. They take lunch with us. Then follows a lengthy negotiation at Moltke's lodgings. The chief afterwards dictates to the Secretaries Willisch and Saint Blanquart the treaties of capitulation and armistice, which are drawn up in duplicate. They are afterwards signed and sealed by Bismarck and Favre, at twenty minutes past seven, in the green room next to the Minister's study up stairs. Delbrück declared afterwards that “Favre and the General looked like two condemned prisoners who were going to the gallows next morning. I pitied them.”

Sunday, January 29th.—Our copy of the capitulation fills ten folio pages, and is stitched together with silk in the French colours, on the end of which Favre has impressed his seal.

We were joined at lunch by Count Henckel, who has been appointed Prefect at Metz. He maintained that in about five years the elections in his department would be favourable to the Government ; indeed, he was confident even now of being able to bring about that result. In Alsace, however, the prospect was not so good, as Germans are not so docile to authority as the French. He also mentioned that his department had really suffered severely. At the commencement of the war it had some thirty-two to thirty-five thousand horses, and now he believed there were not more than five thousand left.

Before dinner I read further drafts, including a memorandum, in which the Chief explained to the King that it was impossible to demand from Favre, after the conclusion of the capitulation, the surrender of the flags of the French regiments in Paris.

We were joined at dinner by Count Henckel and the French aide-de-camp who was here yesterday. The latter, whose full name is d'Hérisson de Saulnier, wore a black hussar uniform, with yellow shoulder straps and embroidery on the sleeves. He is said to understand and speak German, yet the conversation, into which the Chief entered with zest, was for the most part carried on in French. In the absence of Favre and the General (the former was still in the house, but as he was very busy he had his dinner sent up to him in the small drawing-room) the aide-de-

camp was more lively and amusing than yesterday. He bore the whole burden of the conversation for a considerable time, with a series of droll anecdotes. The scarcity of food in the city had become of late very painfully perceptible, but his experience would appear to have been more with the amusing, than with the serious, side of the question. He said that for him the most interesting period of their fast was "while they were eating up the Jardin des Plantes." Elephant meat cost twenty francs per kilogramme and tasted like coarse beef, and they had really had "filets de chameau" and "côtelettes de tigre." A dog flesh market was held in the Rue Saint Honoré, the price being two francs fifty per kilo. There were hardly any more dogs to be seen in Paris, and whenever people caught sight of one, they immediately hunted it down. It was the same with cats. If a pigeon alighted on a roof a view halloo was at once raised in the street. Only the carrier pigeons were spared. The despatches were fastened in the middle of their tail feathers, of which they ought to have nine. If one of them happened to have only eight, they said: "ce n'est qu'un civil," and it had to go the way of all flesh. A lady is said to have remarked: "Jamais je ne mangerai plus de pigeon, car je croirais toujours manger un facteur."

On Bohlen reporting later on that he had, in accordance with instructions, sent certain papers to "the Emperor," the Chief observed: "The Emperor? I envy those to whom the new title already comes so trippingly." Abeken returned from his Majesty's and announced that "The matter of the flags was settled."

After dinner read drafts and reports, amongst the latter a very interesting one in which Russia advises us to leave Metz and German Lorraine to the French, and to annex a neighbouring piece of territory instead. According to a recent despatch from St. Petersburg Gortschakoff has suggested that Germany might take Luxemburg and leave the French a corresponding portion of Lorraine. The geographical position of the Grand Duchy indicated that it should form part of Germany, and Prince Henry, who is devotedly attached to his separate Court, alone stood in the way. King William wrote on the margin of the despatch that this suggestion was to be absolutely rejected. The Chief then replied as follows: The future position of Luxemburg would, it is

true, be an unpleasant one—not for us, but rather for the Grand Duchy itself. We must not, however, exercise any compulsion, nor take the property of others. We must therefore adhere to the programme communicated five months ago to St. Petersburg, especially as we have since then made great sacrifices. The realisation of that programme is indispensable for the security of Germany. We must have Metz. The German people would not tolerate any alteration of the programme.

Favre did not leave till 10.15 P.M., and then not for Paris, but for his quarters here in the Boulevard du Roi. He will come again to-morrow at noon.

The Chief afterwards joined us at tea. In speaking of the capitulation and the armistice, Bohlen asked: "But what if the others do not agree—Gambetta and the Prefects in the south?" "Well, in that case we have the forts which give us the control of the city," replied the Chief. "The King also could not understand that, and inquired what was to happen if the people at Bordeaux did not ratify the arrangement. 'Well,' I replied, 'then we remain in the forts and keep the Parisians shut up, and perhaps in that case we may refuse to prolong the armistice on the 19th of February. In the meantime they have delivered up their arms, and they must pay the contribution. Those who have given a material pledge under a treaty are all the worse off if they cannot fulfil its conditions.'"

Favre had, it seems, confessed to the Chief that he had proceeded "*un peu témérement*" in the matter of the revictualling of Paris. He really did not know whether he would be able to provide in good time for the hundreds of thousands in the city. Somebody observed: "In case of necessity Stosch could supply them with live stock and flour." The Chief: "Yes, so long as he can do so without injury to ourselves." Bismarck-Bohlen was of opinion that we need not give them anything; let them see for themselves where they could get supplies, &c. The Chief: "Well, then, you would let them starve?" Bohlen: "Certainly." The Chief: "But then how are we to get our contribution?"

Later on the Minister said: "Business of State, negotiations with the enemy, do not irritate me. Their objections to my ideas and demands, even when they are unreasonable, leave me quite cool. But the petty grumbling and meddling of the military authorities in political questions, and their ignorance of what is

possible and not possible in such matters! One of them comes and wants this, another one that, and when you have got rid of the first two, a third one turns up—an aide-de-camp or aide-de-camp general—who says: ‘But, your Excellency, surely that is impossible,’ or ‘We must have this too in addition, else we shall be in danger of our lives.’ And yesterday they went so far as to insist that a condition (*i.e.*, for the surrender of the flags), which was not mentioned in the negotiations, should be introduced into a document that was already signed. I said to them, however: ‘We have committed many a crime in this war—but falsification of deeds! No, gentlemen, really that cannot be done.’”

Hatzfeldt mentioned that a Spanish secretary of embassy had called. He had come from Bordeaux and wanted to enter Paris in order to bring away his countrymen. He also had a letter from Chaudordy for Favre, and was in great haste. What answer should be given to him? The Chief stooped down a little over the table, then sat bolt upright again, and said: “Attempting to carry a despatch from one member of the enemy’s Government to another through our lines—that is a case exactly suited for a court-martial. When he comes back you will treat the matter in a very serious way: receive him coolly, look surprised, and say that we must complain to the new King of Spain with regard to such a breach of neutrality, and demand satisfaction. Besides, I am astonished that Stiehle should have let the fellow pass. These soldiers always pay too much deference to diplomats. And even if he had been an ambassador, Metternich for instance, should have been turned back, even if he had to freeze and starve in consequence. Indeed, such carrier service borders closely on spying.”

The rush of people to and out of Paris that was now to be apprehended then came up for discussion. The Chief: “Well, the French will not let so very many out, and we shall only let those pass who have a permit from the authorities inside, and perhaps not all of those.”

Some one said that Rothschild, who had been supplied with a safe conduct, wanted to come out; upon which the Chief: “It would be well to detain him—as a franc-tireur, and include him amongst the prisoners of war. (To Keudell) Just inquire into the matter. I mean it seriously.” Bohlen exclaimed: “Then Bleichröder will come rushing over here and prostrate

himself in the name of all the Rothschild family." The Chief: "In that case we will send him in to join them in Paris, where he can have his share of the dog-hunting."

Monday, January 30th.—The Chief had told the Frenchmen, amongst other things, that to be consistent in one's policy was frequently a mistake, and only showed obstinacy and narrow-mindedness. One must modify his course of action in accordance with events, with the situation of affairs, with the possibilities of the case, taking the relations of things into account and serving his country as the opportunity offers and not according to his opinions, which are often prejudices. When he first entered into political life, as a young and inexperienced man, he had very different views and aims to those which he had at present. He had, however, altered and reconsidered his opinions, and had not hesitated to sacrifice his wishes, either partially or wholly to the requirements of the day, in order to be of service. One must not impose his own leanings and desires upon his country. "*La patrie veut être servie et pas dominée.*" This remark greatly impressed the Parisian gentlemen, of course principally because of its striking form. Favre replied: "*C'est bien juste, Monsieur le Comte, c'est profond.*" Another of the Frenchmen also declared enthusiastically: "*Oui, Messieurs, c'est un mot profond.*"

Bucher, when I went down to tea, confirmed the above particulars, and related that Favre after praising the truth and profundity of the Chief's remark—which, of course, was made for the edification of the Parisians, just as in general his table talk is intended for the benefit of his guests—must needs add the following *bêtise*: "*Néanmoins c'est un beau spectacle de voir un homme qui n'a jamais changé ses principes.*" The railway director, who appeared to Bucher to be more intelligent than Favre, added, in reference to the "*servie et pas dominée,*" that that amounted to men of genius subordinating themselves to the will and opinions of the majority, and that majorities were always deficient in intelligence, knowledge, and character. The Chief made a lofty reply to this objection, stating that with him (*i.e.*, with the man of genius, the hero) the consciousness of his responsibility before God was one of his guiding stars. He opposed to the *droit du génie*, to which his interlocutor had given such a high place, the sense of duty (doubtless meaning what Kant describes as the categorical

imperative), which he maintained to be nobler and more powerful.

A little after 11 o'clock the Chancellor joined us at tea. "I am really curious," he said, "to see what Gambetta will do. It looks as if he wanted to think over the matter further, as he has not yet replied. I think, too, he will ultimately give way. Besides, if not it will be all right. I should have no objection to a little 'Main line' across France. These Frenchmen are really very funny people. Favre comes to me with a face like a martyred saint, and looks as if he had some most important communication to make. So I say to him, 'Shall we go up stairs?' 'Yes,' he says, 'let us do so.' But when we are there he sits down and writes letter after letter, and I wait in vain for any important statement or piece of news from him. As a matter of fact, he had nothing to say. What he has done for us would go into two pages of note-paper." "And this Prefect of Police! I have never in my whole life met such an unpractical man. We are expected to advise and help them in everything. In the course of half an hour he fires all sorts of requests into me, so that at last I nearly lost patience, and said to him, 'But, my good sir, would it not be better to let me have all this in writing? Otherwise it cannot be properly attended to, for it is impossible for me to carry it all in my head.' Thousands of things pass through one's mind, and when I think seriously of one matter I lose sight of all others."

The conversation then turned on the difficulty of supplying the Parisians with provisions. Several railways were useless, at least for the time being; to allow supplies to be drawn from those parts of France immediately adjoining the districts we occupy might result in scarcity and embarrassment to ourselves; and the port of Dieppe, where they count upon receiving consignments from abroad, could only hold a few vessels. The Chief reckoned out how many rations would be required daily, and how much could be transported in moderately normal circumstances. He found that the supply would be a very scanty one, and that possibly large numbers might still have to starve. He then added: "Favre himself said to me that they had held out too long. That was, however, as he confessed, merely because they knew we had provisions stored for them at Lagny. They had exact particulars on that point. At one time we had collected for them there 1,400 loaded waggons."

The levying of taxes and contributions was then discussed, and the Chief explained to Maltzahn the arrangements he wished to see made. Instead of scattering our forces they should in general be massed in the chief town of the department or arrondissement, and from these centres flying columns should be despatched against those who refused to pay taxes, as well as against the guerillas and their aiders and abettors.

With regard to the ten million francs contribution imposed upon the district of Fontenay for the destruction of the railway bridges, Henckel declared, as an expert, that that was an impossible demand—they could not squeeze even two millions out of the people. “Probably not one million,” remarked the Chief. “But that is our way of doing things. All sorts of terrible threats are constantly uttered, and then afterwards they cannot be carried out. The people end by seeing through that sort of thing, and get accustomed to the threats.”

Then followed a highly interesting and detailed review of the various phases in the development of the scheme for the accession of the South German states to the Northern Confederation. “While we were still in Mainz,” related the Chancellor, “the King of Bavaria wrote a letter to our most gracious master in which he expressed a hope that he would not be mediatized. As a matter of course, his mind was set at ease on that point. But the King did not want the answer to be quite so categorical. That was the first conflict between the King and myself during the war. I told him that King Lewis would probably in that case withdraw his troops, and that he would be within his right in doing so. I remember it was in the corner room. It was a hard struggle, and finally he left me still in doubt as to what he was going to do. After the first great victories and before Sedan, there was another idea, namely, that of a military revolution and a military Emperor of Germany, who should be proclaimed by the troops, including the Bavarians. That idea was not to my liking. Subsequently, when Bray came here, they had thought out a plan of their own in Munich. They felt themselves to be safe, and wished for something more. Bray brought with him the plan of the alternating imperial dignity. As Bray said to me, an agreement could be come to between the North German Confederation and Bavaria or between Germany and Bavaria. In the meantime we might very well conclude treaties with Baden and Württemberg, and

afterwards come to an understanding with Bavaria. I was quite satisfied with that. But when I told it to Delbrück, he looked as if he were going to faint. I said to him, 'For Heaven's sake, why not accept it? It is exactly what we want.' And so it was too. For when I informed Suckow and Mittnacht, they were beside themselves with rage, and immediately came to terms with me. Later on, however, the King (of Würtemberg) was induced to strike out again in a new line. It was through Frau von Gasser, who had great influence at the Court in Stuttgart. He wanted to act once more with Bavaria. The Ministers, however, remained firm, and assured me they would rather resign, and thus it came about that the Treaty with Würtemberg was not concluded until afterwards in Berlin. Finally, after all sorts of difficulties on both sides, the arrangement with Bavaria was also settled. Now there was only one thing wanting—but that was the most important of all! I saw a way, and wrote a letter—and after that the credit belongs to a Bavarian Court official. He achieved an almost impossible feat. In six days he made the journey there and back, eighteen German miles, without a railway, to the palace in the mountains where the King was staying—and in addition to that his wife was ill at the time. It was really a great deal for him to do. He arrives at the palace, finds the King unwell—suffering from a tumour in the gum, or from the after effects of an operation under chloroform. He is not to be seen. Well, but he had a letter from me to deliver—very pressing. In vain; the King will not be disturbed; he will do no business to-day. At last his Majesty's curiosity is aroused, and he wants to know what I have to communicate to him—and the letter is well received. But there is no ink, no paper, no writing materials. They send off a groom, who ultimately comes back with some coarse letter paper; the King writes his answer, just as he is, in bed—and the German Empire is made!"

Tuesday, January 31st.—The Chief joined us at tea. He first spoke of the unpractical character of the Frenchmen who have been working with him during the past few days. Two Ministers, Favre and Magnin, the Minister of Finance who has accompanied him this time, spent half an hour to-day worrying over one telegram. This led him to speak of the French in general and of the entire Latin race, and to compare them with the Germanic peoples. "The Germans, the Germanic race," he said, "is, so to

speaking, the male principle throughout Europe—the fructifying principle. The Celtic and Slav peoples represent the female sex. That principle extends as far as the North Sea and then across to England.” I ventured to add: “And also as far as America and the Western States of the Union, where some of our people form the best part of the population and influence the manners of the rest.” “Yes,” he replied, “those are their children, the fruit they bear.” “But that was to be seen in France while the Franks had still the upper hand. The Revolution of 1789 was the overthrow of the Germanic element by the Celtic. And what have we seen since then? And this held good in Spain so long as the Gothic blood predominated. And also in Italy, where in the North the Germans also played a leading part. When that element had exhausted itself, there was nothing decent left. It was much the same thing in Russia, where the Germanic Waräger, the Ruriks, first bound them together. As soon as the natives there prevail over the German immigrants and the Germans of the Baltic Provinces, they fall asunder into mere communes.” “It is true that the unmixed Germans are not of much account either. In the south and west where they were left to themselves, there were only Knights of the Empire, Imperial Towns, and Immediate Villages of the Empire, each for itself, and all tumbling to pieces. The Germans are all right when they are forced to unite—excellent, irresistible, invincible—otherwise each one will act according to his own ideas.” “Really, after all, an intelligent absolutism is the best form of Government. Without a certain amount of it everything falls asunder. One wishes this thing and another that, there is eternal vacillation, eternal delays. But we have no longer any genuine absolutists—that is to say, no kings. They have disappeared. The variety has died out.” “A Republic is perhaps after all the right form of government, and it will doubtless come in the future; but I dislike our Republicans. Formerly things were different, when princes still appeared in brocaded coats and covered with stars. They are declining everywhere, and that decline will be much greater in future. One sees that in the younger generation. It is the case with us also. No more *rocher de bronze*. They no longer want to govern, and are glad when some one relieves them of the trouble. All they care for is to be praised in the newspapers, and to get as much money as possible for their personal requirements. The

only one who still conducts his business properly is the old King of Saxony." "And when they sit at the *table d'hôte* in the Hôtel des Reservoirs, here near the Palace of Louis XIV., and everyone sees that they are ordinary human beings—and how ordinary!—why, the halo is quite lost. And then one fine morning three Grand Dukes pay their respects to me, and find me in my dressing gown!"

I took an opportunity of asking the Chief if there was any truth in the story of the beer glass he was said to have broken on some one's head in a Berlin restaurant because he had insulted the Queen or refused to drink her health. "It was quite different," he replied, "and had no political significance whatever. As I was going home late one evening—it must have been in the year 1847—I met some one who tried to pick a quarrel with me. As I pulled him up on account of his language, I discovered that he was an old acquaintance. We had not seen each other for a long time, and on his proposing to me, 'Come, let's go to ——' (he mentioned a name), I went with him, although I really had had enough already. But after getting our beer he fell asleep. Now there were a lot of people sitting near us, one of whom had also taken more than he could carry, and who was attracting attention by his noisy behaviour. I quietly drank my beer, and this man got angry at my being so quiet, and began to taunt me. I took no notice, and that made him only the more angry, and his language grew more and more violent. I did not want to have any quarrel, nor did I like to go away, as people would have thought I was afraid. At last, however, he came over to my table and threatened to throw the beer in my face. That was too much for me. I stood up and told him to go away, and as he made a motion to throw the beer at me, I gave him a blow under the chin, so that he fell backwards, breaking the chair and the glass, and rolled across the room right on to the wall. The landlady then came and I told her she need not worry, as I would pay for the chair and the beer glass. I said to the others: 'You are witnesses, gentlemen, that I did not seek a quarrel, and that I endured it as long as possible. But I cannot be expected to allow a glass of beer to be poured on my head simply because I was quietly drinking my glass. If the gentleman has lost a tooth in consequence I shall be sorry. But I was obliged to defend myself. Besides, if anybody wishes

to know more, here is my card.' It turned out that they were quite sensible people, and took my view of the case. They were annoyed with their comrade, and acknowledged that I was in the right. I afterwards met two of them at the Brandenburg Gate. I said: 'I think, gentlemen, you were present when I had that affair in the beer house in the Jägerstrasse. What has happened to my adversary? I should be sorry if he had been hurt.' I must explain to you that he had to be carried away on that occasion. 'Oh,' they replied; 'he is all right, and his teeth are quite sound again. He is altogether subdued, and extremely sorry for what he did. He had just entered the army to serve his year, as he is a doctor, and it would have been very unpleasant for him if people had heard of the affair, and especially if it had come to the knowledge of his superiors.'"

The Chief then related that when he was attending the University at Göttingen he fought twenty-eight students' duels in three terms, and was always lucky enough to escape with a whole skin. Once his opponent's blade flew off, probably because it was badly screwed in, and caught him in the face, where it remained sticking. Otherwise he had never received a scar. "I had one very narrow escape, though, at Greifswald. There they had introduced an extraordinary head-dress, a white felt, sugar-loaf hat, and I took it into my head that I must snip off the top of the sugar-loaf, and thus I exposed myself so that his blade whizzed by close to my face. I bent back, however, in good time."

Wednesday, February 1st.—It was stated at lunch that Gambetta had approved of the armistice, but expressed surprise that we still continued to attack the French in the south-east. Favre, with his unbusinesslike habits, had omitted to telegraph to him that operations were not suspended there. This, by the way, was at his own request.

There were no guests at lunch. The Minister, speaking about Favre, said: "I believe he came here to-day merely in consequence of our conversation of yesterday, when I would not acknowledge that Garibaldi was a hero. He was evidently anxious about him, because I would not include him in the armistice. He pointed to the first article like a thorough lawyer. I said: 'Yes, that was the rule, but the exceptions followed, and Garibaldi comes under them.' I quite understood that a Frenchman should bear arms against us—he defended his country, and

had a right to do so ; but I could not recognise the right of this foreign adventurer with his cosmopolitan Republic and his band of revolutionaries from every corner of the earth. He asked me then what we should do with Garibaldi in case we took him prisoner. 'Oh,' I said, 'we will exhibit him for money, and hang a placard round his neck bearing the word 'Ingratitude.'"

The Chief then asked : "But where is Scheidtmann?" Somebody told him. "He will have, I think, to give me legal advice in the matter" (viz., the war contribution of two hundred millions to be paid by Paris). "Is he not a lawyer?" Bucher said no, he had not studied at all, was originally a tradesman, &c. The Chief : "Well, then, Bleichröder must first go into action. He must go into Paris immediately, smell and be smelt at by his brethren in the faith, and discuss with the bankers how it is to be done. Surely he is coming?" Keudell : "Yes, in a few days." The Chief : "Please telegraph him at once, that we want him immediately—then it will be Scheidtmann's turn. I suppose he can speak French?" No one could say. "I am disposed to select Henckel as the third string. He is well acquainted with Paris, and knows the financiers. A member of the *haute finance* once said to me : 'On the Stock Exchange we always lay our money on lucky players,' and if we are to follow that rule Count Henckel is our man."

A propos of German unity, the Minister told us that thirty years ago, at Göttingen, he had made a bet with an American as to whether Germany would be united within twenty-five years. "The winner was to provide twenty-five bottles of champagne, and the loser was to cross the ocean to drink them. The American wagered against union, and I in favour. The interesting point is that, as far back as 1833, I must have had the idea which has now, with God's help, been realised, although at that time I was opposed to all those who professed to desire such a change."

Finally, the Chief declared his belief in the influence of the moon on the growth of the hair and of plants. This subject came up through his jocularly congratulating Abeken on the style in which his locks had been trimmed. "You look twice as young, Herr Geheimrath," he said. "If I were only your wife ! You have had it cut exactly at the right time, under a crescent moon. It is just the same as with trees. When they are in-

tended to shoot again they are felled when the moon is in the first quarter, but when they are to be rooted up then it is done in the last quarter, as in that case the stump decays sooner. There are people who will not believe it, learned men, but the State itself acts on this belief, although it will not openly confess to it. No woodman will think of felling a birch tree which is intended to throw out shoots when the moon is waning."

Thursday, February 2nd.—We were joined at dinner by Odo Russell, and a tall stout young gentleman in a dark-blue uniform, who, I was told, was Count Bray, a son of the Minister, and formerly attached to the Bavarian Embassy in Berlin. The Chief said to Russell: "The English newspapers and also some German ones have censured my letter to Favre and consider it too sharply worded. He himself, however, does not appear to be of that opinion. He said of his own accord: 'You were right in reminding me of my duty. I ought not to leave before this is finished.' The Minister praised this self-abnegation. He then repeated that our Parisians were unpractical people, and that we had constantly to counsel and assist them. He added that they now wished apparently to ask for alterations in the Convention of the 28th of January. Outside Paris little disposition was shown to help in reprovisioning the city. The directors of the Rouen-Dieppe railway, for instance, upon whom they had relied for assistance, declared there was not enough rolling stock, as the locomotives had been taken to pieces and sent to England. Gambetta's attitude was still doubtful, and he seemed to contemplate a continuation of the war. It was necessary that France should soon have a proper Government." "If one is not speedily established I shall give them a sovereign. Everything is already prepared. Amadeus arrived in Madrid with a travelling bag in his hand as King of Spain, and he seems to get on all right. My sovereign will come immediately with a retinue, Ministers, cooks, chamberlains, and an army."

With regard to Napoleon's fortune, very different opinions were expressed. Some said it was large, others that it was inconsiderable. Russell doubted if he had much. He thought the Empress at least could not have much, as she had only deposited £6,000 in the Bank of England. The Chancellor then related that on the way to Saint Cloud to-day he met many people removing their furniture and bedding. Probably they

were inhabitants of neighbouring villages, who had nevertheless been unable to leave Paris. "The women looked quite friendly," he said, "but on catching sight of the uniforms the men began to scowl and struck heroic attitudes. That reminds me that in the old Neapolitan army they had a word of command, when we say, 'Prepare to charge, right!' the command was 'Faccia feroce!' (Look ferocious!) A fine presence, a pompous style of speech, and a theatrical attitude are everything with the French. So long as it sounds right and looks well the substance is a matter of indifference. It reminds me of a citizen of Potsdam who once told me he had been deeply impressed by a speech of Radowitz's. I asked him to show me the passage that had particularly stirred his feelings. He could not mention one. I then took the speech itself and read it through to him in order to discover its beauties, but it turned out that there was nothing in it either pathetic or sublime. As a matter of fact it was merely the air and attitude of Radowitz, who looked as if he were speaking of something most profound and significant and thrillingly impressive,—the thoughtful mien, the contemplative eye, and the sonorous and weighty voice. It was much the same with Waldeck, although he was not nearly such a clever man nor so distinguished looking. In his case it was more the white beard and the staunch convictions. The gift of eloquence has greatly spoilt Parliamentary life. A great deal of time is consumed as every one who thinks he has anything in him wants to speak, even when he has nothing new to say. There are far too many speeches that simply float in the air and pass out through the windows, and too few that go straight to the point. The parties have already settled everything beforehand, and the set speeches are merely intended for the public, to show what members can do, and more especially for the newspapers that are expected to praise them. It will come to this in the end, that eloquence will be regarded as dangerous to the public welfare, and that people will be punished for making long speeches. We have one body," he continued, "that is not in the least eloquent, and has nevertheless done more for the German cause than any other, that is the Federal Council. I remember, indeed, that at first some attempts were made in that direction. I cut them short, however, though as a matter of fact I had no right to do so, albeit I was President. I addressed them much as follows: 'Gentlemen,

eloquence and speeches intended to affect people's convictions are of no use here, as every one brings his own convictions with him in his pocket—that is to say, his instructions. It is merely waste of time. I think we had better restrict ourselves to statements of fact.' And so we did. No one made a big speech after that, business was speedily transacted, and the Federal Council has really done a great deal of good."

Friday, February 3rd.—In addition to a violently warlike proclamation, Gambetta has issued a decree declaring a number of persons ineligible for the new Representative Assembly. The Chief instructs me to telegraph to London and Cologne with respect to this decree, that the Government at Bordeaux has declared whole classes of the population—Ministers, Senators, Councillors of State, and all who have formerly been official candidates—as ineligible for election. The apprehension expressed by Count Bismarck during the negotiations for the Convention of the 28th of January, that freedom of suffrage could not be secured, has thus been confirmed. In consequence of that apprehension the Chancellor of the Confederation at that time proposed the Convocation of the Corps Législatif, but Favre would not agree to it. The Chancellor has now protested in a Note against the exclusion of these classes. Only an Assembly that has been freely elected, as provided by the Convention, will be recognised by Germany as representing France.

Saturday, February 4th.—The Chief has protested against Gambetta's decree in a telegram to Gambetta himself and in a note to Favre.

After 10 o'clock I was called to the Chief, who said: "They complain in Berlin that the English papers are much better informed than ours, and that we have communicated so little to our journals respecting the negotiations for the armistice. How has that come about?" I replied: "The fact is, Excellency, that the English have more money and go everywhere to get information. Besides, they stand well with certain august personages who know everything, and finally the military authorities are not always very reserved with regard to matters that ought, for the time being, to be kept secret. I, of course, can only make public what it is proper that the public should know." "Well, then," he said, "just write and explain how it is that the extraordinary state of affairs here is to blame, and not we."

I then took the opportunity of congratulating him on the freedom of the city of Leipzig, which has been conferred upon him within the last few days. "Yes," he replied. "Now I am a Saxon, too, and a Hamburger, for they have also presented me with the freedom of Hamburg. One would hardly have expected that from them in 1866."

As I was leaving he said: "That reminds me—it is also one of the wonders of our time—please write an article showing up the extraordinary action of Gambetta, who after posing so long as the champion of liberty and denouncing the Government for influencing the elections, is now laying violent hands on the freedom of suffrage. He wants to disqualify all those who differ from him, *i.e.*, the whole official world of France, with the exception of thirteen Republicans. It is certainly very odd that I should have to defend such a principle against Gambetta and his associate and ally Garibaldi." I said: "I do not know whether it was intended, but in your despatch to Gambetta the contrast is very striking where you protest, *au nom de la liberté des élections* against *les dispositions en votre nom pour priver des catégories nombreuses du droit d'être élus.*" "Yes," he replied, "you might also mention that Thiers, after his negotiations with me, described me as an amiable barbarian—*un barbare aimable*. Now they call me in Paris a crafty barbarian—*un barbare astutieux*, and perhaps to-morrow I shall be *un barbare constitutionnel*."

The Chief had more time and interest for the newspapers this morning than during the past few days. I was called to him six times before midday. On one occasion he handed me a lying French pamphlet, "*La Guerre comme la font les Prussiens*," and observed: "Please write to Berlin that they should put together something of this description from our point of view, quoting all the cruelties, barbarities, and breaches of the Geneva Convention committed by the French. Not too much, however, or no one will read it, and it must be done speedily." Later on the Minister handed me a small journal published by a certain Armand le Chevalier at 61 Rue Richelieu, with a woodcut of the Chancellor of the Confederation as frontispiece. The Chief said: "Look at this. Here is a man who refers to the attempt by Blind, and recommends that I should be murdered, and at the same time gives my portrait—like the photographs carried by the franc-tireurs. You know that in the forests of the Ardennes the

portraits of our rangers were found in the pockets of the franc-tireurs who were to shoot them. Luckily it cannot be said that this is a particularly good likeness of me—and the biography is no better." Then reading over a passage and handing me the paper, he said: "This portion should be made use of in the press, and afterwards be introduced in the pamphlet."

Finally he gave me some more French newspapers saying: "Look through these and see if there is anything in them for me or for the King. I must manage to get away or I shall be caught by our Paris friends again."

Prince Putbus and Count Lehndorff joined us at dinner. The Chief related how he had called Favre's attention to the singular circumstance that he, Count von Bismarck, who had been denounced as a tyrant and a despot, had to protest in the name of liberty against Gambetta's proclamation. Favre agreed, with a "*Oui, c'est bien drôle*." The restriction on the freedom of election decreed by Gambetta has, however, now been withdrawn by the Paris section of the French Government. "He announced that to me this morning in writing, and he had previously given me a verbal assurance."

It was then mentioned that several German newspapers were dissatisfied with the capitulation, as they expected our troops to march into Paris at once. "That comes," said the Chief, "of a complete misapprehension of the situation here and in Paris. I could have managed Favre, but the population! They have strong barricades and 300,000 men of whom certainly 100,000 would have fought. Blood enough has been shed in this war—enough German blood. Had we appealed to force much more would have been spilt—in the excited condition of the people. And merely to inflict one additional humiliation upon them—that would have been too dearly bought." After reflecting for a moment he continued: "And who told them that we shall not still enter Paris and occupy a portion of it? Or at least march through, when they have cooled down and come to reason, The armistice will probably be prolonged, and then, in return for our readiness to make concessions, we can demand the occupation of the city on the right bank of the river. I think we shall be there in about three weeks." "The 24th"—he reflected for a moment—"yes, it was on the 24th that the Constitution of the North German Confederation was made public. It was also on the 24th

of February, 1859, that we had to submit to certain particularly mean treatment. I told them that it would have to be expiated. *Exoriare aliquis*. I am only sorry that the Würtemberg Minister to the Bundestag, old Reinhart, has not lived to see it. Prokesch has though, and I am glad of that, because he was the worst. According to a despatch from Constantinople, which I read this morning, Prokesch is now quite in agreement with us, praises the energies and intelligence of Prussia's policy, and (here the Minister smiled scornfully) has always, or at least for a long time past, recommended co-operation with us."

The Chief had been to Mont Valérien to-day. "I was never there before," he said, "and when one sees the strong works and the numerous contrivances for defence—we should have had terrible losses in storming it. One dares not even think of it."

The Minister said one of the objects of Favre's visit to-day was to request that the masses of country people who had fled to Paris in September should be allowed to leave. They were mostly inhabitants of the environs, and there must be nearly 300,000 of them. "I declined permission," he continued, "explaining to him that our soldiers now occupied their houses. If the owners came out and saw how their property had been wrecked and ruined they would be furious, and no blame to them, and they would upbraid our people, and then there might be dangerous brawls and perhaps something still worse." The Chancellor had also been to St. Cloud, and whilst he was looking at the burnt palace and recalling to mind the condition of the room in which he had dined with Napoleon, there was a well-dressed Frenchman there—probably from Paris—who was being shown round by a man in a blouse. "I could catch every word they said, as they spoke aloud, and I have sharp ears. 'C'est l'œuvre de Bismarck,' said the man in the blouse, but the other merely replied 'C'est la guerre.' If they had only known that I was listening to them!"

The election addresses posted on the walls by the candidates for the National Assembly were then discussed, and it was observed that, in general, they were still very aggressive, and promised to achieve wonders at Bordeaux. "Yes," said the Chief; "I quite believe that. Favre also tried once or twice to ride the high horse. But it did not last long. I always brought him down with a jesting remark."

Some one referred to the speech made by Klaczko on the 30th of January in the Delegation of the Reichsrath against Austria's co-operation with Prussia, and to Giskra's revelation in the morning edition of the *National Zeitung* of the 2nd of February. Giskra said that Bismarck wished to send him from Brünn to Vienna with proposals for peace. These were, in effect: Apart from the maintenance in Venetia of the *status quo* before the war, the Main line was to be recognised as the limit of Prussian ascendancy, there was to be no war indemnity, but French mediation was to be excluded. Giskra sent Baron Herring to Vienna with these proposals. The latter was, however, coolly received by Moritz Esterhazy, and after waiting for sixteen hours obtained only an evasive answer. On proceeding to Nikolsburg, Herring found Benedetti already there, and was told: "You come too late." As Giskra points out, the French mediation accordingly cost Austria a war indemnity of thirty millions. It was observed that Prussia could have extorted more from Austria at that time, and also a cession of territory, for instance, Austrian Silesia, and perhaps Bohemia. The Chief replied: "Possibly, as for money, what more could the poor devils give? Bohemia would have been something and there were people who entertained the thought. But we should have created difficulties for ourselves in that way, and Austrian Silesia was not of much value to us; for just there the devotion to the Imperial house and the Austrian connection was greater than elsewhere. In such cases one must ask for what one really wants, and not what one might be able to get."

In this connection he related that on one occasion, as he was walking about in mufti at Nikolsburg, he met two policemen who wished to arrest a man. "I asked what he had done, but of course as a civilian I got no answer. I then inquired of the man himself, who told me that it was because he had spoken disrespectfully of Count Bismarck. They nearly took me along with him because I said that doubtless many others had done the same."

"That reminds me that I was once obliged to join in a cheer for myself. It was in 1866, in the evening, after the entry of the troops. I was unwell just then, and my wife did not wish to let me go out. I went, however—on the sly—

and as I was about to cross the street again near the palace of Prince Charles, there was a great crowd of people collected there, who desired to give me an ovation. I was in plain clothes, and with my broad brimmed hat pulled down over my eyes, I perhaps looked like a suspicious character—I don't know why. As some of them seemed inclined to be unpleasant, I thought the best thing to do was to join in their hurrah."

He also warmly praised the active part taken by the Duke of Meiningen in the conduct of the war. He concluded: "I wish that to be mentioned in the press. The background is ready to hand in the princely loafing and palace looting of the rest of them."

Monday, February 6th.—The Chief desires to have an article against Gambetta published in the *Moniteur*.

I am called to the Minister again at 11 o'clock, and instructed to defend Favre against the rabid attacks of some French newspapers. The Chief says: "They actually take him to task for having dined with me. I had much trouble in getting him to do so. But it is unfair to expect that, after working with me for eight or ten hours, he should either starve as a staunch Republican, or go out to a hotel where the people would run after him and stare at him."

The Frenchmen are again here between 2 and 4 P.M. They are six or seven in number, including Favre and, if I rightly heard the name, General Leflô. The Chief's eldest son and Count Dönhoff join us at dinner.

Subsequently I despatch a *démenti* of a Berlin telegram published by *The Times*, according to which we propose to demand the surrender of twenty ironclads and the colony of Pondicherry, together with a war indemnity of ten millions of francs. This I describe as a gross invention which cannot possibly have been credited in England, or have created any anxiety there. I then hint at the probable source, namely, the clumsy imagination of an unfriendly and intriguing diplomatist. "That comes from Loftus," says the Chief, as he gives me these instructions. "An ill-mannered fellow, who was always seeking to make mischief with us."

Wednesday, February 8th.—The Chief is up at an unusually early hour, and drives off at 9.45 to see the King. Favre arrives

shortly before 1 o'clock, accompanied by a swarm of Frenchmen. There must be ten or twelve of them. He confers with the Minister after first lunching with us:

In the evening the Chief and his son dined with the Crown Prince, but first remained for a while with us. He again observed with satisfaction that Favre had not taken offence at his "spiteful letter," but, on the contrary, had thanked him for it. The Chief had repeated to him verbally that it was his duty to share the dish which he had helped to cook. To-day they had discussed the way of raising the Paris war contribution; the French wanted to pay the greater part of it in bank notes, and we might lose in that way. "I do not know the value of what they offer," he said; "but in any case it is to their advantage. They must, however, pay the whole amount agreed upon. I will not remit a single franc."

Thursday, February 9th.—Speaking again of the Paris contribution, the Chancellor observed at dinner: "Stosch tells me he can dispose of fifty million francs in bank notes to pay for provisions, &c., in France. We must have proper security, however, for the remaining hundred and fifty millions." Then alluding to the foolish story about our wanting Pondicherry, he continued: "I do not want any colonies at all. Their only use is to provide sinecures. That is all England at present gets out of her colonies, and Spain too. And as for us Germans, colonies would be exactly like the silks and sables of the Polish nobleman who had no shirt to wear under them."

We were joined at dinner by the Duke of Ratibor and a Herr von Kotze, the husband of the Chief's niece. Strousberg, a business friend of the Duke's, was mentioned, and the Chief observed that nearly all, or at least very many of the members of the Provisional Government were Jews: Simon, Cremieux, Magnin, also Picard, whose Semitic origin he would hardly have suspected, and "very probably Gambetta also, from his features." "For the same reason, I suspect even Favre," he added.

Saturday, February 11th.—In the morning I read the newspapers, and particularly certain debates in the English Parliament at the end of last month. It really looks as if our good friends across the Channel had a suspicious leaning towards France, and as if they were not at all disinclined to interfere once more—indeed, in certain circumstances, an Anglo-French alliance would

appear quite possible. It is a question, however, whether they might not fall between two stools. A very different result might well ensue. From what one hears and reads in the newspapers, the feeling in this country is almost as hostile to the English as to ourselves, and in certain circles more so. It may well happen that if England adopts a threatening attitude towards us, we may surprise our cousins in London with the very reverse of a Franco-English alliance against Germany. We may even be obliged to seriously consider the forcible restoration of Napoleon, which we have not hitherto contemplated. According to a telegram of the 2nd inst., Bernstorff is to see that these ideas are cautiously ventilated in the press.

Count Henckel and Bleichröder dined with us. It seems that in the negotiations with the French financiers, Scheidtmann described them to their faces in language more vigorous than flattering, talking of them as pigs, dogs, rabble, &c., in ignorance of the fact that some of them understood German. The Chief then spoke of the insolence of the Parisian press, which behaved as if the city were not in our power: "If that goes on we must tell them that we will no longer stand it. It must cease, or we shall answer their articles by a few shells from the forts." Henckel having alluded to the unsatisfactory state of public opinion in Alsace, the Chief said that, properly speaking, no elections ought to have been allowed there at all, and he had not intended to allow them. But inadvertently the same instructions were sent to the German officials there as elsewhere. The Chief then related that the French were committing all sorts of fraud in the revictualling of Paris. It was not out of pride that they refused our contributions, but merely because they could make no profit out of them. Even members of the Government were involved, and Magnin was understood to have recently made 700,000 francs on the purchase of sheep. "We must let them see that we know that," said the Chief, glancing at me; "it will be useful in the peace negotiations." This was done without delay.

Sunday, February 12th.—It is announced in a telegram from Cassel that Napoleon has issued a proclamation to the French. The Minister handed it to me, saying: "Please have this published in our local paper. It is in order to lead them astray, so that they may not know where they stand. But for God's sake don't date it from Wilhelmshöhe, or they will think that we are

in communication with him. '*Le bureau Wolff télégraphie.*' The Chief seems to be unwell. He does not come to dinner.

Wednesday, February 22nd.—During the last week I have written a number of articles and paragraphs, and despatched about a dozen telegrams.

The Assembly at Bordeaux shows a proper appreciation of the position. It has declined to support Gambetta, and has elected Thiers as chief of the Executive and spokesman on behalf of France in the negotiations for peace which began here yesterday. At dinner yesterday, at which we were joined by Henckel, the Chief remarked, with reference to these negotiations, "If they were to give us another milliard we might perhaps leave them Metz, and build a fortress a few miles further back, in the neighbourhood of Falkenberg or towards Saarbrücken—there must be some suitable position there. I do not want so many Frenchmen in our house. It is the same with Belfort, which is entirely French. But the soldiers will not hear of giving up Metz, and perhaps they are right."

Generals von Kameke and von Treskow dined with us to-day. The Chief spoke about his second meeting with Thiers to-day: "On my making that demand" (what the demand was escaped me), "he jumped up, although he is otherwise quite capable of controlling himself, and said, '*Mais c'est une indignité!*' I did not allow that to put me out, however, but began to speak to him in German. He listened for a while, and evidently did not know what to make of it. He then said in a querulous voice, '*Mais, Monsieur le Comte, vous savez bien que je ne sais point l'allemand.*' I replied, speaking in French again, 'When you spoke just now of *indignité* I found that I did not know enough French, and so preferred to use German, in which I understand what I say and hear.' He immediately caught my meaning, and wrote down as a concession the demand which he had previously resented as an *indignité*."

The Chief continued: "Yesterday he spoke of Europe, which would intervene if we did not moderate our demands. But I replied, 'If you speak to me of Europe I shall speak to you of Napoleon.' He would not believe that they had anything to fear from him. I proved the contrary to him, however. He should remember the plebiscite and the peasantry, together with the officers and soldiers. It was only under the Emperor that the

Guards could again have the position which they formerly occupied ; and with a little cleverness it could not be difficult for Napoleon to win over 100,000 soldiers among the prisoners in Germany. We should then only have to arm them and let them cross the frontier, and France would be his once more. If they would concede good conditions of peace we might even put up with one of the Orleans, though we knew that that would mean another war within two or three years. If not, we should have to interfere, which we had avoided doing up to the present, and they would have to take Napoleon back again. That, after all, must have produced a certain effect upon him, as, to-day, just as he was going to talk about Europe again, he suddenly broke off and said, 'Excuse me.' For the rest, I like him very well. He is at least highly intelligent, has good manners, and is an excellent story-teller. Besides, I often pity him, for he is in an extremely awkward position. But all that can't help him in the least."

With regard to the war indemnity, the Chief said : "Thiers insisted that fifteen hundred million francs was the maximum, as it was incredible how much the war had cost them. And in addition to that everything supplied to them was of bad quality. If a soldier only slipped and fell down, his trousers went to pieces, the cloth was so wretched. It was the same with the shoes, which had pasteboard soles, and also with the rifles, particularly those from America." I replied : "But just imagine, you are suddenly pounced upon by a man who wants to thrash you, and after defending yourself and getting the better of him, you demand compensation—what would you say if he asked you to bear in mind how much he had had to pay for the stick with which he had intended to beat you, and how worthless the stick had proved to be?" However, there is a very wide margin between fifteen hundred and six thousand millions."

The conversation then lost itself—I can no longer remember how—in the depths of the Polish forests and marshes, turning for a while on the large solitary farm houses in those districts and upon colonisation in the "backwoods of the east." The Chief said : "Formerly when so many things were going wrong—even in private affairs—I often thought that if the worst came to the worst I would take my last thousand thalers and buy one of those farms out there and set up as a farmer. But things turned out differently."

Later on, diplomatic reports were again discussed, and the Chief, who seems in general to have a poor opinion of them, said: "For the most part, they are just paper smeared with ink. The worst of it is that they are so lengthy. In Bernstorff's case for instance, when he sends a ream of paper filled with stale newspaper extracts—why, one gets accustomed to it! But when some one else writes at interminable length, and as a rule there is nothing in it, one becomes exasperated. As for using them some day as material for history, nothing of any value will be found in them. I believe the archives are open to the public at the end of thirty years—but it might be done much sooner. Even the despatches which do contain information are scarcely intelligible to those who do not know the people and their relations to each other. In thirty years time who will know what sort of a man the writer himself was, how he looked at things, and how his individuality affected the manner in which he presented them? And who has really an intimate knowledge of the people mentioned in his reports? One must know what Gortschakoff, or Gladstone, or Granville had in his own mind when making the statements reported in the despatch. It is easier to find out something from the newspapers, of which indeed governments also make use, and in which they frequently say much more clearly what they want. But that also requires a knowledge of the circumstances. The most important points, however, are always dealt with in private letters and confidential communications, also verbal ones, and these are not included in the archives.

"The Emperor of Russia, for instance, is on the whole very friendly to us—from tradition, for family reasons, and so on—and also the Grand Duchess Hélène, who influences him and watches him on our behalf. The Empress, on the other hand, is not our friend. But that is only to be ascertained through confidential channels and not officially."

Thursday, February 23rd.—We retain Metz, but not Belfort. It has been practically decided that a portion of our army shall enter Paris.

Wednesday, March 1st.—In the morning I crossed the bridge of boats at Suresnes to the Bois de Boulogne, where, from the half ruined stand on the racecourse, I saw the Emperor review the troops before they marched into Paris.

We were joined at dinner by Mittnacht, and the Würtemberg

Minister, von Wächter, who was formerly attached to the Embassy in Paris, and while there did his utmost against Prussia. The Chief said he had ridden in to Paris, and was recognised by the populace, but there was no demonstration against him. He rode up to one man who looked particularly vicious, and asked him for a light, which he willingly gave.

The Chancellor afterwards took occasion once more to speak his mind out on the obtrusiveness of certain princely personages. "They are like flies," he said, "there is no getting rid of them. But Weimar is the worst of the lot. He said to me to-day, 'Please tell me where did you disappear to so quickly yesterday? I should have been glad to put some further questions to you.' I replied, 'That was exactly it, your Royal Highness. I had business to do, and could not enter into a lengthy conversation.' He fancies that the whole world has been created merely for his sake, for his amusement, the improvement of his education, and the satisfaction of his curiosity, which is insatiable, and he has absolutely no tact." Somebody observed that as a rule when he talks he does not think of what he says, but rather repeats phrases that he has learnt by rote. Mitnacht told another story about this august personage. "Some one was introduced to him: 'Ah, very pleased indeed, I have heard so much to your credit. Let me see, what was it I heard?'"

Thursday, March 2nd.—Favre arrived this morning to inform the Chancellor of the news he had received during the night that the National Assembly at Bordeaux had ratified the preliminaries of peace, and thereupon to ask that Paris and the forts on the left bank of the Seine should be evacuated.

Sunday, March 5th.—We leave to-morrow, first going to Lagny and thence to Metz. The Chief is present at dinner. The conversation first turned upon our landlady, Madame Jesse, who put in an appearance either to-day or yesterday and made a variety of complaints to the Minister as to the damage we are supposed to have done to her property. He replied that was the way in war, particularly when people deserted their homes. Besides she had reasons to be thankful that she had got off so easily. The little table on which the Treaty of Peace was signed is to be taken with us to Germany. Taglioni, who is to remain behind a few days with the King, is instructed to have it replaced by an exactly similar piece of furniture. In speaking of

the preparations for our departure the Chief says: "Kühnel thinks we ought not to travel by night, as Lorraine will be haunted, and they might lay something on the rails." I replied, "Then I will travel incognito as the Duke of Coburg. Nobody owes him a grudge. He is regarded as perfectly innocent—and with justice."

Monday, March 6th.—A lovely morning. Thrushes and finches warble the signal for our departure. At 1 o'clock the carriages get under way, and with light hearts we drive off towards the gate that we entered five months ago. At 7.30 on the morning of the 8th we reach Berlin, after exactly seven months' absence. All things considered, everything has been done during those seven months which it was possible to do.

CHAPTER XI

From our return from the War up to the temporary discontinuance of my Personal Intercourse with the Chancellor—Negotiations with the Commune and with MacMahon—The “International”—The Frankfurt Treaty—Strained Relations—Bismarck threatens to resume hostilities—His views as to the most desirable *régime* for France.

AFTER a few days' rest we returned again to our former work at the office, accustoming ourselves to it once more, so that everything fell again into the old groove. The only difference for me was that I continued to enjoy the privilege accorded to me at Versailles, of access to all documents of a political character received by or despatched from the Foreign Office. Some of these were entrusted to my diary in the form of short summaries, or longer notices, together with many of my experiences and observations of that period, and an anthology of the tasks set to me by the Chief, which, as formerly, I noted down at once for future use. And now these faded leaves may themselves speak.

March 24th, 1871.—To-day, as also during the last few days, read old and recent despatches and other correspondence. It is reported from Vienna that Beust has been “much affected” by the telegrams exchanged by the Emperors William and Alexander, as from these it would appear as if the forbearance shown by the Austrians up to the last hour were not voluntary. A wire has been sent informing him that the telegram of the German Emperor was a purely personal act, and was despatched without the knowledge of the Minister. A communication from Stockholm states that the King of Sweden had also written to General Brincourt of the French Guards, who had formerly been in Metz, and was there made prisoner by the Germans, a letter in which he expressed sentiments of a strongly anti-German character.

March 29th.—A letter from St. Petersburg reports that Oubril has been selected for the Russian Embassy in Paris, and that the Grand Duchess Hélène wishes him to be succeeded in Berlin by Walujeff, and not by the francophil Albedinski—also not by Orloff, who is very sensitive, and whose policy is governed by the treatment which he receives. The Emperor Alexander will nominate Walujeff if the Emperor William desires it, and she, the Grand Duchess, is prepared to communicate his wishes.

April 8th.—It is reported from Weimar, with "satisfaction and pleasure," that for some time past there has been a marked change for the better in the political sentiments of the Grand Duke. "While his Royal Highness has never spoken to the writer on political subjects since the spring of 1866, and always carefully avoided touching upon them even at the most decisive moments, turning the conversation to private matters, he recently at a Court concert spoke to the writer on the internal affairs of the German Empire, and expressed his warm approval of the first parliamentary speech made by the Chancellor against the Ultramontanes." The report continues: "The Grand Duke returned to the same subject yesterday at dinner, and spoke in high praise of the Chancellor, whom he had desired to thank personally the last time he was in Berlin, but had been unable to find at home. The communication concludes as follows: "It is to be hoped that the ice is now broken, and that our relations with the Grand Duke will improve."

April 20th.—Among the drafts is an instruction to W. in Munich, dated the 18th instant, which runs as follows: "In my telegram of the 7th I referred to the attitude of the Clericals in the Reichstag, where their hostility to the Imperial Government is becoming more evident from day to day. At first it might have been expected that the party which was being formed, even if it had a strongly Catholic tendency, would not subordinate all political questions to sectarian differences, but would, to some extent, join with the Imperial Government upon the basis of Conservative principles and the honourable promotion of the common national interests, supporting it in the same way as the strictly orthodox wing of the Evangelical Church has done, without sacrificing their independence. In consequence of this expectation, the Government had observed a friendly attitude towards the party, and in the debate on the Address had avoided

any rejoinder to the plea openly put forward for German intervention in Italy, in order to leave free play to the expression of the various aspirations and views. That debate, and still more those that followed on the introduction of certain fundamental alterations in the constitution of the Empire, showed clearly that the Clerical Party had developed into a close organisation on a purely sectarian basis, and were prepared to sacrifice all national and political interests to those of their creed. The result is that they have made opponents of all the other parties, and particularly of those Catholics who remain faithful to the national cause, finding no support on any side except among the Hanoverian Separatists and the Poles. I greatly regret these tactless and inept proceedings, which aggravate the strain of sectarian differences. I learn that the Clerical Party regards the failure of its efforts to find support in the Federal Council as a sort of declaration of war on the part of the Government. The allied Governments, on the other hand, find that the aggressive tendencies of this party, which is only a continuation of the attitude long since adopted, and, unfortunately, still maintained by the Clerical press, naturally affects their position, and must force them into taking defensive measures of a more effective character, and oblige them on their side to assume the aggressive. The uncompromising attitude of the Clericals greatly promotes the Döllinger movement, and helps to win sympathy for it in circles which previously held aloof from it, where the course taken is regarded as confirmation of the assertion of Döllinger and his friends respecting the incompatibility of Clerical and Ultramontane tendencies with the demands of a national commonweal."

April 21st.—This morning the Chief wished to have an article written for the *Kölnische Zeitung* calling attention to the contrast between the intellectual impotence of the French and their self-conceit, and to the circumstance that in recent times they have always had to trust to foreigners for their salvation—a theme for which he gave me the ideas.

April 30th.—Yesterday and to-day read a number of interesting documents treating of negotiations with Cluseret, the present general of the Commune, and took note of them for future use. In the first of these, dated the 10th instant, Fabrice was instructed by telegraph to say in reply to Cluseret that he would listen to any overtures which the latter might desire to make to him, and

bring them to the knowledge of the Chancellor. The telegram then continued: "If he should then call upon you it might be possible, without actually negotiating, to lead him to say how the Commune would propose to raise the money for us. You might also be able to bring home to him the helplessness of the whole affair, and in that way form an opinion as to the prospects of an attempt at mediation between Paris and Versailles." In reply to a despatch of the 21st of April, in which Fabrice says that the Commune has no money, and that in order to raise some it has already seized upon the property of societies and individuals, the Chief said that the general should nevertheless sound them as to the surrender of Paris to us, but only for purposes of information and report. The idea that the Commune could be really considered solvent had been entirely foreign to the telegram of the 10th instant. It was only a reconnaissance for the purpose of ascertaining the intentions and resources of the holders of power in Paris. Fabrice reports from Soissy on the 27th instant that Holstein, who had remained behind with him, had had a meeting with Cluseret, and that the Commune was disposed to pay a sum of 500,000,000 francs, of which 300,000,000 was in hand, in the form of securities belonging to the city, while the remaining 200,000,000 could be raised by the sale of the Octroi dues. In return for this the Germans would be required to abstain from taking any part in the stoppage of supplies, and not to deliver any of the forts occupied by them to the Versailles Government. A desire was also expressed that we should endeavour to bring about an understanding as to a *modus vivendi* between the two belligerent parties. There was a twofold basis upon which this could be effected. One was that the city should be disarmed, but should not be occupied by the troops of the Versailles Government, and that it should be granted a communal administration, together with security against a recurrence of Hausmann or Pietri Budgets. The second was the dissolution of the present National Assembly, which had exhausted its mandate, and a fresh appeal to France, whose decision would be accepted by Paris. Cluseret had described the Socialist and other excesses as a phase of this 'drôle de mouvement' which had now passed away. He treated the military siege of the city as an impossibility, but begged, in the event of Versailles being, in spite of all human probability, victorious, that they should not be permitted to

destroy Paris. This, as well as the expectation that we might mediate, was only a desire on their part, and not one of the conditions of payment. The Frenchman then observed that negotiations with us would subject him to less suspicion in Paris than would negotiations with the Versailles Government. He further promised to release all German prisoners as soon as he was informed who and where they were, and also to move at once for the liberation of the Archbishop, whose imprisonment was an inheritance from the first phase of the movement. Finally, he repeated that the only important points were our neutrality and the abstention from interference with their supplies, as from a military standpoint the Versailles people caused him no anxiety.

The Chief replied on the same day, that from this it appeared, if Cluseret's views could be accepted as authoritative in Paris, that mediation between the latter and Versailles was not hopeless; those views being more moderate than he had expected, particularly with regard to disarmament. Fabrice might try to ascertain what Favre thought of the first alternative. In the meantime our attitude should be made to correspond with Cluseret's expectations by observing neutrality, and taking no part in the maintenance of the cordon round Paris. A despatch setting forth the reasons for this course would be sent to him, Fabrice, that day. The telegram concluded: "The demands of the French negotiators in Brussels with respect to the five milliards and the Eastern Railway show *qu'on se moque de nous*."

These telegrams were supplemented by a further communication dated the day before yesterday, which said that Fabrice should keep up the relations that had been established with Cluseret, and should try to ascertain whether he was of opinion that in case of the disarmament of the city and its non-occupation by the Versailles troops it could be garrisoned by our soldiers. If that were the case it would be desirable to make a serious endeavour to mediate with Versailles. Communal independence, after the fashion of the Prussian municipal regulations, was not in itself an unreasonable demand, if no efforts were made to secure communistic adjuncts. Perhaps it would be possible to sever the reasonable communal movement from the international one. If in doing this we succeeded in occupying Paris with the approval of the two parties, guaranteeing communal independence until the French had come to an understanding among themselves, and

intervening with a strong hand in restoring domestic peace in France, we should improve our own position and gain fresh securities against possible bad faith at Versailles. In these circumstances Fabrice was to avoid taking sides in any way against the Parisians.

The despatch mentioned in the last telegram of the 27th of April, which was to be forwarded by courier on the same day, began by referring to a telegram from Fabrice, according to which Favre begged in a formal Note that the French troops might be permitted to pass through our lines over the Northern Railway and force their way into Paris; further, that the German military authorities should call upon the insurgents to disarm the enceinte, in accordance with the Convention of the 28th of January; and, finally, that the French army might be permitted to pass through the district and gate of St. Ouen. It runs as follows: "The French Government requests us to permit the passage of their troops through St. Ouen. This lies within the neutral zone, where the presence of both armies is forbidden by the Convention of the 28th of January. In order to enable us to agree to this we should be convinced that any arrangements we may come to with the French Government would be carried out by the latter. This conviction has been shaken by the dilatoriness of the French in the fulfilment of previous obligations, and by certain indications of a tendency to place an arbitrary interpretation, contrary to their true sense, upon stipulations that are now in force. The French Government is in arrears with the greater part of the money payable for the maintenance of our troops, with the release of German prisoners of war, and with the issue of clear and peremptory instructions to the Governors of the Colonies and the Commanders of the naval stations in Eastern Asia for the suspension of hostilities. The disposition to put a construction upon agreements which they never had, as well as to extend and override them without an understanding with us, is betrayed by the collection of 140,000 troops, where they are only justified in having 100,000; in the attempt to reduce the war indemnity by making payments below par; and in what, to my astonishment, appears to be the manifestation of a desire for the commencement of the evacuation of the districts occupied by us. If the French Government should really assert that we are bound, upon the payment of the first half milliard, and before the conclusion of a

definitive peace, to any sort of evacuation, that circumstance would destroy all my confidence in its loyalty, as during the negotiations no other view was ever held than that a definitive peace must precede any evacuation by us of this side of the Seine.

"It was then supposed that the conclusion of a definitive peace would take place previous to any payment by France. M. Thiers expressed his intention to commence his financial operations after a lapse of two months at the earliest, and considered that the definitive treaty would be concluded in from four to six weeks. There was no question that the whole present occupation was regarded as a guarantee to us for the conclusion of the definitive peace; and the terms clearly show that all the evacuation yet to take place was subordinated to the final peace, and that the payments only affected the various stages of these evacuations. The sentence following these stipulations, according to which the evacuation is to take place after the conclusion of peace and after the payment of the first half milliard, was not contained in the original text. M. Thiers wished to have it concluded, and M. Favre considered it superfluous. I declared myself in favour of its inclusion, as on the day before I had agreed that a comparatively large and important stage of the evacuation should be made dependent upon this first payment, which might be reckoned on the basis of the proportion between the entire territory occupied and the whole five milliards. M. Thiers kept me to my word, which I acknowledged; but there was never any question of the evacuation of this side of the Seine before the ratification of the definitive treaty of peace.

"Should the French entertain any doubt on this point your Excellency will explain to M. Favre that I would rather advise his Majesty to *immediately* renew hostilities than submit to such a falsification of the spirit in which the Versailles negotiations were conducted.

"The decision of his Majesty with respect to our expected co-operation, direct or indirect, will depend, on the one hand, upon military considerations which are still under discussion, as well as upon the contents of the French official overtures announced in your Excellency's telegram No. 196. On the other hand, we must take advantage of the present situation with the object of removing every uncertainty which the French may endeavour to read into our agreements. Should your Excellency really have occasion

to suppose, as would appear to me from the contents of your reports of the 22nd and 23rd instant, that the French intend to interpret the treaty of peace as if the sentence in Article 3—*L'évacuation des départements—s'opèrera graduellement après la ratification du traité de paix définitif*—were modified by that which follows it, separated only by a semi-colon: *après le versement—la rive droite*, in such a way that the words of the first sentence from *après* to *définitif*, would be rendered of no effect for the territory in question, your Excellency will please demand from the French Government, in the form of an ultimatum, a clear explanation upon this point. Were this to be refused I should lose all faith in its intention to honourably fulfil its treaty obligations, and it would then become desirable to renew the military operations as early as possible. We will not permit ourselves to be cozened out of our present position, but will, on the contrary, hold fast to it until the definitive peace has been concluded to our satisfaction. We have made these stipulations in order that we may be able to bring pressure to bear with this object. So long as the obligations undertaken, but not yet fulfilled, by France with respect to the indemnity and the prisoners of war remain unfulfilled, and so long as the above-mentioned doubt as to the intentions of the French Government respecting the interpretation of the preliminary peace and the conclusion of a definitive treaty is not removed, I must advise his Majesty against every form of support for the Versailles Government; and instead of any such support, I must recommend that a demand be at once addressed to the French authorities to reduce the number of their troops in accordance with the terms of the treaty, or to be prepared for a renewal of hostilities."

May 1st.—According to a communication of yesterday's date from Fabrice, Colonel de la Haye had said to him, that probably a memorial from Thiers would be received, and not the Note from Favre, which had been announced, and that Favre had repeatedly declared that France was now fulfilling the obligations which she had undertaken, would continue to do so, and was prepared to conclude peace, and to recognise the preliminaries as merely intended to lead up to it. In return, he asked for permission to attack Paris by way of Epinay, and the Northern Railway line, through St. Denis, and that the Commune should be called upon, in accordance with the Convention, to withdraw its troops from

the enceinte. The colonel requested Fabrice to inform the Chancellor of this. Should the latter decline, the French Government would be able to say, in the presence of Europe, that it had discharged its duty to the best of its ability, but that Germany prevented it from offering an effective resistance to the insurrection. Favre declared that he had exhausted all his resources, and that it was now necessary to know whether Prussia wished to favour the Government or the Commune. De la Haye had expressed a strong desire that Fabrice should not communicate this statement to the Chief before the receipt of Thiers memorial. Fabrice, first of all, begged the Frenchman to hasten the despatch of the letter, but, also before that was done, to explain to Favre the significance and consequences of the demand which he expected us to make upon the Commune for the disarmament of the enceinte, a point upon which Favre did not, at the moment, appear to be quite clear. To this the Prince replied immediately, that we were not *bound* by any Convention to help the French Government, although we were justified in demanding from it the disarmament of the enceinte, and eventually enforcing the same, if we found it to be in our interest. The latter, however, was not the case. We had no interest in overthrowing the opponents of the French Government at the cost of German blood, so long as that Government did not carry out the stipulations of the preliminary treaty, but sought, on the contrary, to alter them to our prejudice. With the object of dissipating the mistrust that had arisen in this way, by means of a personal discussion of stronger guarantees, or of a fixed term for the payment of the five milliards, the Chancellor finally proposed to Favre that they should meet at Frankfurt or Mainz on any day he chose to select. As I saw later, Favre telegraphed that he would be in Frankfurt on Friday, and the Chief replied that he would arrive there on Saturday—perhaps because he considers Friday unlucky.

May 3rd.—According to a report from St. Petersburg of the 26th of April, the King of Denmark has written to the Tsarevna, asking her to beg the Emperor Alexander to bring up the question of North Schleswig in Berlin. The Grand Duchess did not give her father's letter to the Emperor himself, but applied to the Empress, who afterwards communicated its contents to him. Although the Emperor Alexander had said nothing on the subject to R., he nevertheless observed that he greatly desired to have a talk with

the Emperor William, and hoped to see him in June either in Berlin or at Ems. The Grand Duchess Hélène informed R. of this, and asked what reply she should give to the Tsarevna, who had repeatedly inquired whether he had not said anything on this affair. The Grand Duchess was of opinion that our Government, whose German sentiments were doubted by no one, could now in its hour of triumph more easily make concessions than before. The matter might one day become unpleasant, and counter-concessions of a commercial character (?) could now be demanded from Denmark, which would secure the position of individual Germans in the territory to be ceded. R. replied that Germany would be prepared to make concessions, but that Denmark would not be satisfied with what could be granted. The reason of the Emperor Alexander's great anxiety to see the affair settled is that he knows how eagerly the Danish Court stimulates the anti-German sentiments of the heir to the Russian throne. The same authority reports that the French Government, through the Marquis de Gabriac, their present representative in St. Petersburg, has complained to Gortschakoff that we are no longer as friendly as we were, and requested him to mediate between France and ourselves. This request was, however, declined, attention being called to the obligations undertaken in the preliminary peace, the fulfilment of which was the right means of securing the good will of Germany. At a Court ball the Emperor Alexander also observed to the marquis : "*Remplissez d'abord loyalement vos engagements et après je serai votre avocat, si vous aurez des raisons de plainte. Aujourd'hui ces raisons je ne les vois pas.*"

May 4th.—The Chancellor, who leaves for Frankfurt to-morrow, wishes the *Kölnische Zeitung* to write somewhat as follows on the object of the journey : "The personal conference between Prince Bismarck and the French Minister for Foreign Affairs, the necessity of which has been felt for some considerable time past, will have begun by the time these lines go to press. Apparently the French have come to understand that their interests urgently require the removal of the suspicions which have arisen in regard to their good faith since the arrangement at Versailles. We ourselves must also know exactly where we stand with them. It is necessary to hasten the conclusion of a definitive peace. Some progress must finally be made in that matter, and France must

cease to imagine that we will allow ourselves to be kept dangling in suspense, or to be imposed upon and manœuvred into an unfavourable position. She must respect our rights and not endeavour by pettifogging subterfuges to whittle down, or perhaps, indeed, disown the consequences of the preliminary peace. It may be taken for granted that the principal subjects to be dealt with at Frankfurt will be the manner of payment of the war indemnity of five milliards of francs, the surrender of the German merchant vessels which were not condemned by the Prize Courts before the signature of the preliminary treaty, the position of the Eastern Railway—which, after the Versailles arrangement, can no longer be regarded as an open question, although it has been treated as such by the Government of M. Thiers—and finally the regulation of the frontier. On the German side, however, it will be sought first of all to clear up the situation, and hasten the negotiations for peace, which have been brought to a standstill through the unjustifiable demands of the French. It is to be hoped that the Frankfurt negotiations will open the eyes of those members of the French Government who have not yet succeeded in thoroughly understanding the position of affairs, and in recognising the legitimacy of the claims based upon it from the German standpoint, and their necessity from the French standpoint. In all probability they will not fail to receive a serious and unequivocal reminder of this necessity from our side."

May 6th.—Again a few comic episodes to break the monotony of these grave affairs. Prince Peter of Oldenburg, who seems to be a very ancient gentleman, writing from St. Petersburg, sent the Chief a memoir which he forwarded to the Emperor on the 1st of April (not as a joke for All Fools' Day), in which, after proclaiming his strictly monarchical, legitimist, conservative and religious principles, he argues, in an extremely prolix and nebulous fashion, in favour of perpetual peace, and begs the Chancellor to summon a Conference for the Abolition of War. This *magnum opus* ought to be laid in its author's coffin.

May 14th.—The Chief is again here. Count Wartensleben, who was with him at Frankfurt, told me to-day numerous particulars of the negotiations with the Frenchmen. The French had at first proved exceptionally obstinate, but the Chief had managed to secure himself an ally against them. He proposed to Favre to bring M. Goulard to the Conference as he was a

member of the National Assembly. Favre was at first greatly surprised at this suggestion, and would not hear of it. The Chief pointed out to him, however, that it would be to his own advantage. Goulard would feel flattered and would be grateful to him, and would furthermore as one of the negotiators support him, Favre, in the National Assembly. Favre thereupon consented. But it was also of great advantage for the Chief (continued Wartensleben), as when Favre finally consented, the little gentleman in the white necktie and high stand-up collar was also grateful to him for being admitted to the negotiations, and when the two others were inclined to refuse something he always spoke in favour of giving way—it could be managed, he would himself take the responsibility for it, he thought that one really might agree to it. Eventually Favre thanked the Chief formally for his advice to include Goulard.

May 15th.—On the instructions of the Chief, wrote to Brass respecting an article in No. 113 of the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, that the Prince did not consider it proper for a journal which was praised in another paper to reproduce this praise, and he positively prohibited all such misconduct in future.

May 17th.—Yesterday and to-day again read a number of telegrams and other documents received and despatched, which threw light on the Frankfurt negotiations and recent events in Paris. The Chief had from Frankfurt addressed an inquiry to Fabrice as to whether he believed that progress had been made in the fusion between the Comte de Chambord and the Princes of the House of Orleans, and whether it had a prospect of success. Count Arnim thought it had. The Republican form of government in France was more to our advantage, and therefore he would not oppose it unless he were compelled to. A telegram to Moltke on the 18th instant informed him that the Chief hoped to bring about the conclusion of a definitive peace at Frankfurt. Some of the conditions would, however, be that we should assist as far as possible in promoting the speedy occupation of Paris, which would then be in our interest, without exposing our men to danger, and in particular that we should consider the question of the passage of the French troops through our lines, of calling upon the Commune to evacuate the enceinte, of cutting off the supply of provisions, and of immediately liberating 20,000 prisoners of war for use in Algeria and the larger towns of the south. In

case it were possible to secure at Frankfurt a peace which should receive the approbation of the Emperor, Moltke was requested to take the necessary preparatory measures for the above purposes. On the 11th a further telegram was sent to Moltke saying that, from Fabrice's reports, the French generals, believing they could themselves dispose of the Communists, would endeavour so to arrange matters that they could dispense with our co-operation. But in that case also it would be desirable to mass our troops near Paris, as we could thus bring pressure to bear upon the French National Assembly in connection with the ratification of the treaty which would be discussed in about ten days, by exciting the apprehensions of that body as to the decision which we might take if the treaty were rejected.

The Commander-in-Chief of the Third Army Corps in Compiègne has been informed that a conference took place on the 11th instant at Soissy between General von Schlottheim and General Borel, the chief of MacMahon's staff.

"MacMahon desires to deliver the main attack on Paris on the west front of the enceinte, from the Bois de Boulogne or Billancourt against the bastion of the Pont du Jour. In order to prevent the insurgents from continuing their resistance in the city from point to point, he wishes, at the same time—that is, during the same night—to endeavour to surprise the north front and seize some positions in the north of Paris. With the assistance of some of the commandants of the National Guard, with whom an understanding was being entered into, and by taking advantage of the railway, and of the numerous conveyances which still frequented the main roads, it was considered possible to bring small detachments of trustworthy troops right into the city. In case the attack were repulsed, MacMahon binds himself to withdraw all the troops employed by him along the same route, on the same day, behind the rayon on this side, that is to say, behind the left bank of the Seine. By this means the proximity of French and German troops for any length of time would be avoided. Permission could hardly be refused for the French troops to march through St. Denis, although they are on no account to be allowed to tarry or post reserves there. General Borel was obviously desirous of preventing all co-operation on the part of the German troops and of the forts occupied by us, and gave it clearly to be understood that he regarded such direct support as

undesirable on political grounds. He did not believe the insurgents would venture to pursue the storming parties in case the latter did not succeed—an opinion which is also shared here—and he positively denied that the French Commander-in-Chief intended to bombard the north front, or to proceed to a regular attack upon it if the surprise were to fail. As, according to these overtures, the French were prepared to forgo our co-operation, and our own forces in and behind the forts are quite sufficient, I have, as already reported in a telegram of the 10th instant, given up the idea of a concentration of further troops outside Paris. In accordance with the wishes of the French Government, I consider it desirable in the first place to avoid everything that would attract the attention of the insurgents to the north front, and thereby endanger the success of the surprise. At the same time we consider it necessary to avert, as far as possible, all accidental losses to our troops should the insurgents, after repelling an attack, open fire with their artillery on the retiring French columns. In the event of his Majesty the Emperor and King afterwards expressly ordering the German troops to co-operate in the attack on Paris, I venture to express the humble opinion that, in view of the situation at the present moment, when the resistance is already organised and the insurgents are accustomed to fire, a simple bombardment of the enceinte would scarcely secure our object. It might then be desirable to proceed against the nearest gates and bastions with a battering train posted on the plateau of Romainville, and probably an occupation of the enceinte would only be attended with decisive success after we had advanced as far as Buttes Chaumont, as this position commands the greater part of the northern half of Paris."

A telegram of the 15th instant from Fabrice states that the French had demanded in a despatch that the cordon drawn round Paris should be made complete so far as the German troops were concerned, as it was important that the leaders of this criminal undertaking (the Commune) should not escape the hands of justice. In reply to the French Government, Fabrice said that Borel had come to no understanding with the Third Army Corps respecting the blockade of the city. If the cordon was to be drawn at an early date, it would have to be preceded by an arrangement of that kind. The Chief telegraphed at once that, according to the understanding arrived at in Frankfurt, we

were bound to completely isolate Paris as soon as the French desired it, to permit the Versailles troops to march through our lines, and to call upon the Commune to withdraw from the enceinte. We were not bound, however, to emphasise this demand by force of arms. But the three points in question must be carried into effect by the Commander-in-Chief, as we should otherwise commit a breach of the agreement entered into with the French Government.

May 24th.—To-day read and noted down the draft of despatch by the Chief respecting the International, and joint action on the part of the Governments against this organisation of the Socialist party. This is to be utilised in the press. The despatch is dated the 7th instant, and is addressed to Schweinitz in Vienna. "The events that have occurred in Paris during the last few weeks and days have disclosed in the most unmistakable fashion the common organisation of the Socialistic elements in European countries, and the dangers with which the State is threatened by that organisation. In Germany the influence of the Communistic working class associations is evident in the large centres of industry in our western provinces, and particularly in the manufacturing districts of Saxony. Herr Bebel, a member of Parliament, who is said to receive pecuniary support for his agitation from the funds of the late King of Hanover, has in the Reichstag given open expression to the criminal intentions of his party. Certain symptoms would go to show that in Austria, and indeed in Vienna itself, this agitation is making way among the workers. If your Excellency considers that the desire, and indeed the necessity, of opposing these movements of disaffection is felt by the Imperial Austro-Hungarian Government, please initiate a confidential discussion of ways and means. In my opinion, the first step would be an exchange of views respecting the extent and direction of the Socialist organisation, and the recognition of the principle that Socialist menaces to life and property, such as have been carried into execution in Paris, belong to the category of ordinary crime, and not to that of political offences."

I here add the contents of some other documents on the same subject received and despatched later.

Writing on the 3rd of June, R. reported that the Emperor Alexander said to him that he intended to discuss with the Emperor

William and the Chief the question of the means by which the European monarchies could be protected from the Socialist danger, and in particular from the International. In his opinion all the Governments of Europe should unite and assist one another in the struggle against this enemy. The Emperor will have a memorial on the subject drawn up by the Minister of Justice, in which, in particular, evidence will be adduced with the object of proving that the members of these Socialistic associations should be treated, not as political offenders, but as ordinary criminals.

During the second week of June, Bucher was much occupied in studying the International; and despatches drawn up by him were sent to Florence, Brussels, Vienna, and London. These were intended to pave the way for a joint intervention of the Governments against the agitation of the Communists. That addressed to Brassier St. Simon was dated the 9th of June, and that to Bernstorff the 14th. The following passage occurred in the former: "However much the ultimate aims of the revolutionary elements may differ in various countries, according to the conditions of the latter, yet their immediate purpose is in every instance the same, namely, the overthrow of the existing order in the State. It therefore follows that all existing Governments have a common interest in opposing them. When the State is defeated by the revolutionary movement in any one country, as was the case in Paris for two months, its power will be reduced in all other countries, and that of its opponents proportionately increased."

On the 12th of June, the Chief's answer, in which he gave an account of the steps already taken, was despatched to R. He had first sent the enclosed despatch to General von Schweinitz, and afterwards caused the latter to speak to Count Andrassy, who (perhaps in consequence of a private request on the part of the Chief) had already mooted the subject confidentially, in the same way as he had done to Count Beust. He (the Chief) then had copies of the despatch sent to the representatives of the Empire in Brussels, Florence, Dresden, and London, with the addition in each instance of some further observations more applicable to the special conditions of the country in question. In Brussels he had had attention called to the fact that Belgium, on account of its geographical position and its condition in regard to languages

and industry, was most exposed to danger ; that in the year 1868, on the occasion of the first International Congress of the Working Classes, Belgium was the scene of the first proclamation of Communism ; and that, according to the statement of the leaders of the Paris Commune, Belgium had been chosen as the next field for their practical operations. In Florence he pointed out that the great associations which kept up disturbances in Italy, if they did not follow the same ends as the Communists, were still at one with them in their immediate task, namely, the overthrow of the existing Government and form of State, and were intimately associated with them, as was evident from the appearance of the Garibaldians in Paris. In Dresden it was pointed out that the industrial districts of Saxony furnished the largest contingent of Socialist members to the Reichstag. And, finally, in London it was shown that there the Communist associations, which had in the fifties given rise to criminal trials in Germany and France, together with the international union of the working classes, an offspring of that association, were founded in London, which was their official centre.

Count Waldersee (at present interim representative of Germany at Versailles) has been instructed to inform M. Jules Favre, in connection with his circular of the 6th instant, of our readiness to co-operate. All these communications contained as an enclosure an article from *The Times*, apparently based on official information.

About the middle of June Beust suggested that a "Note" should be sent asking for information respecting the Socialist organisation. The Chief believes that Beust's proposal contemplates "blue-book lucubrations, which would only hamper the attainment of the real object in view," as it would give warning to the Socialists and furnish the European press with a theme for denouncing new "Karlsbad resolutions," and, to judge from the bias displayed in other complicated compilations of a similar character, the Austrian Chancellor would not be above making capital out of it for the benefit of his own popularity." The Minister was therefore to inform him that we were prepared, without any official demand on his part, to furnish him with the results of our observations upon the connection between the Communistic parties. A letter, dated the 26th of June, and addressed to S., contains the following further remarks: "I

find him (Baron von Gablenz) much more disposed to meet our views in the matter of joint action against this danger (the Socialistic agitation) than has hitherto been the case in Vienna. He was of opinion that the Emperor Francis Joseph was very favourably inclined towards the understanding we had suggested. . . . I have not concealed from him, however, that Count Beust's desire to see this suggestion embodied in the form of a 'Note' has, to some extent cooled our zeal."

B. reports, under the date of the 1st of June, that Baron d'Anethan is in perfect agreement with the proposal of the Chief for an exchange of communications on the extent and direction of the Socialistic agitation, and also as to the recognition of the principle that Socialistic threats against life and property should be included in the category of ordinary crimes. He furthermore considers it absolutely necessary that the Governments should unite in establishing an international principle, and, acting on that basis, should proceed against the revolutionary agitation with inexorable rigour. The Belgian Minister strongly condemned the attitude of England, and expressed the apprehension that it would be difficult to procure the adhesion of the English Government to a common understanding.

There are grounds for believing that the motive for raising the whole subject was less the danger of the Socialist organisation than the opportunity which would be thereby afforded of bringing all the powers together for the consideration, in common, of *one* question; and, in particular, of producing a *rapprochement* between two of them. In other words, the main object of the manoeuvre was to maintain the antagonism between Russia and France, the land of the Commune, by exaggerating the danger of the International, and to win over Austria.

May 31st—A letter is to be sent to Vienna to-day, saying that Favre had stated at Frankfurt that a proposal from Beust in favour of the Pope had been submitted to the Versailles Government. This was made in such a form as to give rise to the inference that it was in harmony with the intentions of the Emperor William, as it referred to intimations from Count Bray, and Bavaria would not, presumably, adopt a policy on that question which deviated from that of the German Empire. S. is then requested to make guarded inquiries as to whether the Bavarian Minister for affairs has taken any, and if so, what, steps in that direction.

Of course, there was no doubt as to Bray's personal views in the matter, but only a desire that, should he have actually taken such steps in Vienna, no room should have been left for misconception as to the personal and individual character of his action. The German Foreign Office had had no share in it, and "we have," the letter concludes, "avoided, up to the present, expressing any opinion on the Roman question, or on the attitude of the German Empire towards it."

June 7th.—The following communication was sent to Fabrice on the 4th inst.: "As the Government of which M. Thiers is the head has concluded a definitive peace with us, it is in our interest, and in that of our international position, to recognise only the present Government in France, so long as no other Government has been evolved out of it in a legal way which would secure for the future the execution of the Treaty of Peace, and the maintenance of the present relations between the two countries. The present Government is bound by its past, and by its entire position, to fulfil its obligations towards us, and it therefore finds a support in Germany. Any other Government which may seize power in an irregular way may possibly seek its salvation by sacrificing to popularity the treaties concluded with us, and in that manner force us to renew the war. We have, therefore, not only an interest in the maintenance of the present Government, but also the right to withhold our recognition from any violent change in the form of Government, however brought about, and to make our decision dependent upon the guarantees provided for our treaty interests. It must, furthermore, be remembered that everything calculated to disturb order, which is scarcely restored as yet, must prejudicially affect the power of France to meet its obligations towards us within the periods laid down in the treaty, whoever may be at the head of affairs, and that we must therefore desire to avoid every crisis which would lead to a renewal of civil war. You will please express yourself in this sense to the French Government, and make it clear to them beyond all question that in those portions of the country which we occupy we shall recognise no alteration in the form, and no change in the principal holders of power, which does not arise out of the existing situation in the regular way, and in accordance with the laws now in force. We are giving evidence of the confidence which we repose in the present Government by rapidly reducing the German forces in the

occupied districts. Should new movements in France force us to doubt the maintenance of the peace which has been concluded, your Excellency is aware that within fourteen days we could again put the same army in the field which we had in France last winter."

June 11th.—Fabrice telegraphed the day before yesterday to the Chief stating, *inter alia*, that the rapid withdrawal of our troops outside Paris and elsewhere before the payment of the first half milliard was obviously exercising an influence upon the temper and behaviour of the population, whose attitude would grow more and more confident, if not hostile, as the evacuation proceeded. Washburne had confidently advised prudence, and in speaking to Holstein had described the sentiments of the Parisians towards the Germans as doubtful, adding that the Government lacked the power, and perhaps the will, to counteract this tendency, and that the protection of the Germans in Paris depended solely upon the German garrisons still in the neighbourhood. No reliance could be placed upon the future development of affairs in France. The first two milliards would be paid in order to give Germany a sense of security. The balance of three milliards, however, would not be paid—as had been openly stated by personages in authority, not soldiers—while, on the other hand, there was a determination to recover the ceded territories.

The Chief thereupon telegraphed to the Saxon General yesterday that neither were we bound nor did we intend to reduce the zone of occupation, and that we should certainly not evacuate the forts before the date specified in the Treaty of Frankfurt. If we reduced the number of our troops in the occupied districts, it was not that we trusted France, but only that we had confidence in our own rapidity of mobilisation. It was possible that the French would not carry out the treaty of peace in full, and even that they intended to attack us, but as soon as the mobilisation of the French forces rendered the latter eventuality probable, or if there were a wilful delay in the payments to be made, a force of 600,000 could, within a fortnight, be put into the field between Metz and Paris. He, Fabrice, should permit no doubt to exist upon this point. It was cheaper to strengthen our forces outside Paris as required than to leave them there for an indefinite period. There was no disposition to conceal the possibility of a renewal of the war, but on the other hand such a renewal was not feared.

June 19th.—The Chief, upon advices from Waldersee on the 16th instant, immediately instructed him to demand the punishment of some French officers who had been guilty of pushing forward their outposts in breach of existing arrangements, adding that our men had received instructions to attack the French troops posted within rifle range of them if the latter did not withdraw in the course of the day. He would also immediately advise the King to withdraw the orders for the recall of all our troops until satisfaction had been received. A telegram to the like effect was at the same time despatched to Favre. It concluded as follows: "*Les protestations du commandant allemand contre cette violation des stipulations en vigueur sont restées infructueuses. Je regrette vivement un incident qui trouble les relations de confiance mutuelle qui commençaient à naître.*" The Frenchmen were greatly frightened by this *Quos ego*, particularly MacMahon, who immediately ordered the withdrawal of the troops from a position in which they had no right to be.

Favre has declared that Pouyer Quartier cannot pay the first half milliard before the 15th of July, as the Ministry of Finance has been destroyed (by the Communists). Moreover, the restoration of order, mentioned in Article 7 of the treaty, has not yet been completed. In a telegram sent to Waldersee the day before yesterday the Chief described these observations as "impudent," and instructed Waldersee to tell Favre that if the money is not paid on the 1st of July, France will have failed to fulfil its obligations under the article in question.

Waldersee further reported the day before yesterday that he had presented his credentials to Favre, and was then received by Thiers. His reception by both gentlemen was exceedingly polite and amiable. A six per cent. voluntary loan of two milliards, with a 15 per cent. payment on account, was to be placed on the market on the 26th of June. With the money raised by this means, and with some other funds at the disposal of the Government, a payment of 375 million francs would be made. Thiers assured him that with the best will in the world he could not promise him the complete payment of the first half milliard before the 10th of July, as nobody could foresee at the present moment how the subscriptions would go. He, Waldersee, had, however, insisted upon the 1st of July, as otherwise we should be driven to question the good will of the French, and moreover—

owing to certain financial arrangements—we required the money at that date. Thiers replied that he both desired and hoped to be able to begin the payment on the 1st, but it was a physical impossibility for him to collect the whole sum before the 10th. Waldersee had not stated that the proposal would be accepted in Berlin.

The Chief thereupon telegraphed the same day that the proposal of M. Thiers was incompatible with the 7th Article of the Frankfurt Treaty of Peace, and could not, therefore, be accepted without counter-concessions. The telegram continues: "Besides, the understanding at first was that the occupation of Paris should be taken as the term for this payment, and it was only in consequence of a concession made by us out of complaisance that the expression '*rétablissement de l'autorité*' was inserted in the French draft of the treaty. Furthermore, through an oversight, the payment of the following 125 millions was fixed in the French draft at sixty days after the payment of the 375 millions, instead of thirty days, or sixty days after the occupation of Paris, as M. Pouyer Quertier himself had proposed. In the presence of the unconciliatory attitude which the French negotiators now manifest, we see no occasion to show them any favour without counter-concessions. If, therefore, the French Government does not make the payment provided for by the treaty on the 1st of July, we must regard it as a failure to fulfil its obligations under Article 7. I beg your Excellency to leave M. Favre in no doubt upon this point."

About the same time the following communiqué was prepared for the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* under instructions from the Chief, who also saw and corrected it before it was sent to the press. He struck out the portions within brackets, although they were almost literally his own words: "Reports reach us daily of bad treatment and serious prejudice to their rights to which the Germans in France, and particularly those in Paris, are subjected. Bankers dismiss German clerks who have served them long and faithfully; manufacturers announce that they will no longer employ German work-people; even academies and institutions, centres of French learning (and, one would wish to think, of French wisdom), indulge in anti-German demonstrations, and decline in future to elect any corresponding members from among the German citizens

of the Universal Republic of Letters. All these, more or less petty expressions of bitter resentment, may be merely regarded as symptoms of a feeling which is of significance for the future, and against which we must secure ourselves. But the French, and particularly the Parisians, have gone further in the petty warfare, which they carry on in continuation of the great war now concluded. Incited by an unbridled press, they have permitted themselves to adopt towards those Germans who have returned to France, either to put their affairs in order, or to reopen business, an attitude which would be regarded by civilised nations as improper, even in time of war. They have prevented Germans from opening their shops, and have wrecked German establishments. They have prohibited other Germans from attending the Bourse, and have arrested harmless German subjects, simply because they were Germans. That is not an affair of the *future*, but of the immediate present, and demands immediate redress. We have concluded peace, and we honestly and sincerely desire to maintain it, but of course, on the assumption that the French people preserve this peace, which was sought for and demanded by their Government. If the offences in question are not (speedily and thoroughly) checked, and if the French Government does not protect peaceful and law-abiding Germans, we must, in the interest of German subjects, and in view of the honour of Germany, decide upon the reprisals to be exercised. We should not be surprised if, then, for every German illegally arrested and not released immediately upon representations being made, arrests of French citizens were ordered in those districts of France which we temporarily occupy. We should not consider it out of order, if the evacuation of certain departments were postponed until these passions had calmed down, and indeed, according to circumstances, these regrettable occurrences might lead to fresh action against Paris, which is the seat of the evil."

July 2nd.—The Chief asked me yesterday if I had not, in accordance with his instructions, informed Brass¹ that he should cease his attacks upon the French Government. I replied: "Yes, several times, both by letter and verbally." He then said: "That must be put a stop to. But I believe he is paid by Napoleon." To-day he wished me to send Brass the following article,

¹ Editor of the *North German Gazette*.

for which he gave me the ideas. "There has been much discussion of the question, whether the war indemnity imposed upon France by Germany is too high, and whether the former will be able to bear the burden of those five milliards. Some answer the question in the affirmative, some in the negative, while others remain in doubt. Now, however, we may consider the point as settled, by the programme which M. Thiers has submitted to the National Assembly, first, as regards the loan and the financial position of France, and then with respect to the future of the country in general. Undoubtedly France is obliged to exercise greater economy than she has hitherto done. She must increase the productiveness of her resources, and administer them with the utmost care. Notwithstanding this, M. Thiers has no idea whatever of reducing the army or the navy, which nevertheless offer the largest field for economies. On the contrary he desires to bring both up to the highest figure they have yet reached, and to keep them at that point, and, what is more, he wishes to have the army reinforced by a reserve of 900,000 men. This clearly proves to us that the idea of France being entitled to dominate Europe has by no means been given up in Government circles at Versailles, and that now, as formerly, they hold fast to the statement in which M. Thiers during his autumn tour expressed the hope and self-confidence of the French politician: '*L'Europe ne veut pas changer de maître.*' Indeed, now that the French Government thinks of submitting the same military Budget, and the French seem to consider that they can bear their old military burdens even under more unfavourable conditions than prevailed formerly, the indemnity demanded must be regarded rather as too low than too high. Moreover, France is nowhere endangered or threatened, and these formidable armaments can therefore only betray aggressive aspirations, the expression of which must be looked upon as a direct threat to her neighbours. On both these grounds there ceases in our opinion to be any moral obligation to show indulgence in the matter of the indemnity."

July 5th.—The article of the 2nd of July was the last which I wrote for the Foreign Office from the direct personal instructions of the Chancellor. From that time forward the direct intercourse with the Chancellor, which I had hitherto enjoyed, was transferred to the new "Press Councillor," Aegidi, who had been here for some weeks, but had not been received by the Prince until eight

or ten days after his arrival, and who, even then, was not employed immediately.

I ought, perhaps, to have now tendered my resignation. Certain considerations, however, prevented my doing so for some time. There was still something for me to learn, and I soon observed that I could yet do good service. It was also conceivable that my old relations with the Prince might be restored, as a man of Aegidi's character, with his self-seeking, mercurial exuberance of zeal, and his almost Jewish vanity, would sooner or later render himself impossible. I therefore remained, and fell in with the wish of the Councillor to "enter into friendly relations with him," so far as that was possible. Subsequently, however, when he attempted to give me instructions, as a kind of superior, I once and for all entered an energetic protest against such presumption, and declared that I could only carry out such instructions as he could assure me were the direct expression of the Chief's desire, thus taking up a position towards him, not of subordination, but of equality. I did well in deciding to remain yet a while. I learnt a great deal more, as I still had access to the documents received and despatched, and became more and more intimate with Bucher. The hoped-for opportunities of serving the Chief at the same time as the representative of Keudell's interests, and without his knowledge, occurred more frequently than I had expected, although my personal intercourse with the Chief was not renewed for the time being.

CHAPTER XII

The Last Twenty Months in the Foreign Office—Germany's Relations with Austria and Russia—The Situation in France—The Beginnings of the Quarrel between Bismarck and Arnim—My Position at the Foreign Office becomes intolerable—I write to the Chancellor—He Receives me—We talk about his Biography—My Resignation.

August 30th.—Abeken, under instructions from the Chancellor, has sent Thile a *résumé*, dated the 20th inst., of the conversation that took place between the Emperor William and the Emperor Francis Joseph on their journey between Welk and Ischl, from the particulars furnished by the former. The abstract runs as follows :—

“When their Majesties had taken their seats in the carriage the Emperor of Austria began immediately by expressing the satisfaction with which he followed the great and successful achievements of his Majesty the Emperor and King and of his armies. The conversation then turned on the distracted internal condition of France, and from that to the danger with which all Governments were threatened by the International and by the communistic and socialistic movements with which it was associated. His Majesty mentioned the last communication on this subject from the French Government, dated the 16th day of July, with which the Emperor of Austria also seemed to be acquainted. When his Majesty remarked that in addition to a number of fine phrases it also contained one practical suggestion, namely, that the Powers should if possible meet in conference to consider the causes of, and come to an understanding as to the means for averting, the threatening danger, the Emperor of Austria replied that this was a good idea, which must be carried into effect. The Emperor Francis Joseph referred to the

domestic difficulties with which he was confronted, but expressed the hope that he would be able to overcome them. He hoped shortly to be able to bring about a compromise with the Czechs. Everything was ready, and the proclamation was to be made on his birthday, the 18th of August, which it was hoped would satisfy Bohemia. He did not give any further particulars of the measure.

"The Emperor Francis Joseph observed that the excessive demands of the Germans in his Empire gave him a great deal of trouble. Towards the close of the conversation the Emperor William took an opportunity of telling him that if he succeeded in meeting the legitimate demands of his German subjects, their thoughts would certainly not turn away from Austria towards Germany. He had made a similar remark to the Emperor of Russia with respect to the Baltic Provinces. The Emperor of Austria considered that his Majesty had every cause to be satisfied with the attitude of the Imperial and State Diets in recent times, to which his Majesty assented in general, although some few differences had arisen. His Majesty then recalled the circumstance that the Emperor Francis Joseph had once said to him at Teplitz that in twenty years' time Constitutions would be things of the past. Ten years had now passed by, and it did not look as if his prophecy would be realised within the next decade.

"The question of the Roman Church was also incidentally referred to. The Emperor Francis Joseph said it was to be regretted that the Pope had brought the question of infallibility before the Council, whereupon his Majesty replied that if a Catholic Sovereign expressed himself in that sense it was all the easier for himself, from his own standpoint, to agree with him. The Austrian Emperor did not say what his Government proposed to do in the matter."

His Majesty was highly pleased with the cordiality of his reception by the Emperor Francis Joseph.

September 8th.—According to a report from London — are very much annoyed that the visit of the Crown Prince has taken place in London, and during the London season, and especially that his reception was marked by such unmistakable signs of good will on the part of the population. Even society and the press recognised the importance of the Prince. The Crown Princess also made a pre-eminently favourable impression. The Prince of Wales and his Danish consort were themselves more

civil this time, and even put in an appearance at the German Legation. The Royal Family is once more beginning to be afraid of France, and inclines toward Napoleon, who has always been "England's friend," whereas the House of Orleans for some unknown reason is looked upon as hostile.

October 7th.—Aegidi brought instructions from the Chief that in future Austrian affairs were to be treated differently in the press. In the official newspapers, as also in those that are regarded as having a remote connection with us, the greatest consideration must be shown towards the Hohenwart Ministry, while in the others all the concrete measures taken by it against the German element must be criticised and condemned in the sharpest possible terms.

October 30th.—G. writes on the 25th instant from Lisbon that he is assured by one of the foreign Ministers accredited there, that Count Silvas, the diplomatic representative of Portugal in Berlin, in the spring of 1870 telegraphed to Lisbon the news of the candidature of the Prince of Hohenzollern, and that it was in this way the French Government first became acquainted with the affair. According to reports of the 21st and 22nd instant, Andrassy has set forth to the Emperor Francis Joseph in the course of a long audience the dangers to which he would expose himself if he were to take the anti-German side, "as was done in the unfortunate rescript." "The genuine loyalty of which the German Government now gives such clear proof, would," said the Count, "be then unable to stay the course of events. The Austrian Germans would turn to the German democrats, and these would tear the national banner out of the hands of Prince Bismarck, and carry it forward until the whole German race was united." Furthermore, the Austrian Envoy at the Court of Baden reported that Prince Gortschakoff had not concealed at Baden-Baden his satisfaction at the concessions promised to the Czechs, and had in general expressed sympathy with the demands of the Austrian Slavs.

November 13th.—A report from St. Petersburg, addressed to the Emperor William and dated the 8th instant, which reached here yesterday, through safe hands, states: "His Majesty the Emperor graciously communicated to me the letter which your Imperial Majesty sent through Prince Frederick Charles. The passage respecting the meeting at Salzburg was specially

emphasised by the Emperor, who remarked that what your Majesty had said as to the efforts of the press to represent the good understanding between the two Powers as being at an end was unfortunately too true; but that this, as I knew, could exercise no influence upon his sentiments. The Emperor also gave me the memoir of the Grand Duchess Marie on the negotiations with Count Fleury to read. This document, which is probably the work of M. Duvernois, and was handed to the Grand Duchess by Fleury for her use, the Tsar considers to have been skilfully drawn up. The advocate of the dethroned Emperor pleads his case cleverly in trying to convince the German Emperor that the indemnity is in danger so long as the present state of things continues in France; and that Germany should, therefore, strongly urge a plebiscite as the sole remedy. He then went on to say that Fleury constantly spoke of a strong Government, which was only to be had under the Empire. But who would guarantee that, with the return of the Empire, it would be possible once more to find the strong hand to which Europe certainly had reason to be grateful at the beginning of the fifties? If the French wished to hold another general election in order to decide upon a definitive form of government, by all means let them do so. That was their affair, and not that of foreign Powers, which had nothing to do in the matter.

"It was in this sense that the Emperor spoke with regard to Fleury's proposals. In my opinion his Majesty will pay very little heed to proposals for a Bonapartist restoration. The trouble taken by his illustrious sister to interest him in this, her favourite scheme, is likely to be wasted."

November 30th.—Arnim was instructed in a despatch of the 27th instant to secure redress in Paris for the impertinence of which the French representative in Rome was guilty towards the Bavarian envoy there. This despatch runs: "According to a report from Count Tauffkirchen the French Ambassador in Rome and his wife have been so impolite to him and his attachés that Tauffkirchen has asked to be allowed to call Harcourt personally to account. Before I grant him permission to do so I would ask you to secure the despatch of the enclosed instructions to Harcourt. Failing that, we will revenge ourselves upon the innocent Gabriad, and let Tauffkirchen loose on Harcourt." A telegram from Rome of yesterday's date reported

that the Frenchman (doubtless under pressure from Versailles) had apologised for his rudeness to Tauffkirchen.

December 9th.—Among the documents received is an exceptionally interesting communication from Vienna respecting an interview with Andrassy. The following is an extract: "The Count called upon me yesterday shortly after his return from Pesth. He is highly pleased. Up to the present, he said, as Hungarian Premier, he had only the support of the Deák party. Now that he is Minister for Foreign Affairs the whole country is on his side. I observed that certainly he was supported by the whole power of Hungary, but that on the other hand he would be influenced by the wishes of Hungary. Count Andrassy replied that even the Left, with the exception of a few followers of Kossuth, were in agreement with his policy of peace. I reminded him of the traditional friendship of Hungary for the Poles, but he strongly contested the existence of any dangerous tendencies in this direction. Returning to the subject of previous conversations, I acknowledged that the Polish idea, as expounded by Count Andrassy, seemed to me legitimate, namely, severance from France and the abandonment of the agitation against Russia, in order to stay the process of extirpation—in short, a conversation of the Polish nationality as a means of counterbalancing future Panslavist tendencies. At the same time, however, I again expressed my doubts as to whether the Poles would be sensible enough to accept these views, and asked whether it was not a fact that they were only entertained by a few Polish emigrants."

A report addressed to the Chief from Paris on the 7th of December contains the following particulars respecting Beust's visit and the French *revanche* idea:—"Count Beust called upon me on his way to London, having first had an interview with M. Thiers. His impression of the Government here was that, even in foreign affairs it was not so judicious as was generally believed. I did not conceal from the Count the view which I have already expressed to your Serene Highness, namely, that the President of the Republic wishes, above everything else, to avoid all foreign complications. Count Beust, with whom M. Thiers seems to have talked a great deal of hypothetical politics, maintains his opinion that at Versailles there was too much disposition to seek out all sorts of complications. I

refrain for the moment from commenting upon this statement, which was obviously made with a purpose. I have to-day received a communication of a similar kind from a French source, that is to say, from the Vicomte de Calonne, who formerly served our interests, though with little success. He is doubtless in possession of a great deal of information with which I am not yet acquainted. Possibly his present move is intended to re-open the old relations. The Vicomte asserts that Thiers has one idea which governs his whole policy, namely, that of *la revanche*. Although he may not show it, it is firmly rooted in his mind. M. Thiers has inaugurated—not unskilfully—a press campaign which is to keep the *revanche* idea alive. I do not deny that from my own observations made some days before I had seen M. de Calonne, a distinction should be drawn between the utterances of the President and the language of his journals. While M. Thiers and M. Casimir Perier expressed themselves grateful for the recognition of their loyalty contained in Herr Delbrück's speech, the official papers assumed an offended air, and journals apparently of a more independent character, but also possibly influenced from Versailles, represented the Minister's speech as a proof that Germany had not ceased her provocations to war. To this extent M. de Calonne's communication is in harmony with other indications. He, however, somewhat diminished the value of his information by disclosing himself as a voluntary agent of the Legitimists. He expressed a wish that we should give the latter our moral support, as without a restoration neither peace nor order could be reckoned upon in France. I was able to point out to M. de Calonne that, next to the Bonapartist journals, the Legitimist press was the most violent in its crusade against Germany, and that the restoration of internal order was France's own affair. Our interest in the matter was purely selfish, the only consideration for us being how best to *tirer notre épingle du jeu*. He could, therefore, see for himself what was our attitude towards internal questions, which, moreover, were still very unripe. M. de Calonne was not very pleased with these remarks, and expressed himself to the effect that we were on the eve of great crises, that France would fall to pieces, and that Thiers would by his policy prepare for a revolutionary war, if a definitive government, the traditional monarchy, were not speedily re-established.

"I have not considered myself justified in withholding the statements of Count Beust and the overtures of M. de Calonne, whom I had hitherto hesitated to receive. It is not impossible that M. Thiers may have spoken to Count Beust in a sense different to his remarks to me. M. de Calonne, whatever his personal significance may be, is in any case a confidant of the monarchist circles, and an organ of their public opinion. The views of both gentlemen are confirmed by the circumstance that M. Thiers is raising a larger army than that maintained by the Empire. Casimir Perier, indeed, assures me that the Government cannot dispense with this strong force if it is to maintain public order. But even if that be so, who can guarantee that a gendarmerie of over 500,000 men may not suddenly become a field force when circumstances permit?

"All these considerations might lead me to apprehend that I have reposed too much confidence in the intentions of the President of the Republic. Nevertheless, I do not consider myself to have any reason for in any way altering my previous view of the situation. Even if M. Thiers should permit himself to entertain vindictive combinations, and even if he thought of ultimately employing this great army to some other purpose than the war against the International, none of these dreams could take a definite shape before the year 1874. We, as well as M. Thiers, are for the moment only concerned with the next six months; and for these six months, and indeed for his whole lifetime, M. Thiers cannot desire warlike complications, because in spite of all his frivolity he cannot doubt that the first cannon shot fired would put an end to his own Government. What would happen afterwards is another question, the decision of which would probably no longer lie in the hands of the present President.

"It has become quite clear why Count Beust took Paris on his way, while every political consideration should have induced him to avoid this city. M. de Rémusat, speaking of his interview with Count Beust, said to me: '*Il a commencé par dire le plus grand bien du Comte Andrassy; il a fini par en dire tout le mal possible.*' Herr von Beust spoke of his own experiences as if he himself did not rightly know why he had been dismissed. The first consequence of his dismissal and of the idle talk to which it had given rise was that it became necessary to lean much more towards the Left than would have been the case had

he remained. It appears to me that the fallen Austrian statesman has in general *not* made a very good impression here. He is thought to have affected too much unconcern with regard to all those questions with which he was officially connected. I first learnt from Herr von Beust that Prince Metternich, after all delicate hints had proved fruitless, was recalled at the express desire of M. Thiers. Nothing has yet been decided as to his successor; and Count Beust is of opinion that the appointment will be postponed for some time, as a means of marking the dissatisfaction felt at the course adopted towards Prince Metternich. The departure of Prince Metternich (whose sole merit consisted in the possession of a singular sort of wife, for whom Paris no longer offers a sphere of activity) is not regretted here."

December 16th.—With reference to the foregoing the Chief considers Beust's visit to Paris "a further characteristic symptom, affording fresh grounds for a grateful appreciation of the value of the official changes that have in the meantime taken place in Vienna. In the present circumstances it should have been evident to him and to every other statesman who regarded the matter from an impartial standpoint, that the right course was to take the shortest and straightest route to his new post, and rather to avoid such meetings as Count Beust had sought. Only the desire to get himself talked of and to pose before the world even in the smallest personal concerns could have misled an otherwise intelligent man to attract so much attention, and secure so much publicity to his movements. It is impossible to foresee into what courses an influential Minister may not be betrayed by such weaknesses, which destroy all confidence in his trustworthiness. Count Beust has once more proved what good reason we have to be satisfied with the change that has taken place in the control of political affairs in Vienna, a change which gives promise of a more business-like and less personal, and therefore steadier and more serious, policy."

December 26th.—To-day read two St. Petersburg reports of the second week of the present month, and partially utilised them for the press. It is stated in one of these, that on the occasion of a gala dinner at the Festival of St. George on the 8th inst., when the Emperor Alexander strongly emphasised his friendship for Prussia, and expressed a hope that later generations would also entertain that feeling, the heir to the throne observed to his

neighbour at table, "*Dieu veuille que cela se fasse !*" A second passage runs: "I was anxious to hear what Gortschakoff would say to me respecting the speech made by the Emperor on the 8th inst. It confirmed what I knew already, namely, that the Emperor had not taken any one into his confidence beforehand. He asked Gortschakoff if he was satisfied, and the Imperial Chancellor replied that he was pleased to observe the words "*ordre légal*" in the speech. If the Emperor had previously asked his advice on the matter, he would have urged the insertion of these words, as it would be of advantage that Europe should know that both Powers were at one respecting the maintenance of law and order." The report then continues: "The Chancellor never likes the Emperor to deal with politics in an extempore fashion, and without consulting him. In the present instance, this feeling was again perceptible; but he had no option in speaking to me but to express his great satisfaction at the Imperial utterances. He added that the Russian press already commented upon his Majesty's words with approval, and hoped they would be well received in Berlin, which has been the case. At the same time, so far as I can ascertain, opinion here in St. Petersburg is very much divided on the subject. Our friends applaud. Others, who, since the war, have been oppressed with the foolish apprehension that victorious Germany would soon fall upon Russia, now breathe more freely. Yet another section pull wry faces at this formal proclamation of Russo-German friendship. A serious blow has been dealt at all the attempts of this party to disturb the friendship by exciting mutual suspicion. After such words as those we heard on the 8th of December, the reading public will no longer credit what they say, as such a frank statement by the Sovereign cannot be without influence in Russia. They now seek to indemnify themselves by turning the Tsar's friendship for Prussia into ridicule. The visit of the Prussians is referred to as the German 'butter week'; exception is taken to the presentation to Count Moltke of the general staff's map of Poland on the occasion of his visit to the general staff; the Field Marshal and the officers who accompanied him, although they were very careful in what they said, are accused of having betrayed their contempt for the Russian military organisation, and further rubbish of the same kind. These malicious stories may doubtless, here and there, fall upon fruitful soil; but, in my opinion, they will not

succeed in effacing the good impression made by the Prussian visitors."

January 5th.—Werther reports from Munich that Howard, the strongly anti-Prussian English Minister at the Bavarian Court, has been recalled, and on taking leave had an interview of three-quarters of an hour with King Lewis, the length of which was all the more striking as the Italian representative, Greppi, had remained with his Majesty only a quarter of an hour. That the Minister for Foreign Affairs only heard of this audience after it had taken place is significant of the condition of affairs in Munich. Howard is succeeded by Morier, former *Chargé d'Affaires* at the Darmstadt Court, with whom our Werther is on a friendly footing. I may add that a short time ago Bucher brought me some ideas from the Chief for a Munich letter, which was to be inserted in a "non-official newspaper," and which, if I am not mistaken, appeared in the *Kölnische Zeitung*. It ran as follows: "Sir Henry Howard, the English Envoy here, who, if I am rightly informed, usually devotes his leisure to diplomatic chatter of an anti-Prussian description, is now charged with the doubtless very welcome duty of representing French subjects in Bavaria. His first act in this new capacity was to invest M. Hory, the former Chancellor of the French Legation, who had remained behind for the purpose of spying, with the character of Chancellor of the English Legation. This conduct on the part of the representative of generous Albion has aroused great indignation here. Sir Henry, the representative of the Queen of England, who bears the title of Defender of the Faith, is moreover strongly Catholic."

January 8th.—A characteristic article written by me on the instructions of the Chancellor and based upon his suggestions, which was sent to the *Kölnische Zeitung*, appears to belong to this or the following week. It was based upon an official communication from the Chief, intended—after certain excesses of anti-German feeling—to call the attention of the French to the real significance of the situation. It says, *inter alia*: "Two peoples dwell in France, the French and the Parisians. The former loves peace. The latter writes the newspapers, and seeks to pick a quarrel, which the other then has to fight out. Both, however, should clearly remember how near the German army is at Château-Thierry. If the Parisian moral code culminates in the categorical imperative of revenge, the

nation cannot be too strongly reminded how speedily the Germans could reach Paris from Reims, now that Metz, Strassburg, Verdun, and Toul no longer stand in their way. It would also be well if the various French Pretenders would bear in mind the position and treaty rights of Germany. The Government in office will in the circumstances save itself from disappointment by not counting upon any special consideration at the hands of Germany. It is entirely in the interest of peace that countries and peoples should know exactly how they stand with each other. The occupation of the French departments, conceded to us by treaty, is for us a defensive position from which we can only retire, in so far as we are obliged to do so by treaty, when we are perfectly satisfied respecting the sentiments and intentions of France. The policy and disposition of France since the conclusion of peace does not inspire that confidence which would justify us in renouncing any advantage of our present strong defensive position. In France a war of revenge is being incessantly preached from the house-tops, and a Government which has added to the military budget eighty to a hundred millions more than it reached under the Emperor Napoleon can lay no claim to a reputation for peacefulness. If France maintains that the war indemnity is excessive, and at the same time displays lavish extravagance in preparing for another war, it may be fairly said that the despatch of the 7th instant, with its expression of regret that the German hopes for the re-establishment of more peaceful relations should have proved premature, was a moderately worded intimation, and that its publication was a well-meant measure of precaution."

January 17th.—Wrote the following article for the *Kölnische Zeitung*, from the Chief's instructions as transmitted to me by Bucher: "Professor Friederich, writing on the 2nd of May, 1870, in the much talked-of diary which he kept during the Vatican Council, that is to say, a considerable time before the outbreak of the war, and while not a soul here (in Berlin) thought of an approaching disturbance of the peace, says: 'I have it from one who is in a position to know, that there will be a war between Prussia and France in 1871. There are whispers of an understanding between the Curia, the Jesuits, and the Tuileries.' Permit me to add a few observations that are taken from a trustworthy source. There was no 'whispering' about that

understanding here, because people were perfectly certain of it. It was no secret, but a notorious fact, that Eugénie, the bigoted Spaniard, was quite in the hands of the Jesuits and in active correspondence with the Curia, and that in contradistinction to the apathetic Emperor she promoted this war (which she repeatedly described as *ma guerre*) with so much zeal because it bore the character of a crusade; and because she and her clerical advisers who may be absolutely regarded as an agency of the governing party in Rome, hoped to promote the objects which were pursued by that party in the Vatican Council and the Syllabus that preceded it. The father confessor played the part of intermediary between the Empress, who was made Regent with full powers on the departure of the Emperor for the army, and the directors of the Papal policy. The assistance of other father confessors was also counted upon in this connection, Vienna, for example, and even Italy being influenced in the same way. If the victories of Weissenburg, Wörth, and Spicheren had not followed in such rapid succession, it is probable that the event would have borne out the calculations of the Vatican and the Tuileries in regard to a coalition of the Catholic Powers against Germany, which was equally hated in both quarters. There is, therefore, no doubt that the Empress worked hand in hand with the Roman Ultramontanes in promoting the war. On the contrary she prided herself on it. It was her heart's desire. In judging political situations and events people frequently fall into the error of forgetting that the course of affairs is often abnormal, and that one very frequent cause of such departures from the regular order is the influence of women upon rulers. Where women have a free hand, however, there Jesuitism and its aims will speedily flourish."

January 25th.—The Clerical party has tried to refute the article of the 18th, and the Chief wishes to have a reply prepared. For this purpose Bucher brings me a sketch of the Prince's ideas on the matter. The article written on this information, which was again to be sent to the *Kölnische Zeitung*, ran as follows: "My letter on the relations of the Tuileries and Rome before the outbreak of the war, would seem to have hit the Ultramontanes in a tender place. They reply to-day through their Bonn organ in a tone of great irritation, and somewhat in the temper (here I used the Chief's own words) of a man at the dentist's when the forceps closes on his bad tooth. Their anger leads them so

far astray that they sometimes lose both memory and judgment. In the article in question we read, *inter alia*: 'Ollivier was a declared Gallican, therefore an opponent of the Pope and the Jesuits. His colleagues were almost all liberal Catholics. . . . Accordingly one of the first steps taken by Count Daru was to send to Rome a menacing Note with regard to the Council, such as no other Government had ventured to despatch. He did everything in his power to promote a decision in accordance with the views of the minority, threatening even that, in the event of the Papal infallibility being proclaimed, France would be compelled to withdraw the protection which she had hitherto accorded to the Pope.' The first thing to be said in reply to this is that Ollivier was *not* a declared Gallican, and indeed nothing whatever except a vain place-hunter who could not resist the influences brought to bear upon him by Eugénie. Furthermore, when the war broke out Daru was no longer one of Ollivier's colleagues, and his Note to the Curia had been dropped by his successor, a striking proof in support of our contention. The Ultramontane tendencies of the Empress had in the meantime won the upper hand, and no one will be misled by the Bonn newspaper's attempt to represent the withdrawal of the French troops from the States of the Church as the execution of Daru's threat. That measure was a military necessity to which Eugénie was forced much against her will. The manner in which the Empress is treated in the ultramontane *pseudo-démenti* is both interesting and instructive. For the writer Eugénie is now 'pious' only within quotation marks, and she is said to have taken her nieces to anti-Christian and decidedly immoral and irreligious lectures, &c. The good lady has really not deserved such treatment, and it would have been much more becoming for the Ultramontanes to place on her head the martyr's crown, which she has richly earned in their service through her bitter hatred of Prussia. When, on the contrary, they now insult and disavow her, they display not only ingratitude, but stupidity, a circumstance only to be explained by the confusion of ideas to which men are so frequently liable when unpleasant truths are sprung upon them. For after such treatment of their former patroness by the Jesuits, will not others in future think twice before entering into any understanding with them? and besides, can any one say positively that a Napoleonic restoration is out of the question? Furthermore, it is quite irrelevant for the

Bonn Jesuit organ to appeal to certain regulations against the Order which it serves, to the difficulty which the Jesuits often had in obtaining permission to preach in Paris, and to the prohibition of new educational establishments controlled by them. In the first place these regulations were for the most part issued by Archbishop Darboy, who energetically opposed the intrigues of the Ultramontanes in the Council. Then again, the Tuileries were obliged to reckon with the unpopularity of the followers of Loyola and with the Voltairian section of the French people. On the other hand, one must bear in mind the way in which the great majority of the French bishoprics have been filled since 1852, to the almost complete exclusion of Gallicanism. But it is chiefly in Alsace, where we now have a clearer insight into affairs, that we find the consequences of these mutual relations between the former French Government and the Ultramontanes. When the advocate of the ultramontane cause wishes to make us believe that the war with Germany was mainly intended by Napoleon and Eugénie to curb the Pope's temporal and spiritual power, one involuntarily rubs his eyes, reads the absurdity over again, and asks: But in the name of common sense, if Napoleon had any such designs against the Holy Father, had he not, in the summer of 1870, more than sufficient power to carry them into effect, and did he require for that purpose a victory over Germany? We have reason to be thankful that the writer has given us an opportunity of saying a good word for him in conclusion. Towards the close of his article he says that the German victory in the last war had been of immense service to the Catholic Church. 'Immense service!' Let us note that. Up to the present we have heard these gentlemen almost always maintain the contrary. Nevertheless we thankfully accept the present declaration, and in return beg to offer a piece of good advice. If the victory be of advantage to you, then, gentlemen, cease to declaim against New Germany, which is the fruit of that victory, and show more gratitude towards its founder than you have towards poor Eugénie. It will then no longer be said of your *Deutsche Reichszeitung*, that—like the old saw, *Lucus a non lucendo*—its name has been selected because it is neither German nor Imperial."

February 7th.—R. in St. Petersburg writes that he recently had a conversation with M. de Strenavukoff, the Director of the Asiatic Department, in the course of which the latter went so far

as to assert that the only way of dealing with Rumania would be—after a preliminary understanding between the neighbouring Powers, such as was usual in similar cases—for one of them to receive a mandate to occupy the country. R. continues as follows: "On my pointing out to him that he proposed to do exactly that which he had always so strongly urged us to avoid, namely, to break the Treaty of Paris, he replied that such a measure could only be adopted as a last resource. France no longer existed, and if Germany, Russia and Austria were united, England would raise no objections." The letter describes this as a "gushing outburst of the Director of the Asiatic Department."

February 12th.—Wrote an article for the *Kölnische Zeitung* from the instructions of the Chief, which reached me through Aegidi. It contains several of the Prince's ideas almost in his own words as communicated to me. The article runs as follows: "The Parliamentary struggles of the past few weeks have been of the highest significance for our Parliamentary life. Two factors which have been in course of development for some time past have taken positive form. These are: a homogeneous Ministry is supported on an important question by a Parliamentary majority, which includes even the 'resolute Progressives'; and a new Opposition, formed by the fusion of all the elements which are on the most various grounds hostile to New Prussia and New Germany, together with the group of 'resolute Reactionaries.' The nucleus of this Opposition, which represents reaction in the fullest sense of the word, is the Centre Party, quite incorrectly designated the Catholic Party. We consider it to be rather a Theocratic Party, and as such to be treated not as a denominational, but as a political group. With these are associated the liegemen of the Guelphs, whose able advocate—the Member for Meppen—as an Ultramontane, has one foot in that party, and therefore serves as a suitable intermediary, his efforts being also directed towards restoring the old order of things at the expense of the new. A third contingent of this reactionary coalition consists of the Poles, or rather the Polish nobility, with their longing to revive the Jesuit and aristocratic rule which existed before the partition, and their inexplicable hatred of the German character. In this instance again the ultramontane sentiments of most of the Polish representatives promotes fusion.

"Finally this alliance of different elements bound together only

by their apprehensions, their aversions, and their reactionary sentiments and aspirations, are now joined by the residuum of the Conservative party, represented in the press by the present *Kreuzzeitung*, the hostile attitude of which has long foreshadowed the change that has now taken place. The departure of this last body of troops to join the mobilised Ultramontanes will not signify very much, as the Conservatives have long since surrendered to the Government and to the Free Conservative fraction whatever they possessed in the way of talent, and can now only reinforce the Opposition with their votes. Through them, however, the united Opposition has acquired no little significance, for its relations now extend into very exalted circles, where endeavours are made to inspire suspicion and dissatisfaction in competent quarters, and the influences in question—*feminine influences* are spoken of in particular—are understood to be very active, and to have already produced dangerous friction in other matters. The statesman who stands above all parties, and who by his genius and energy has hitherto overcome these difficulties, will, we hope, in the public interest be able to continue his work unhampered by such opposition. We must not, however, be blind to the fact that the situation is serious and strained."

February 18th.—Bucher brings me instructions from the Chief for a long article on the anti-German attitude of the King of Sweden, together with material in the shape of despatches.

February 20th.—In the morning again read despatches and made extracts for future use. Queen Olga, who was in Berlin about eight days ago, on her way to St. Petersburg, in writing to her consort, said she was very pleased with the political interview which she had had with the Imperial Chancellor, and with the reception given to her in Berlin, which was as cordial as it was brilliant. A letter from Paris of the 9th instant states that General Fleury has had an interview with Orloff, speaking to him exactly in the sense of the well-known memorandum (previously mentioned). Thiers must be called upon to summon the nation to a plebiscite, as Europe was interested in seeing the monarchical system firmly re-established in France. At the same time General Fleury did not conceal from the Prince that Napoleon was much pained to see Russia accredit an Ambassador to the Republican Government. It would almost seem as if the Imperial Govern-

ment regarded President Thiers as the definitive ruler. Prince Orloff surprised the general by replying that Russia certainly regarded every Government in France as definitive so long as it existed. Fleury, in taking leave of the Prince, was disappointed, if not piqued. A report of the 13th instant from Rome states that the health of the Crown Princess is a source of anxiety to her immediate *entourage*. She is understood to be in the first stage of disease of the chest, against which the old school can do nothing. Furthermore that next summer she will perhaps visit Germany with her consort; and that a personage occupying a prominent position in Roman society had remarked confidentially: "In case the Crown Princess, the Pearl of the House of Savoy, should be lost to the country, it may be confidently expected that the Orleans family will strain every effort to place a Princess of their House upon the Italian throne. It would therefore be desirable to at once take that eventuality into consideration, and in order to prevent the success of a plan which would be most prejudicial to Italy, a Princess should be sought in Germany who, at least politically, might compensate such a loss."

February 26th.—Yesterday morning Doerr brought the news that Dr. Beuthner, the chief editor of the *Kreuzzeitung*, was so greatly affected by the thunderbolt hurled at his party in the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, and the charge of incapacity levelled at him personally, that it brought on an attack of apoplexy. That is the inevitable fate of such stupid conceit as he showed last spring, when he declined in the following words to accede to a desire of the Chancellor which I communicated to him: "We will not do that, and we shall see who will prove to be right in the end. The *Kreuzzeitung* party is older than Bismarck, and it will last longer than his Government." The article in question, which is certainly very strongly written, was in great part the work of the Chief himself.

February 27th.—Bucher told me this evening that since yesterday the Chief has been "exceptionally irritable," and treated Roland Boelsing and, again to-day, Alvensleben (who has now taken Bohlen's place and does all sorts of subordinate work for him) with the greatest harshness. His irritation is no doubt due to the circumstance that Camphausen did not wish to draw up the Taxation Bill for which the Chief was most anxious, and

that the latter had no power to enforce his views upon his colleague.

February 29th.—On the 26th instant Abeken prepared for the Chief an abstract of a report from Pera dated the 14th of February. It states that "Russia favours the aspirations of the Bulgarians, and General Ignatieff has actively promoted them. The Greeks, whose influence in the Balkan Peninsula will be seriously diminished thereby, are greatly embittered against Russia. Herr von Radowitz himself considers it "an extraordinary change that Russia should have for the first time sacrificed the Greek element to the Slavs." Russia had previously relied chiefly upon the Greek element, and the Greek Orthodox Church in Turkey had received its death blow from the new measure, the Patriarch of Constantinople being deprived of almost all his former influence.

Subsequently read another St. Petersburg report of the 22nd instant, which says: "Thiers has informed Prince Orloff that Casimir Perier would submit to the National Assembly a proposal, the object of which would be to confirm the Republican form of Government, and he, the President, would support the motion, and stand or fall with Perier. Orloff believes that the Bonapartists have a better prospect of success than any of the other parties. Fleury has been to see him, and repeated to him almost literally the statements contained in the memorandum of the Grand Duchess Marie on the Bonapartist cause. He had asked at the same time whether Russia could do nothing to induce M. Thiers to have a plebiscite. On his replying that he had instruction to maintain the best relations with France and to avoid all interference in party politics, the general remarked in a tone of pique that they were less scrupulous in that respect in Berlin than at St. Petersburg." (Hardly in Berlin, I fancy, but rather at Arnim's.)

March 3rd.—Bucher brings me from upstairs instructions and material for a Rome despatch for the *Kölnische Zeitung*. It runs as follows: "Rumours have already been circulated on various occasions to the effect that the Pope intends to leave Rome. According to the latest of these the Council which was adjourned in the summer, will be reopened at another place, some persons mentioning Malta and others Trient. This report has now assumed a more positive form, and it is asserted that the

departure of the Holy Father is near at hand. From what we hear there would appear to be something in this report, although the question of the convoking the Council afresh may not yet be ripe for decision. It is understood on good authority that the idea is mooted and recommended by a priest named Mermillod, who has come here from Geneva. He is a Savoyard by birth, and recently occupied the position of Suffragan Bishop in Calvin's city. He is one of the most active agents in promoting the recognition of the doctrine of infallibility, and the restoration of the temporal power of the Roman Pontiff. For this purpose he has recently paid numerous visits to France and Belgium, and—as others assert—to Germany also. He has returned with the results of his observations and an account of the recruits he has been able to raise. It appears that his report has determined the Pope, or those who exercise a decisive influence upon him, no longer to hesitate between the party which is for remaining in Rome and that which urges his departure, and that it is now resolved to proceed either to Malta or Trient for the purpose of summoning the Council to meet there in April or May. Doubtless the main object of this gathering will be to elicit from the assembled fathers a strong declaration in favour of the necessity of the Temporal Power. Obviously a secondary object of this Parliament of Bishops, convoked away from Rome, would be to demonstrate to Europe that the Vatican does not enjoy the necessary liberty, although the Act of Guarantee proves that the Italian Government, in its desire for a reconciliation and its readiness to meet the wishes of the Curia, has actually done everything that lies in its power. The twenty Italian bishops nominated by the Pope on the 23rd of February, as well as the mitred abbots, were instructed not to submit the Bulls containing the nominations to the Italian Government, and were assured of compensation should they be deprived of their temporalities. This shows that if the Pope has really, and not merely nominally, less liberty than he requires, he at least has money enough."

March 5th.—Bucher brings me the following instruction from the Chief for an article which is to be inserted in a South German newspaper, or in the *Kölnische Zeitung*, in connection with the debate on the vote for the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, which has just taken place in the Württemberg Diet. Under the Imperial

Constitution Würtemberg has the right to maintain Legations abroad. It is questionable, however, whether it is in the interest of the Empire or of advantage for Würtemberg that this right should be exercised. The presence of several German representatives in Paris, for instance, would be a constant temptation to the French Government to try to sow discord. It is necessary in this connection to recall the ignorance of the French respecting foreign countries and their old idea that the German States have conflicting interests. The presence of a French Minister at Stuttgart, or indeed anywhere in Germany except in Berlin, is even more to be deprecated, as he may be easily induced by expressions of party feeling to try to enter into conspiracies with individual Governments. If the false reports of French diplomatists had not led their Government to reckon upon dissensions in Germany, we might perhaps have been spared a great war. Ministers who have little to do make work for themselves in order not to appear superfluous, in this respect resembling police agents, who do the same. That is particularly disquieting at Stuttgart, where St. Vallier had the hardihood, after he had failed with the Government, to apply direct to the Sovereign. It is true, indeed, that the King also was forced to decline his overtures. But, after all, it is better for the Sovereign not to be subjected to such pressure."

March 7th.—According to a report from Stuttgart of the 3rd instant, the King a few days ago invited his Ministers to dinner, and said openly at table that the Queen had written to him that Prince Bismarck had, in conversation with her, expressed himself in favour of the maintenance of the Würtemberg Legations. He asked, therefore, why the Paris post should not be kept up. The King assumed, therefore, that there was no objection on the part of Prussia to the renewal of diplomatic relations between Würtemberg and France, and that he also would now receive a French envoy. Suckow described this as a misunderstanding. The Chief, however, said to-day with reference to his interview with Queen Olga, which, he said, had lasted some hours, that she finally asked if the Ministry for Foreign Affairs at Stuttgart should be maintained. I contented myself with replying that Würtemberg, under the Imperial Constitution, had both active and passive rights with respect to diplomatic representation, and that we could not attempt to interfere with them. It was not a fitting opportunity to enter

into the question whether it was in the interest of the Empire and of Württemberg to exercise those rights, particularly as her Majesty did not mention diplomatic intercourse with France, which must form the main consideration in any such discussion. Paris was not mentioned in the course of the conversation."

A St. Petersburg report of the 29th of February informs the Chief that "a correspondence is being kept up with Munich, and indeed with the Royal residence itself, through Richard Wagner, the composer, who is living in Switzerland." This correspondence referred to the connection between the International and the Russian Nihilists. General Lewascheff, who was entrusted with the task of following up this connection in Paris and elsewhere, described Wagner as being altogether a very dangerous man, who made the worst possible use of his relations with King Lewis. The correspondence in question went by way of Berlin. This information was given as "very secret" by the Emperor Alexander. It is doubtless a mare's nest, like much more that is related of the International, or still more probably an invention of the Russian police, the object of these weighty discoveries being gold snuff-boxes, decorations and such-like *douceurs*.

March 13th.—This morning Bucher handed me a copy of Windthorst's letter to Mgr. Kozmian, with the remark that the Chief wished "it to appear in the press as coming from Parliamentary circles." I sent the document, with a few words of suitable introduction, to the *Kölnische Zeitung*, from which it was copied into all the other papers. This publication of Windthorst's letter produced an immense sensation. The Liberal organs condemned the letter, while the Clericals poured out the vials of their wrath upon those to whom they ascribed "the outrage" of its publication.

April 10th.—According to a report addressed by the Austro-Hungarian Ambassador, Count Apponyi, to Andrassy, which was shown by the letter to S., Thiers, speaking to Apponyi, said: "*Les sentiments hostiles de Bismarck contre le parti catholique lui inspirent de la sympathie pour la gouvernement de Victor Emanuel.*" In other respects, Thiers still maintains his optimistic view of the situation in France. He said the country had never been so tranquil, and the South was no more to be feared than Paris. He further observed that the good understanding between Prussia and Russia was based more upon

family relations than upon the common interests and sympathies of the peoples.

April 14th.—Bucher brings me an article from the *Pester Lloyd* of the 11th instant and says: "The blue pencil mark, and the query, 'Surely to be laid before the Chancellor?' are by Aegidi. He thinks it will be something new for the Chief. I am, however, pretty certain that the article has been written at his suggestion. I myself have on one occasion launched something of the kind against Augusta. Just see that the article, or the best passages of it, are reproduced in some low outside print (*irgend ein entferntes Schandblatt*). The "best passages" from the article, which began by describing the Emperor's speech from the throne as dry and temperate, but free from phrasemongering, and typical of the "practical character of Prussian policy," are the following: "Although the statements contained in the speech from the throne afford little ground for comment, yet the omissions point to another aspect of the question. For some days past a singular rumour has been circulating in the newspapers to the effect that the arm which has seemed on the point of crushing the intrigues of the zealots is felt in Berlin to be already unnerved, and that an armistice is impending with the reactionary party which Prince Bismarck has just branded as the arch-enemy of the German Empire. The sudden and unexpected arrival of the Chancellor from Varzin is regarded as an indication that something is pending in the capital which renders his presence there indispensable. Others assert that the threatened expulsion from Germany of the Order of Jesus has excited such serious apprehensions in Rome that the Holy Father himself directed the Episcopacy to observe a prudent and moderate attitude in order to avert the execution of that measure; thus paving the way for a *modus vivendi*, negotiations for which had been already entered upon with every prospect of success. As it is well known how unwillingly the Emperor William entered upon that campaign, and what difficulties Bismarck had with the Conservative Junkers and Pietists, the ominous silence on this point of the speech from the throne may be taken as a confirmation of the foregoing rumours.

"Moreover, another dark rumour is gaining more form and consistence from day to day, and cannot be ignored much longer. We regret to say authentic reports agree in representing

the Empress Augusta as the centre of that coalition which desires to stay the hand that Bismarck had raised to strike. We grant that the rumour sounds ludicrously improbable, yet in presence of the letters that represent the facts as fully authenticated, we have no alternative but to set aside all such denials as futile, and—taking the matter as it stands, for good or for evil—endeavour to explain it and to consider its consequences. We must confess that we have only two very commonplace explanations to offer, which may nevertheless suffice. These are the spiritual requirements of increasing piety, so common in energetic women who are advancing in years (the Empress will soon have completed her sixty-first year) and the desire to play a political part, which likewise grows upon them with age. It is scarcely necessary to recall special instances in history to show how easily and frequently these tendencies have combined, and how ladies of the highest station have thereby become the most convenient and effective instruments of pietistic schemes. The Empress, who has been at all times of an aspiring and ambitious mind, but who has never exercised much political influence over her consort, was obliged to seek a lever elsewhere. That is the simple solution of the problem, but it must not be dismissed merely because of its simplicity. Other ladies in a similar position follow the dictates of their hearts when, influenced by their innate piety, they devote their whole energy to promoting the interests of the Church.

"In the case of the Weimar Princess, the daughter of Charles Augustus, whose friends were Schiller and Goethe, and the pupil of Alexander von Humboldt, the connection between these two factors is reversed. The splendour, to which her pride has always led her to aspire, has now fallen abundantly to her lot. When it is remembered that the magnificent coronation festivities, ten years ago at Königsberg and Berlin, were principally her work, (it is well known that she begged the Empress Eugénie to lend her her hairdresser for the occasion), she must be fully satisfied in that respect, since the imperial crown has been added to the royal *diadem*. But in addition to this outward pomp, Augusta now wishes to enjoy the sense of real power. Indications of this tendency were evident so long ago as 1866, when Vogel von Falkenstein received orders from Berlin in a feminine hand to proceed with leniency in South Germany,

and was suddenly removed from the command of the army on the Main, because his anger at this interference found expression in the words, 'When petticoats are to the front, the devil take a Prussian general!' In order not to sink into insignificance beside Bismarck, the Empress required a party, and she was obliged to take it wherever it was to be found. In this way, the illustrious lady, who once prided herself on being the patron of the free-thinking cream of the scientific and literary world in Berlin, has come to find herself presiding over a conventicle.

"The turn things have taken remains none the less extraordinary because we have tried to explain it. The Empress Augusta is the leader of the pietistic Junker clique, which, under Frederick William IV., did everything in its power to humiliate her, at a time when she, as Princess of Prussia, lived on the Rhine in a kind of honourable exile, because she was not prepared to humour the romantic visions of her royal brother-in-law. It is still related in Coblenz that a favourite amusement of the wife of that arch-Junker Kleist-Retzow, who is now leading the opposition against Bismarck in the Upper House, and who was then Governor of the Rhine Province, was to hang out her wet linen in the garden in such a way as to cut off the Princess's view. Berliners still remember the article in the *Kreuzzeitung* which actually denounced the 'democrats' for an ovation that once took place in the fifties, outside the Palace of the Prince of Prussia, because he and his consort had regained their popularity by opposing the pietistic clique. And yet to-day the Empress is working hand in hand with Kleist-Retzow and Senfft-Pilsach, with Lippe and Gerlach! The unnatural character of this alliance is the best guarantee for its short duration. The Empress, who is a clever woman, will grow tired of the adventure as soon as she discovers that, instead of influencing others, she is herself being used as a tool. Bismarck, however, must now prove the truth of what he once said to Bamberger in Paris: 'I am much more of a courtier than of a statesman.'"

April 15th.—Read a report of the 11th instant from St. Petersburg. "Prince Gortschakoff told me to-day that a few weeks ago General — showed him a private letter from M. Thiers which contained a reference to the German occupation. The Chancellor had replied that if the President of the French Republic wished

to communicate to him a financial scheme giving adequate security for the payment of the war indemnity, the Russian Government would willingly commend such a plan to favourable consideration in Berlin. Beyond that he could promise nothing. The French Ambassador returned to the subject a few days ago and again asked if the Imperial Government would not use its influence in Berlin to hasten the withdrawal of the German troops. The Prince replied that he would not weary General — with repetitions, but would relate to him an anecdote out of his own experience. On one occasion at the conclusion of a game, the loser went on bewailing his bad luck, thus unnecessarily delaying the other players. At length one of the latter exclaimed impatiently, '*Payez d'abord et lamentez après!*' The Ambassador took the hint and did not press the matter further."

April 20th.—In a report from Pesth, dated the 17th instant, I find that Andrassy fancies, from various symptoms, that dissatisfaction is felt at St. Petersburg at Austria's disposition to enter into more intimate relations with us. This does not apply, however, to the Emperor Alexander himself. The writer goes on: "I again called Andrassy's attention to the principle that has repeatedly been laid down before as one of the preliminary conditions of our mutual *rapprochement*—namely, that it must not in the slightest degree impair the relations between Germany and Russia. In addition to the reasons already mentioned, I gave the following. In political affairs national and revolutionary passions have now associated themselves more closely than ever before with sectarian feeling. This circumstance increases the value of our orthodox friend. Andrassy took this opportunity to give me the grounds on which he bases his conviction that any action on behalf of Rome was an impossibility in Austria-Hungary. . . . Not only there (in Hungary) but also in Cisleithania, a Papal policy could not be carried into effect. 'Even the Thuns, and the members of their party,' continued the Count, in allusion to the notorious Clerical deputation, 'entertain no such hope, and no thought of it exists in those quarters with whom the decision must lie.' Therefore, if in the next war between Germany and France, the latter seeks to secure allies on a Catholic basis, she will have nothing to hope for here in Austria-Hungary. It is more probable, added Andrassy, that she would turn to the Slavs, who form the majority of the Austro-

Hungarian population, and are connected with kindred races on the southern and eastern frontiers of the Empire."

April 21st.—Brass to-day publishes an article (the greater part of which was dictated by the Chief to Bucher) on the language used by the Pope in bestowing his benediction upon a large deputation of Catholics last Saturday. I quote the following passages : "Until we are assured of the contrary on more definite information, we are disposed to think that those four hundred persons did not all come to Rome from their different countries merely to deliver the address, but rather that those who have charge of the Vatican policy considered it desirable to give the Pope an opportunity of expressing his views, and that the real pilgrims were reinforced with contingents from the tourists and foreign residents who are always to be found in Rome and the other Italian cities. We shall hardly do the Papal advisers an injustice in crediting them with this little stratagem, when the Pope's own speech proves that they did not hesitate to impose upon him with the grossest inaccuracies, and when they induced so truth-loving a man to say that a spirit of hostility to the Church had provoked the struggle in Germany. The Pope does not understand the German language, and the Germans who encompass him are no friends of Germany. It is, therefore, no wonder that he is unable to control the statements made to him by his counsellors. Are we not, indeed, accustomed to find the grossest errors respecting Germany prevalent in leading circles in France, a neighbouring country which is in active, personal and literary intercourse with us? Every one in Germany who is capable of forming an independent opinion knows, and every one, with the exception of the party of the *Germania*, will acknowledge, that it was the Catholic reaction which began the quarrel with a Government whose dispositions towards the Catholic Church were most friendly. Every Government, including those of Catholic countries like Portugal, Spain, Belgium, Italy and France, must defend itself against a reactionary movement which now, through the mouth of the Pope, summons to its assistance the elements of opposition in Ireland, Poland, and Holland, in the same way as it must defend itself against the revolutionary democracy. This is confirmed by the Pope himself, so far as France is concerned ; as the "party" which fears the Pope so much must, we presume, be held to include the

Government that has curbed the zeal of the ultramontane deputies. For the Papal politicians even France is not sufficiently Catholic ; France, where for centuries the keenest Papal propaganda has been carried on, where Roman discipline has been maintained by the St. Bartholomew massacres, the dragonades, and the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and whose first care, after stealing Strassburg from us, was to hand over the Protestant Cathedral to the Catholic bishops. The Pope admonishes the party which in France fears him to cultivate a humble spirit. If he knew the real condition of affairs there, as in all other Christian countries, he would rather have addressed that admonition to the arrogant priests who, unlike the Protestant clergy, instead of being the servants of the community desire to become its masters ; and to those members of the laity who, for the purposes of their own ambition, abuse the prestige which he rightly enjoys, who terrify him with the lie that the Catholic Church in Germany will undergo similar material losses to those which it has suffered in Italy, who take allies wherever they are to be found, and who—as in certain election addresses—instigate the spoliation of the rich in the name of a religion of love.”

Bucher, who called my attention to this article, told me the Chief desired the whole official press to speak in this tone of the Pope—a good old gentleman, who does not understand German, and who has fallen into bad hands. He at the same time gave the following notes, requesting me to “smuggle them into the press somewhere : ” “In the course of the debate in the Reichstag on the Statistical Bureau, the Federal Commissioner, Privy Councillor Michaelis, asserted that under the new order of things the Foreign Office had become entirely superfluous for Prussia. That is an extraordinary statement, which calls for rectification. The debate on the Budget in the Prussian Diet showed that there are still in existence eight Royal Prussian Legations, and that for the transaction of the business connected with them, the Foreign Office is still designated the Prussian Ministry for Foreign Affairs, and appears as such in the Prussian Budget, the title of its officials to be regarded as Prussian officials having been expressly vindicated. It is an open secret that the opposition to the Prussian Statistical Bureau is due to other causes. This institute has done its work, and submitted its results without considering whether the latter harmonise with this or that theory—in other

words, it has acted in a scientific spirit. Now, for a considerable time past it has been observed with disfavour in certain quarters that the results obtained by the Statistical Bureau do not always tally with the infallible and all saving doctrines of Free Trade. The opinion is indeed gaining ground in ever-widening circles that the preachers of economic infallibility would do well to test and amend their teachings by the light of such facts as are now being collected in Berlin, instead of emulating their ecclesiastical colleagues the Jesuits by calmly putting every heretic out of the way."

May 10th.—Read two reports from Paris, both dated the 6th instant. The following is an extract from the first: "As I have already stated on a former occasion, we ought not to decline off-hand the proffered understanding with the Bonapartists, especially as, on the one hand, they have no intention of intriguing against the present Government, and, on the other, they are the only party which openly seeks our support and includes reconciliation with Germany in its programme, while all the other groups and sections avoid every intercourse with us, and inscribe *la revanche* on their banners. I consider the candidature of the Duc d'Aumale to be as great a danger as that of Gambetta, and the so-called respectable Republic which would be represented by Casimir Perier and Grévy would form only a transitional stage to Gambetta. Therefore the most desirable development of the political situation appears to me one which would, on the one hand, leave us time to come to an understanding with the Government as to the speedy payment of, and security for, the three milliards, and, on the other hand, hasten as much as possible the inevitable change of system, so that the presence of our troops in the country might afford us an opportunity of exercising a decisive influence upon the crisis." The following passage from the other report is of importance: "M. Thiers then explained to me the general outline of his scheme for the payment of the war indemnity. He wishes to raise a loan of three milliards. Of that amount not more than one hundred millions per month can be called up without placing too great a strain upon the Money Market. Those sums would be paid direct into the German Treasury by the banks entrusted with the operation. The payments could begin in the summer of the present year. The greater part of the first milliard, which is due on the 1st of March, would therefore be paid over before that date. This payment in advance should therefore be met on our

side by a corresponding evacuation of French territory. I forbear to enter into the objections which I raised to M. Thiers's proposals, as they are too obvious to be overlooked."

May 19th.—A report from St. Petersburg, dated the 14th instant, says: "The news that Count Schuvaloff has been to Berlin and was received by your Serene Highness has not failed to cause some surprise here. It was reported immediately that Schuvaloff had been sent to Berlin with a special mission, and, as I learn from a well-informed source, even Prince Gortschakoff's own mind was not quite at rest with regard to this rumour. The explanation is that the varying influence of the Chief of the Third Department is unpleasant to the Chancellor, all the more so as Prince Gortschakoff is aware that Schuvaloff dislikes him, and the two Ministers are not always in agreement on questions of principle."

May 21st.—We hear from St. Petersburg: "Prince Gortschakoff hopes soon to receive communications respecting the International. . . . The *tête-à-tête* with Austria is certainly the best means of proceeding in the matter. At this time of day a repressive treatment of the disease is not in itself enough. The origin of the evil must be discovered, and with it the antidote. Russia has resolved to suppress with the utmost energy all disorders in which this dangerous association is involved. The further communications to be made by me on the result of the conference proposed by Count Andrassy are awaited here with interest."

June 16th.—A despatch addressed to the Imperial Chancellor from St. Petersburg on the 10th instant says: "I have only been able to have a very short conversation with Count P. Schuvaloff since his return from Karlsbad. He thanked me once more for having been the means of obtaining for him the very interesting interview which he had with your Serene Highness. According to what he said on this subject, he received the impression that your Serene Highness quite dissociated the labour question from the treatment of the International. The former should be thoroughly studied, and regulated as far as possible by legislative action. At the same time, he did not think your Serene Highness considered it desirable to take energetic measures against the latter just now. Your whole attention was absorbed in the struggle with the Catholic Church, and it appeared to him that your Serene Highness

did not wish unnecessarily to turn against the Government so useful a weapon as the Socialist movement might ultimately prove to be against clerical encroachments. Count Schuvaloff found no confirmation whatever in the conversation which he had with your Serene Highness for the supposition circulated here by Prince Gortschakoff that your Serene Highness was opposed to a friendly understanding between Rome and Russia."

July 18th.—R. had a conversation with Schuvaloff on the 30th ultimo, respecting the social question, and is to continue the discussion of the subject. The Chief has made marginal notes on several of the Count's observations, and amongst other things he calls attention to the fact that savings banks founded by employers have existed for a long time past in Germany, those established by Krupp and other large manufacturers being particularly worthy of note. The Government would be glad to do everything in its power to promote such institutions, which indeed have already occupied the attention of the Legislature. It is true that these savings banks are not a preventive against strikes. They exercise, however, a very beneficial influence on the more sensible section of the labouring classes. Courts of arbitration were also useful. Finally, the Government has long had the intention of supplementing the criminal law, particularly with respect to associations under foreign control, and to the intimidation of workers who do not wish to join a strike. These questions must however be treated in a systematic way, which has been impossible up to the present, owing to the protracted illness of the Minister of Justice. The Prince himself does not wish to enter upon this task in the amateur fashion common in Russia. . . . A thorough preliminary study on the part of the various Ministries concerned will also be necessary in connection with the proposed conference between ourselves and Austria, if they are to lead to any practical result. The Ministries in question include that of Justice, as well as those of the Interior, of Commerce and Industry, and of Public Works. The latter has already discussed the social-political question with certain authorities on the basis that the State can only undertake to deal with the labour difficulty so far as it may be rightly considered to come within its province. Questions that lie within the competency of the Legislature are first to be considered in the Ministries of the Interior and of Justice. The position of the

preliminary inquiries renders it impossible to fix a date for the meeting of the German and Austrian Commissioners, although there is every desire to hasten it. For the rest, the Prussian Legislature has already adopted various measures for the better maintenance and regulation of the institutions and funds for the relief of the working classes. Tribunals of commerce and arbitration for settling differences between employers and employed are also under consideration, and indeed have been provided in certain instances by means, in particular, of the Prussian Trade Regulations and the other laws extending the same, such as the Mines Act and the Roads and Canals Construction Act.

August 10th.—Sent the *Kölnische Zeitung* the following letter, dated from Rome, which I wrote from information contained in a despatch: "The *Nazione* publishes a series of articles entitled *L'Esclusiva al Conclave*, which proves that the civil powers—and not only Austria, France, Spain and Portugal as hitherto, but also the King of Italy and the German Emperor, have an unquestionable right to enter an effective protest against the election of candidates for the Papal dignity who do not appear to them to be suitable. In the course of this argument, the journal in question alluded to the Emperor William as follows: The creed professed by the bearer of the supreme authority in a State can exercise no influence upon the relations of that State, or upon his own relations with the Church. The Emperor is a Protestant, but as the ruler of several millions of Catholics, and as their lawful representative, he would be perfectly within his right if he desired to exercise his influence on the election of a new Pope. It would be unnatural to deny him this right while not contesting it to the King of Spain, whose rule does not extend over a larger number of Catholic subjects; or to the King of Portugal, who has much fewer Catholic subjects than the German Emperor. The latter's position does not involve any sacramental or dogmatic question, but simply and solely a civil and legal relation, namely, the representation of his Catholic subjects. Besides, after the Reformation, the electors who took part in the election of the Catholic German Emperor included three Protestant princes. On the consecration of the Emperor by the Bishops of Mayence, Cologne, and Trèves, the Protestant electoral princes joined in the symbolic rites. Indeed, the bishops received from their hands the crown which they placed upon the Emperor's head, and those princes attended

the Catholic Mass on the occasion. They thus took part with Catholic bishops in Catholic rites. Every one must recognise that the German Emperor, in exercising by means of his veto an indirect influence upon the election of the Pope by the Conclave, performs an act which has far less of a spiritual character than the direct co-operation of the Protestant electors in the coronation of the old Catholic Emperors. Towards the end of the article, the writer says that Pius IX. has already repeatedly violated ancient and venerable principles of the Church. If he questions the right to reject unpopular candidates, which is based upon the fundamental laws of the Church, he runs the risk of his successor not being recognised, and of thus giving rise to a ruinous schism. So far the Italian organ. It is quite another matter whether the German Emperor and his counsellors propose to take advantage of the *Esclusiva* in question."

August 18th.—A few days ago Balan, who now performs the functions of Secretary of State, wrote to Prince Reuss, who is at present staying at Nordernay, respecting the approaching visit to Berlin of the Emperors Alexander and Francis Joseph. "As Prince Bismarck had let him know that he considered it desirable to ascertain the views of the German Ambassadors to both Courts respecting the manner in which the question of precedence was regarded by the Courts of St. Petersburg and Vienna," he begged Prince Reuss to inform him. Reuss replied as follows under yesterday's date: "As your Excellency is aware, the Emperor Alexander had at first fixed upon the 6th of September as the date of his arrival. This plan was altered, and the Emperor told me that if it were agreeable to his Majesty he would arrive in Berlin on the evening of the 5th. Count Schuvaloff explained to me that the motive of this alteration was the desire of the Emperor to arrive somewhat earlier than the Emperor Francis Joseph. That the question of precedence was involved was evident from the statement of the Count that whilst he was at Stuttgart the Emperor Alexander had also arrived somewhat earlier, in order to secure precedence of the Emperor Napoleon. I also gather that the Emperor Alexander attributes a certain importance to his earlier appearance as indicating that he is the older friend. I do not believe however that he would be inclined to insist upon having precedence during the whole period of his visit."

August 27th.—This evening read the answer of the Emperor

Alexander to the invitation to meet the German and Austrian Emperors in Berlin. It is written in very cordial terms, and runs as follows :—

“**MON CHER ONCLE**,—Votre lettre si amicale du 16/28 juillet, pour laquelle je Vous ai déjà remercié par télégraphe, m'a fait un plaisir véritable. J'avais effectivement l'intention d'employer la fin du mois d'août à des courses d'inspection dans le midi de la Russie, mais ayant appris par le Prince Reuss, que ma présence à Berlin, simultanée avec celle de l'Empereur d'Autriche, était désirée par Vous, je me suis empressé de m'arranger de façon à pouvoir me rendre à Votre aimable invitation.

“Je pense comme Vous, mon cher Oncle, que notre entrevue à trois pourra avoir une importance fort grave pour l'intérêt du bien-être de Nos états et de la paix du monde. Que Dieu nous vienne en aide !

“Quant à la joie immense de Vous revoir je crois n'avoir besoin de vous en parler, car l'affection que je Vous porte n'est pas chose nouvelle pour Vous.

“Je me fais aussi une véritable fête de revoir Votre brave et belle garde à laquelle je suis fier d'appartenir grâce à Votre constante amitié, dont Vous m'avez donné une si belle preuve sous les murs mêmes de Paris.

“Je Vous demande la permission d'amener avec moi mes fils Alexandre et Wladimir, car je tiens, comme Vous le savez, à ce que les sentiments qui nous unissent et que nous avons hérités de Nos Parents puissent se conserver et se perpétuer aussi dans la nouvelle génération.

“Le Prince Reuss ayant communiqué Votre gracieuse invitation à mon frère Nicolas il en a été très heureux et me précédera à Berlin de quelques jour, si Vous le permettez.

“La présence de Vos officiers distingués à nos occupations, en camp de Krasno-Selo, fut une grande satisfaction pour moi, et j'espère qu'ils en auront emporté un aussi bon souvenir que celui qu'ils ont laissé parmi nous.

“Oh ! que je me réjouis de la perspective de Vous répéter de vive voix l'assurance de l'amitié sincère avec laquelle je suis, mon cher Oncle, Votre tout dévoué neveu et ami, “ALEXANDRE.”

November 22nd.—Bucher sent me the following rough draft of a paragraph in reply to certain rumours respecting the Chief.

“The long absence of the Prince from Berlin, and the unfavourable reports as to his health that have been circulated by enemies of his, and also under the cloak of regret by certain friends who hanker after his inheritance, have encouraged the hopes of those who desire a change, which it is well known would not be unwelcome to a certain *exalted lady*.” Bucher added: “If you cannot get this into a (non-official) paper you may perhaps mention it, unintentionally as it were, to some one who will circulate it in the Press.” I secured its insertion, expanded to a somewhat greater length, in the *Hannoverscher Courier*.

February 15th, 1873.—Among the documents which I read to-day I found one of last month that was of exceptional interest, as Bucher had added a number of marginal notes, obviously for the purposes of the Chief's reply. It was a despatch from Arnim excusing himself to the Chancellor, who had charged him with giving utterance in his communications to opinions at variance with the fundamental principles of German policy. The Ambassador asserted that no divergency of views existed between them. The Prince had laid it down that the first task of Germany in connection with France was to prevent the latter being in a position to form alliances, and “he (Arnim) had also kept that end constantly in view.” It was only with respect to the means towards that end that he had expressed an opinion differing from the views of the Chief (who regards the maintenance of the Republic and of Thiers as the best course). The quotations from previous despatches show that there is as little truth in this statement as there was in the assertion that on his return to Paris in October last he had “found the President's position strengthened to a greater degree than was desirable.” In reply to this assertion Bucher quotes the following sentences: “It is even now questionable whether Thiers, who imagines that he has come to terms with the agitator (Gambetta) is still a match for him” (Report of the 3rd of October), and “the continuance of the present *régime* only benefits the Radical extremists, in whose programme the *revanche* goes hand in hand with their campaign against the monarchies and the entire social system of Europe.” (Report of the 13th of November.) Finally, in his present defence, Arnim tries to show that he had formerly “observed, not without uneasiness, that Thiers was making arrangements intended to secure his own power for a number of years.”

Thereupon the Chief had remarked: "He can hardly have observed that," and Bucher quoted the following passage from a despatch of the Ambassador's, dated the 30th of November: "The power which he is accumulating will pass into other hands (Gambetta's)." Finally, the Count now asserts that he had only recommended "that M. Thiers's prestige should no longer be promoted through the inspired German press." In his report of the 29th of November the Ambassador persists in his opinion that "the President's Government must be regarded as a source of serious anxiety for monarchical Europe." In the despatch of the 30th of November Count Arnim recommends that we should bring about a crisis which should result in bringing either Gambetta to power or a Government which would seek support from Germany. We should then be justified in overthrowing Gambetta, and indeed obliged to do so (according to Arnim's view of the case, on account of his propaganda). He would advise us to withdraw our support from Thiers. In conclusion, according to Bucher's notes, Arnim says, in a report of the 6th of December: "It may be taken for granted that the President will find it very difficult to govern if he does not make up his mind to lean on the Conservative majority."

I closed my diary at the last-mentioned date, to let it rest for some years. The period which I had set myself, on the cessation of my *direct* intercourse with the Prince, for my further continuance at the Foreign Office was at an end; and this intercourse had not been renewed. I therefore, on the 28th of February, wrote to the Chief, as follows:—

"MOST NOBLE PRINCE, MOST MIGHTY CHANCELLOR, MOST GRACIOUS CHIEF AND MASTER.

"A few days ago I completed my third year of service at the Foreign Office. In connection therewith I venture dutifully to beg that your Serene Highness will allow me to retire from that service at the end of March, and to return, at first, to Leipzig; and at the same time to take into consideration the concluding sentence in the order of the 15th of March, 1870. The sentence in question says: 'I would add that, in case your present occupation should sooner or later cease, you will be granted an annuity of 1,200 thalers, on condition that you still devote your

literary activity to the support of our policy, as you have done during recent years.'

"The employment for which I was engaged here, according to your Serene Highness's verbal instructions on my presentation to your Serene Highness on the 24th of February, 1870, ceased on the 1st of July, 1871, and with it, gradually, everything in the way of duty that was associated therewith. Notwithstanding this, I have honestly endeavoured to make myself useful; but I must confess to myself that these endeavours would be more fruitful in a different position to that which I now hold.

"In view of the circumstances, I ought perhaps to have sent in the foregoing dutiful petition immediately after the change which deprived me of the honour of direct intercourse with your Serene Highness. Had I taken such a step at that time, however, it might have been misunderstood; and I moreover had still to inform myself fully as to the purport of the instruction to 'support our policy,' in order to avoid possible mistakes; and, futhermore, I was anxious to be able to bequeath to future generations a picture of your Serene Highness's life, painted not only with affection but also with knowledge. The latter has been for years past, and will remain, my sole ambition. It will at the same time afford me compensation for the loss of personal intercourse with your Serene Highness to renew it more actively in the spirit.

"Although during the three years which I have spent here I have certainly not acquired nearly sufficient positive information, I hope I have made considerable progress in freeing myself from political prejudices, as well as in *matter-of-factness*. One can, moreover, never leave off learning, although in other studies a triennium is considered sufficient.

"I may, therefore, confidently hope that your Serene Highness will kindly grant my dutiful petition; and perhaps I may not be disappointed if I add the fainter hope that when I begin the larger biography which I have in view, your Serene Highness will give me assistance similar to that which others would appear to have had before me.

"However that may be, I shall leave here with the same deep sense of veneration for the regenerator of our nation with which I came, and will act accordingly. With this feeling will always be associated a grateful recollection of the days, so happy for me, when I was permitted to have personal intercourse with your

Serene Highness, and particularly of the seven months of the great war, when that intercourse was most direct, and when I sometimes believed myself justified in thinking that I enjoyed your Serene Highness's good will.

"Your Serene Highness's"

"Dutiful and devoted

"DR. MORITZ BUSCH."

I read over this paper first of all to Bucher, who approved of it as being "perfectly dignified," and who, on his own suggestion, laid it before the Chief in an open envelope. The Prince read it through carefully, and then said, "I suppose he cannot get on with Aegidi." Bucher replied that he was not acquainted with our relations, and only knew that I was not satisfied with my present position. The Chief then finally ordered: "Do not let it go through the office, but hand it direct to Bülow, who should see me about it."

No reply was received for nearly three weeks. Finally, on the 20th of March, Aegidi informed me that he was instructed by the Prince to say that he wished to speak to me, and that he had fixed 2 P.M. on the 21st for that purpose.) When I went upstairs the Prince, who looked very well and greeted me with a friendly smile, was seated at his writing-table dressed in his blue silk dressing gown. He shook hands, and invited me to take a seat opposite him, the same place which I occupied at my first interview in February, 1870. The following conversation then began:—

He: "So you wish to leave? You have written me a letter. (He opened out the letter which lay before him, and I saw that he had marked one passage in blue pencil.) Excuse me for not answering it sooner. You referred to an arrangement which I could not recall to mind. I therefore had the letter sent to Keudell, and his answer on the subject only arrived yesterday. From that it appears that you are within your rights, and I have instructed Bülow to arrange the matter accordingly. You will receive what has been promised to you, but according to the understanding, the services to be rendered by you in return will be slight and purely voluntary."

I replied that I would nevertheless be as diligent as possible. I was chiefly taken up with politics, and in supporting *his* policy I

should only be obeying a moral imperative. I could not possibly act otherwise, had written in support of his views long before I was paid for it, and so forth. I not only wished to be, but should be soon, in a position to serve him, as in a few months I should take over the chief editorship of the *Hannoverscher Courier*, a newspaper with a circulation of about 10,000. I would only ask for good information.

He: "You will doubtless not wish to receive it through Aegidi, yet it must be so. There must be only one source from which information goes forth."

I: "Well, there is another man here who, if I may take the liberty to express an opinion, is the best of all those who work under you, in character, ability, and knowledge."

He: "And who might that be?"

I: "Bucher. If your Serene Highness would only sometimes let me know through him what you desire and intend. One is accustomed to some extent to your Serene Highness's way of thinking, and can guess a great deal; nevertheless, new and unexpected ideas may frequently arise of which some indication should be given me."

He: "Yes, Bucher. A real pearl! Well put yourself in communication with him. A very able man, if I can only keep him; but he seems to me to be in anything but good health."

I said that was certainly true, but when he was exhausted he was always able to recuperate by sleep, so that in spite of his hard work he could keep up to the mark. The Prince then continued:—

"But now to come to the second point. You have said in your letter that you wish to write my biography. I have nothing to say against that, and it may even prove very useful. It is not a matter of indifference to me who writes it. A great deal has already been written, but it includes a lot of rubbish. I will assist you in it, although it will not be easy. I am ready to answer all the questions you put to me and to give you every possible information. But first read what has already been written on the subject, and then send me a sheet or two of questions. Or better still, write the history of the headquarters in France. You were there. That may prove very useful to me, and also to history. I will give you every possible information. You can also question my sons, and my cousin Charles, whom you know.

By the way, an attempt has been already made to levy blackmail upon me. A Leipzig bookseller wrote me that you had kept a diary in which you had written down everything that I had said about the King. Five copies of it were deposited in five different places, and would be published unless I sent him a hundred thousand thalers. I considered you to be a man of honour incapable of that kind of thing, so I wrote: 'Not five groschen!' nor would I set a single policeman in motion on that account. It would certainly not be a matter of indifference to me if it were printed and published, and if all that I had said in my own way about the King and other exalted personages when I was excited and indignant—rightly indignant—were to become known. But the King knows that I had already said much worse things of him. Besides, now that I have resigned the Presidency of the Council of Ministers I am on a much better footing with him. He thinks now that I can no longer stand in his way and prevent him carrying out his wishes when he has some unpractical idea in his head, or when prejudice makes him reluctant to sanction some necessary measure. But my influence over the other Ministers has only increased with the change. I have never had so much influence upon them as now, and since then I have been able to carry through much more. My health, however, is not good. I was almost six months away last year, and it was not of the least benefit. I am no longer what I was—only a Ziska drum,¹ you know, nothing but the skin."

He paused for a moment, and then returning to the attempt at blackmail, said: "The bookseller wrote once more on the subject, and this time he said he would be satisfied with fifty thousand thalers. I kept to my former decision, however. 'Not five groschen, and not a single policeman.'" With the exception of my own family and a few old friends, I had spoken to no one about the diary I kept during the war, and least of all to a bookseller, at Leipzig or elsewhere. I was quite certain of that; it was utterly impossible; and I was, therefore, absolutely dumbfounded at these remarks. This, then, was obviously the reason—which I had so long sought vainly to discover—why he had broken off all direct intercourse with me. I had been calumniated, and he mistrusted

¹ A reference to the drum which Ziska, the Hussite commander, ordered his followers to make of his skin, so that he might still terrify the enemy after his death.

me. I was more than once on the point of saying that this bookseller was a myth, and, what was more, a gross and palpable invention by some malignant fellow, who found me in his way because he could not use me for the advancement of his own selfish ambition. I checked myself, however, and only said I was thankful to him for his confidence. It was not unjustified. The diary certainly existed, but I had never intended to publish it. It was only for myself, and it by no means consisted merely of what he had said respecting the King and other Princes. "And besides," I concluded, "it was no secret for the Foreign Office. At Versailles Abeken had called attention to it at table, and you observed that it would one day be quoted, '*Conferas Buschii*,' &c."

"Yes," he observed, "that is quite right. I remember now. By the way, you will hardly have cared much for Abeken either."

I replied: "Well, not very much."

"Nor did I," he added. "He was only happy in the atmosphere of the Court and at the Radziwills; and when he had his nephews with him, 'my nephews, the Counts York,' he was quite beside himself with delight. He was useful, however, in his own red-tape fashion. He had such a sackful of phrases that, when I wanted some, he had only to shake it out, and there I had a whole pile."

He then referred for the third time to the fabulous bookseller, who still seemed to cause him some anxiety; and I again assured him that I had no idea of publishing my notes. "After my death," I said, "some fifty years hence, perhaps." "It need not be so long," he replied. "You may even now write on the subject; and, indeed, I should be pleased if you did. And just ask me when there is anything you do not know or are in doubt about. It should be my epitaph. I should not like to have it done by Hesekei, though. But you will proceed with tact and discrimination, and in this respect I must trust entirely to you. But you must not let Decker publish it, but some other publisher, or people will notice that I have had a hand in it."

I again observed that the matter was not so simple, as all the material had to be properly collected, sifted, and arranged if it were to be done as it ought to be, and that in the immediate future I should not have the necessary leisure for this purpose. Besides, when I wrote the book I would beg leave to submit the proofs to him sheet by sheet for revision and correction. He agreed, imposing one condition—that I should observe silence

respecting his collaboration, "for, of course, that would be to collaborate." I called his attention to the fact that letters with questions and envelopes with proofs would be opened in the Central Bureau downstairs. "Register them, then; writing 'Personal' on the cover, and in that way they will reach me unopened," he replied. With these words he stood up and gave me his hand, said he had been glad to see me again, hoped I would visit him later when I came to Berlin, and repeated that I was right in what I said respecting my promised pension, which I should receive. He then shook hands with me once more, and I took leave, delighted with his amiability, and determined to do everything possible to please him. In the evening I gave Bucher an account of my interview, and on the following Monday I dined with him at a restaurant in Unter den Linden, when we made all the necessary arrangements for the supply of information to me. He had as little faith as myself in the mythical bookseller, but thought it quite possible that some one had tried to palm off that fiction on the Chief, and imagined that in that case it was probably Keudell who had instigated the intrigue.

A day or two later Balan came to my desk, and said: "I congratulate you, Herr Doctor. A pension of 1,200 thalers, and thanks for your services in addition. That is a great deal." Thanking him for his congratulation, I replied that the amount was payable under an old contract, and that if I had not earned it up to the present I should try to do so in the future. A few hours later I received the order, signed by the Imperial Chancellor; and on the next day an invitation to one of the Chief's Parliamentary evenings, which I had never yet attended. Of course I went.

Next day, at noon, I left Berlin, half sad, half glad. Sad, because I was leaving him in whom all my thoughts were centred, and glad because I had recovered my liberty, and should henceforth no longer pace those floors where intrigue crawls at the feet of the honest and unsuspecting, causing them, by knavish and underhand trickery, to stumble and to fall.

CHAPTER XIII

A Chancellor Crisis—Arnim's Hand—Visit to the Prince in Berlin—
I receive my instructions for a Press Campaign against the
Empress Augusta—The "Friction" Articles in the *Grenzboten*.

DURING the years 1873 to 1875 I edited the *Hannoverscher Courier*. I then returned to Leipzig, where I was chiefly engaged on the *Grenzboten*, which was published there. At first my connection with the Foreign Office was not very close, and I only occasionally applied to it for information, which always reached me through Bucher, as arranged. In reply to an inquiry how I could best serve the Chief in my paper I received, on June 27th, the following from Bucher: "I have succeeded, during the last half hour before the departure for Varzin, in smuggling your letter of the 25th into the Chief's hands. Here is his answer:—

"The most timely topic is the friction to which I am subjected, and which has undermined my health. We have the traditions of absolutism existing side by side with the constitutional machine, and, since 1866, in duplicate. The absolute King has the will, or at least imagines that he has, to decide everything for himself. He was formerly, and still is, however, practically restricted by the lack of indispensable knowledge, and the consequent independence of the departments which sometimes takes the shape of passive resistance (to the Chancellor). The State and Imperial Diets also want to determine what is to be done. And then there are Court influences. The members of the Reichstag are utterly exhausted, and yet they call upon the Ministers, who are no less exhausted than themselves, to immediately set about preparing Bills for the next Session. In the last resort, all the friction arising from this

complicated machinery falls upon the main wheel, the Prime Minister, the Chancellor.'

"So far the Chief. I venture to add a few ideas which I imagine will be in accordance with his views. In order to avoid irritating the King, it would be wise to speak of the 'absolute monarchy,' and to add a few words in recognition of his former services, suggesting that the old gentleman, who from the traditions of his whole life and from his military training is thoroughly devoted to his duty and very strict in the transaction of business, will not give his approval until he has thoroughly mastered the subject under consideration. As to Parliament you might say that it contains no stable majority upon which a Government could rely or which could furnish a Ministry. The reasons are: the immaturity of our Parliamentary life; the after effects of a merely theoretical knowledge of politics; conflicting elements produced by the course of events—the Guelphs, Particularism, Ultramontanism; the influence of the University Students' Associations; consequently a crumbling into fractions—a Holy Roman Empire split up into three hundred territories. Perhaps a reference to England. There are some points in my pamphlet on Parliamentarism which deal with Ireland. Conclusion, perhaps: That we have to make up in a few years the leeway lost by our forefathers during centuries.

"P.S.—I have thought of another conclusion, and would suggest the following: What is to be done? The public calls for Imperial Ministers. They will doubtless come in time, but it is very questionable whether, *ceteris paribus*, the friction will be less when the Chairman and the Directors of the Imperial Chancellerie are more independent of each other. Two or three people are under the impression that everything would go on better if they were to succeed the Prince. It is true that nobody believes it except themselves. Therefore, long live the Chief! The Pretenders are Keudell and Arnim. The first bides his time; the second is engaged in active intrigues."

In 1874, when the differences broke out between the Prince and Arnim, I immediately applied to Bucher, and asked for directions as to the way in which I could make myself most useful. I received an answer without delay, and during the month of May various communications reached me. On the 3rd

of May, for instance, I received the following sketch of an article for the *Courier* :—

“The opposition of Count Arnim, whom many newspapers puff by heading their articles, ‘Arnim and Bismarck,’ recalls the condition of things which prevailed under Frederick William III. and Frederick William IV., and which was believed to have entirely passed away to the great benefit of the country. Although it is a popular error to think that the title of Minister Plenipotentiary, which is borne by our Ambassadors, puts them on an equality with the Minister of State, yet, as a matter of fact, Prussian diplomatists have in the past not infrequently behaved as if they were the colleagues of their Chief, and carried on discussions with him such as take place between two Councillors of a Government or members of the bench of Judges. Prussian diplomacy was noted for its lack of discipline. Cases are known in which an envoy returned to Berlin without asking leave, in order to advocate his own views at Court, and to secure support for them in the newspapers. It was not his love of power which led the Imperial Chancellor to set aside a number of Excellencies of that old school, but rather the recognition that such a method of doing business might have suited a time when Prussia was a fifth wheel to the coach of European politics, but was entirely incompatible with the execution of the programme which Herr von Bismarck brought with him in 1862, and has already carried out in a way that will immortalise him long after the names of the malcontent Excellencies may have ceased to figure even in an encyclopædia. It is said that Herr von Blankenburg, a military writer, descended from a Pomeranian family with which Count Arnim is related on the mother's side, makes insinuations in the *Schlesische Zeitung* against Bismarck's character as a colleague. Our representatives abroad are not the colleagues of the Minister, but rather his agents.¹ In their reports they have sufficient opportunity for expressing their views, but when a decision has been arrived at they have to carry out their instructions in a willing spirit. In a Cabinet (Collegium) any differences can be easily settled without damage to the interests of the country by putting the question to the vote. But when a difference arises between a Minister in

¹ Bismarck had told Arnim on one occasion, “My ambassadors must wheel round like non-commissioned officers at the word of command, without knowing why.”

authority and a subordinate who does not follow the instructions of his departmental chief it is difficult to find any other solution in a well-ordered State than the retirement of one or other of them from the service. This may possibly now be the case, and in the interests of the service it may be regretted that it did not occur before."

On the 29th of May I heard from Bucher that he had told the Chief, "Busch has reported himself, and wishes to join in the fray. I have gladly taken advantage of this offer, and here are two extracts from his newspaper." Answer: "Ah, our little Saxon! Leave the extracts here."

A few months later I received the following from Bucher: "Harry (Count Arnim) has taken away with him from Paris a number of Foreign Office despatches, and asserts that they are private letters. In the spring the Berlin semi-official journals hinted that he had *become* a rich man."

On my removal from Hanover to Leipzig in October, 1875, the correspondence between Bucher and myself gradually increased in frequency. On the 31st, Bucher wrote to me as follows from Varzin:—

"It is very possible that your pen can do welcome service. Further particulars when you are in Berlin. Even now it would be very useful and agreeable to Gamaliel (this was the name under which, as a measure of precaution, we referred in our correspondence to the Chief, at whose feet we had studied politics), if you were to show up the manœuvre of representing Camphausen as the leader and the chief sinner, and Delbrück as following or being influenced by him, while the contrary is, and must be, the case, in view of the character of the two men. D. is cunning, C. blunt. Delbrück allows his bosom friend to be sacrificed as a scapegoat, in order to propitiate the raging waters." And in a letter of the 7th of November also dated from Varzin, Bucher suggested the following: "A newspaper chorus is trying to make Herr Camphausen responsible for the financial policy of the German Empire. We fancy, however, that Herr Delbrück is both Minister of Finance and Minister of Commerce for the German Empire, and that in these departments he has been given a free hand by the Imperial Chancellor. He too has invariably had all the laurels so long as there were any to be plucked. Herr Camphausen has enough to bear in his responsibility for the financial policy of Prussia."

Shortly after I had fulfilled these instructions, the publication of Arnim's pamphlet, "Pro Nihilo," afforded an opportunity for unmasking its author in the *Grenzboten*.

My relations with the Prince assumed a still more satisfactory form in 1877.

On the 4th of April Bucher wrote: "Your request¹ was received in a very friendly way by the Chief, who will give the necessary instructions and see you when you are here. *He is going.* It is not a question of leave of absence, but a peremptory demand to be allowed to retire. The reason: Augusta, who influences her ageing consort, and conspires with Victoria (the Crown Princess), works up the priests through the Radziwills and others, travels *incognito* from Baden-Baden to Switzerland in order to have tête-à-têtes with Mermillod and other rabid Ultramontanes—an incident which is discussed in every tap-room in Switzerland, and which we know from other sources to be a fact. The successor who seems to have the best prospect, because Augusta desires his appointment, is Schleinitz, the Minister of the Household. You can make use of this, but with that prudence which is imposed by the Press Laws."

Of course I wrote to Bucher by return of post, that in these circumstances I held myself at the Prince's disposal to do everything and anything which lay in my power, and that I would proceed to Berlin within the next few days. At the same time I wrote the first of the so-called "Friction Articles" of the *Grenzboten*. Advance copies were sent to the principal Berlin papers, and were reproduced by them. They caused a general sensation, and excited much discussion and comment, favourable and otherwise, even in the foreign press. This first article ran:—

"THE RESIGNATION OF THE IMPERIAL CHANCELLOR.

"BERLIN April 7th.

"The following sets forth the present position of affairs in the Wilhelmstrasse. It is not possible to say whether it will be the same when your next issue leaves the press a week hence, as it lies solely with the highest authority in the land to modify it.

"The only point that is quite certain is that it is not a question

¹ The request was for permission to write an article about the Prince for the *Gartenlaube*.

of a longer or shorter leave of absence of our Imperial Chancellor, but rather of his actual retirement from the chief control both of Imperial and Prussian affairs, of a resignation of all his offices which has long been under consideration by the Prince, and has finally been tendered in unmistakable terms. All other accounts of the affair are mere myths and baseless conjectures. The Imperial Chancellor leaves, not, as people say, for a longer holiday than usual, not for a year, but for ever. The only hope, therefore, is that the cause of this decision may yet be removed.

"That cause is not the Prince's condition of health, which might certainly be better than it is, but cannot at least be regarded as worse than it has generally been during recent years. Furthermore it was not in consequence of the Stosch affair that he tendered his resignation, though it can hardly have been a matter of particular satisfaction to him. Finally—and this ought to be understood as a matter of course—Prince Bismarck does not surrender the helm in order to retire from politics and to devote himself to the occupations and pleasures of a country life, although he thoroughly appreciates them, and has during recent years sought to enjoy them as frequently as State affairs permitted. A man of his character and his past knows that he cannot follow his own inclinations, but belongs to his country and his people as long as he has the strength and the untrammelled opportunity to serve them.

"These last words give a clue to the true and only cause which induced the Chancellor to ask for his release from office. It consists in the 'friction'—emphasised by him on several occasions, both in public and in private—which has arisen out of the efforts of certain Court circles to use their influence in supporting the Ultramontanes and others, to the grave embarrassment of the Chancellor's policy and action. This friction, exhausting as it is, could and would have been borne, were it not that it threatens from year to year to become a greater hindrance, and that it has already on several occasions prevented the Chancellor from using, as he considers essential, the authority vested in him for the welfare of the country, and in particular for the necessary measures of defence against the pretensions and intrigues of Rome. If the Prince retires, it is the Ultramontanes who will triumph most. Their success will be for us a national misfortune. I shall certainly be in agreement with all true and enlightened

patriots in describing as I have the resignation of the statesman who has called New Germany into existence, and who alone appears fitted to complete the edifice he has founded. It will also be due in the main to the influence of a certain exalted lady and of certain circles with which she has so willingly allied herself for years past.

"The Press Law stays my pen. Perhaps you would at some future time accept an article on Petticoat Politics, a subject which, I am sorry to say, is no laughing matter, but deals, on the contrary, with influences more or less successfully active in every Court. Before 1870 people spoke of certain Rhenish influences; during the war there were rumours of communications with a French Monsignor; and meetings with a Prince of the Roman Church, who is one of the leaders of the Ultramontanes in West Switzerland, are discussed by people who must have received their information on the subject from sources other than Swiss tap-rooms. Finally, every one knows the influence exercised, even in the highest circles in the capital, by a distinguished Polish family in Berlin, whose palace is the rallying point for all the aspirations of the Church Militant.

"But enough for the present. Perhaps even too much. God grant that there may be an improvement! Prince Bismarck goes, if, during this week, things do not take a turn for the better,—a change that does not lie in his hands, and which is hardly to be expected. Prince Bismarck retires to Varzin because he cannot prevent, and does not wish to witness, the preparations that are being slowly made for a pilgrimage to Canossa. What has public opinion, what have the parliamentary representatives of the nation, to say on this subject?"

On Wednesday, the 11th April, I left Leipzig for Berlin and went to Bucher's. He was as usual friendly and communicative. According to him the crisis was only postponed. The Prince had for the present yielded to the desire of the Emperor that he should continue to hold the offices of Chancellor and Minister, and had only requested leave of absence for an indefinite period. He had been quite serious in wishing to resign all his offices, and it was doubtful whether he would return. Count Stolberg had been selected by him as his successor, as he is a distinguished and independent man, who enjoys a certain authority at Court.

Bucher further related that the condition of affairs at the Baden

Court was also "rotten." The Grand Duke, well meaning, but of somewhat limited intelligence, had, during his Italian journey, "fallen under the influence of some of the shrewdest of the Cardinals, and had allowed himself almost to be persuaded into perpetrating a huge blunder by visiting Pio Nono." The Grand Duchess held with the priests in Alsace, and with orthodox place-hunters like Geffcken and Max Müller, and was disposed to conclude peace with the Ultramontanes. This was one of the causes of Jolly's retirement. Bucher went on to say: "The Grand Duchess has also written a letter to papa (the Emperor William), in which she begged that the alleged oppression of the Catholics in Alsace should be stopped. This suggestion was, however, declined."

He confirmed what he had said in this letter respecting the Empress, and added: "In the spring of 1871 our troops should have returned much sooner, but Augusta wished to be present at their entry and yet to complete her course of baths before she came back. So there was a postponement of four or five weeks, which cost the Treasury nine millions in hard cash. The losses suffered by agriculture in consequence of this delay are incalculable. The promotion of Gruner as Wirklicher Geheimrath ('Real' Privy Councillor), which was given by the old Emperor in a note written in his own hand, without counter signature, was also her work. Gruner is quite incapable, but is a member of the *Bonbonnière Fronde*.¹ It is just the same with Schleinitz, who is also quite devoid of talent and smartness, and of whom she was thinking as successor to the Chief."

According to Bucher, the Prince's health was again anything but satisfactory. When Bucher told the Chief that if he retired he himself would not remain, the Prince replied that that was a matter he should first consider well, but if he nevertheless decided to resign he should come to him at Varzin. With regard to my visit to the Chief, he feared nothing would come of it at present, as to-day was his wife's birthday, and he would perhaps leave to-morrow evening. At the same time he wanted to report my arrival, even if he were not summoned to the Chief.

I returned to my hotel at 3 o'clock, and found a card from Bucher with the words: "The Prince expects you at 4 o'clock."

¹ The *Bonbonnière* was a nickname for the Opposition, composed of the favourites of the Empress Augusta.

I hastily donned my evening dress and white gloves, and jumping into a cab, drove to 76 Wilhelmstrasse. Then upstairs and through the old familiar rooms, into his room. He came forward a few paces to meet me with a most friendly smile, shook hands, and said he was glad to see his "old war comrade" once more. Our conversation lasted nearly an hour and a half.

He first thanked me for the *Grenzboten* article, and then said: "It would be well, however, if such communications were repeated, and the origin of the crisis discussed at length."

I replied: "That is my chief reason for coming here—to get materials and information for such articles. The more I get the better. The *Grenzboten* is absolutely and unconditionally at the disposal of your Serene Highness."

He then gave me various particulars concerning the Court clique and its aristocratic followers in the *Kreuzzeitung*, and among the high officials who had been shelved as well as others who were still in office, and their manifold machinations, intrigues and cabals against him, at the same time giving me an account of his own measures. He drew a detailed picture of the Empress, who opposed him not only in his struggle with the Clericals, but also in purely political questions. "She has always desired to play a part," he said, "first with the Liberals and the friends of enlightenment, now with the Ultramontanes and the orthodox Court preachers. She has become pious now that she is growing old, and has in consequence taken up with the Clerical circles on the Rhine. If she is not already a Catholic, she will be so very soon. We know that she has negotiated with Mermillod in person, and formerly—during the war—with Dupanloup by letter. She has written to Catholic associations that she disapproves of the ecclesiastical laws, and these letters have been published. And then the defence of the Ursulines. Like Eugen, *i.e.*, in 1870, she has, as I subsequently ascertained, issued direct instructions to officials. The Emperor is old, and allows himself to be influenced by her more and more. He has never had that strength of character with which many people credit him. I remember in the period of conflict when things were at the worst that he returned once from a summer resort, where his wife had been frightening him about the Opposition. I went to meet him at Jueterbogk, joining him there in his carriage. He was very depressed, was thinking of the scaffold, and wanted to abdicate.

I told him I did not believe things were so bad. Prussians were not Frenchmen, and instead of thinking of Louis XVI. he should remember Charles I., who died for his honour and his rights. If he were to be beheaded, he would also die for his honour and his rights. So far as I was concerned I too would willingly suffer death in case it were necessary. There I had caught him by the sword-knot and appealed to him as to a King and an officer. He became more cheerful, and by the time we reached Berlin he was again quite reasonable. In the evening he joined a large company, and was in excellent spirits. This time when I asked to resign he did not wish me to do so. But in acting in this way he only pities himself—what should he do then?—and has no pity for me. I have yielded—for the present—but before I come back I will put my conditions."

I said: "And they must agree to them. They cannot get on without you. That would only lead to follies and blunders and misfortunes, and they would have to crawl to you on their knees to beg you to return."

He then came back to the subject of the Empress, and said: "She also interferes in foreign politics, having taken it into her head that it is her vocation to plead everywhere in favour of peace—to be an Angel of Peace. She therefore writes letters to foreign Sovereigns, to the Queen of England for instance, which she afterwards mentions to her consort, who, however, says nothing about them to me. Part of this correspondence is carried on through one of the minor officials of the household. Schleinitz, the Minister of the Household, after having proved his utter incapacity in foreign affairs, has obtained his present post through her Majesty's favour. But there, also, his success leaves much to be desired. As he knows nothing of the administration of property he only manages to secure very insignificant revenues from the Royal estates. But as he has always been a member of the Court opposition, of the *Bonbonnière*, he is in high favour with Augusta. In 1866 his salon was the gathering place of the Austrians, and in 1870 the French were constantly at his house, and made it their rendezvous. Whenever an intrigue against me was on foot he was certain to be in it. Gruner is another member of the clique, a man who is not only incapable but passionate. She obtained his promotion on the Emperor's birthday by a mere written note without the counter-signature of

a Minister as a reward for his hostility to me. Then we have Stillfried, Count Goltz and Nesselrode, who all belong to the *Bonbonnière*, and intrigue with Augusta against me and my policy, and seek to turn our most Gracious against me. Goltz, a general of cavalry, is a brother of the former Prussian Minister in Paris, whose legacy of hatred he has entered upon without any *beneficium inventarii*. Nesselrode, the Master of the Household, is a well-known Ultramontane, whose relations with Gehlsen's *Reichsglocke* came to light on the prosecution of the latter, and who had a seat and a vote at the editorial conferences held at Olbrich's.¹ Immediately after that miserable scandal he received one of the highest Orders, thus confirming the fact that that disreputable sheet was favoured by the palace. Stillfried, the great authority on heraldic and ceremonial matters, also a Catholic, was at first moderate, but later—probably in consequence of the Empress's lectures—went over to the fanatics. And finally, you should not forget the two Radziwills, the former secretary to Ledochowski, and the chaplain. Both belong to the Centre party, and both are welcome guests at the *Bonbonnière*. The newspaper in which they now deposit their poison—I mean the Evangelical section of the clique—is the *Kreuzzeitung*. Nathusius, the editor, who for a long time past has tried to turn his readers against the Government and the Emperor has at length been condemned for libel. He has been pardoned by his Majesty on the intervention of the offended parties—certainly in consequence of the Empress's intercession. You can say that in view of these facts it may be taken for granted that I actually made the statement attributed to me, namely, that my greatest difficulties have arisen from having to undertake a diplomatic mission to our own Court. And you may add that Prince Charles is not well disposed towards me, and exercises an unfavourable influence upon his brother. When you speak of the Evangelical section of the *Bonbonnière* you may use the expression: 'The dregs of the *Kreuzzeitung* faction and of the irreconcilable Opposition in the Upper House.' We went on to discuss his opponents, and in particular the Privy Councillors and diplomatists who had been retired. In the course of

¹ Olbrich's, a Berlin beerhouse, where the editors of the *Reichsglocke* and their distinguished patrons were accustomed to meet for the purpose of preparing their articles against Bismarck.

conversation he dealt fully with Arnim, his opinion of him being very similar to that expressed by Bucher.

At this moment his wife entered the room, and handed him some medicine in a cup which she held in her hand. He introduced me as a "fellow campaigner at Versailles."

When she had gone he continued his explanation: "Then in addition to the Court there are other causes of friction that hamper and worry me. The Ministers will not modify their views in harmony with my plans—in matters affecting customs and taxation, and in the railway question—particularly Camphausen and Delbrück. They will not take up my ideas, but twist and turn and procrastinate. I must, forsooth, draw up Bills for them and the Reichstag to criticise. Let them do it; in the first place it is their business, and they have the necessary technical knowledge, so they should show what they are capable of. There is in this respect a great deal to be altered, which has been postponed up to now, as other matters took precedence."

Finally he mentioned the Reichstag as a source of friction. The National Liberals, he said, meant well, and in this connection he mentioned Wehrenpfenig, but they could never forgo criticism.

I said everything he had told me would be carefully stored in my retentive memory, and gradually made public in an explicit, vigorous and prudent way. I then put forward my plan for a sketch of his houses and estates for the *Gartenlaube*, begging permission to inspect Varzin, Schönhausen and Friedrichsruh, and requesting introductions to the Prince's officials at those places. He consented to everything, and said, "You must come to Varzin when I am there myself. I will there give you letters for Schönhausen, and Friedrichsruh, and also for Kniephof, to my cousin who now owns the place, as you should see it too."

I remarked that he looked in better health than I had expected. "Yes," he replied, "others think so, too. People misjudge me in three respects: they consider me healthier, wealthier, and more powerful than I really am,—particularly more powerful; but you know how much truth, or rather how little truth, there is in that." He seemed to have exhausted all the necessary topics, so I rose to take leave, when he accompanied me through the two salons to the outer room occupied by the attendants.

Next morning I paid a visit to the Foreign Office, where my acquaintances were exceptionally friendly—of course I again

enjoyed the Prince's favour. Holstein begged me to come to him, and I had a long conversation with him. He said I had been quite different to Aegidi; every one had read about me; and yet I had never pushed myself forward. Little influence was exercised over the press now. In the long run, however, that would not do, and it had already occurred to him whether I might not return. But Bucher was of opinion that I should not be willing to do so. I replied, that, as a matter of fact, I did not wish to; but if the Prince desired it I would regard that as a command. Finally, he was good enough to give me a "partout" card of admission to the Reichstag. On returning to my hotel the porter handed me a note from the Prince, inviting me to dine with him at 6 P.M. Went there in a frock coat, as requested in the note but wearing a smart white tie and white gloves, while etiquette prescribed a black tie and coloured gloves with a frock coat. I was soon to be reminded of this breach of propriety.

The table was laid in the first of the two back rooms. When I entered only the Princess, Countess Marie, Count Bill, and a lady with a Polish name were present. The Princess, noticing my white necktie, exclaimed, "Herr Doctor, how smart you have made yourself!" I do not remember what I said in reply, as I suddenly became conscious of my sin and felt somewhat out of countenance. Luckily the Prince soon appeared, and we went to table, the general taking in the lady of the house, while I had the honour to give my arm to the daughter. A beautiful silver vase set with old and new silver coins stood in the centre of the round table. I sat between the Princess and the Countess, the Russian, General Erkert, being on the other side of the Princess, while the Prince sat opposite me. Then came the dainty little Polish lady and Count Bill, next his sister. We drank Bordeaux, Burgundy, Rhine wine, champagne, beer, and finally chartreuse, which the Prince praised as being very wholesome. The conversation was lively and unconstrained. The general related some pretty stories of the simplicity of the Russian soldiers.

The Prince then turned the conversation upon Kings and Princes, and the way in which they regarded the world.

"They live above the clouds," I said.

"How do you mean?" he asked.

"Above the cloud of courtiers and other menials," I replied, "separated by them from the ideas and feelings of other mortals,

whose wishes and opinions only reach them in a mutilated or adapted form, and sometimes not at all."

"The comparison is a good one," said the Prince. "Gods, and yet very human. They ought to be better educated, so that they should know how things look here below, how they really are. Not appearances, but truth. The great Kings have always clung to truth, and yet have suffered no loss of dignity."

Education in general was then discussed, and the Prince observed, *inter alia*: "I was not properly educated. My mother was fond of society, and did not trouble much about me. Afterwards I was sent to an educational establishment, where too severe a system prevailed, insufficient and poor food, plenty of hardening, thin jackets in the winter, too much compulsion and routine, and unnatural training." I said that too much severity in schools was not good. The Saxon *Fürstenschulen* were an example of this, their pupils turning out the wildest of all University students. He replied that was so; it had been the case with him too, when he went to the University at the age of seventeen. "It was different," he continued, "with my sons. They, on the contrary, have had too good a time. They were too well fed, as is customary in the houses of diplomatists, Herbert also afterwards, as he spent his apprenticeship in such houses."

Between 8 and 9 o'clock the ladies disappeared, as they were going to a Court soirée. At the desire of the Prince the rest of us remained and continued the conversation, smoking the while, the Chancellor using a long pipe, while another waited ready filled alongside his chair. At 10 o'clock the general rose, and I followed his example. When we had reached the door, however, the Chief said: "Please wait for a minute, doctor, there is something more I would like to tell you." He then added a few particulars to what he had said on the previous afternoon respecting the Empress and her *Bonbonnière*. I asked, "How has Thile acted in this affair? I have always considered him a decent sort of man." He replied: "That is not quite the case. He did not behave very well in the Diest-Daber matter;" which he then proceeded to explain. I again promised to make diligent use of what he had communicated to me on the previous day. It would be necessary to keep on constantly repeating it, and not to let it drop too soon—it should have young ones, as he had said formerly to me respecting one of my articles. "I shall be very grateful to

you for doing so," he added. I then thanked him once more for his confidence, and said I would let myself be cut to pieces for his sake, as for me he was like one of God's prophets upon earth. He pressed my hand, and dismissed me with the words, "Auf Wiedersehen in Varzin!" Blessings on his head!

Immediately on my return to Leipzig I wrote the second "friction article," based on the information I had received in Berlin.

"THE IMPERIAL CHANCELLOR ON LEAVE.

"BERLIN, *April 19th.*

"The Imperial Chancellor has taken leave of absence. His resignation has not been accepted, and he has not insisted upon it. The crisis is, therefore, at an end. The Prince will return, although probably somewhat later than usual. Restored by his course of baths, country air, and release from current affairs, he will again take the helm, and all will be as it was before. Let us be thankful that it is so!

"The foregoing is roughly the view of the situation which finds expression in the press. Permit me to submit another view. The crisis is not at an end, but only postponed. The question whether Prince Bismarck is to retire from the service of Prussia and the Empire has, to the relief of all who wished well to both, been answered in the negative, but that answer is only for the time being. Those who are acquainted with the situation still regard the future with anxiety. It is by no means certain that the Imperial Chancellor will return in that capacity, and if he does it may be taken as certain that things will not remain as they were before. In other words, the Prince will lay down his conditions before he resumes his official duties, with their aims and burdens, and these conditions must be agreed to if we are to see him again at work as of old.

"Public opinion can render some assistance here. It will do well not to rest content with the present situation, but, on the contrary, to show a clearer perception than it has hitherto done of the grave causes which have mainly produced this lingering and protracted crisis; and to give it unremitting and persistent expression in the press, at the same time urging the removal of those strangely abnormal conditions under which even a Bismarck cannot work effectively; much less any such successor as has

been suggested within the past few weeks, however distinguished, independent and tactful he may be. The press may do good service if it will pay attention to the following hints, and give them the widest possible publicity.

"Erroneous views are held of the Chancellor's position in many respects. Just as he is considered from his appearance to be more healthy, and from his extensive estates to be more wealthy than he is in reality, so there is a widespread misconception as to the influence which he exercises, inasmuch as it is usually thought to be unlimited. That is not at all the case. The Prince has to reckon with the Ministers, over whom he has not the authority which he ought to enjoy as their Chief, and whose opposition has already on several occasions hampered his schemes. It has also happened that high officials in his own department have entertained entirely conflicting views, and have both openly and secretly opposed him, and indeed even tried to undermine his authority. Count Arnim, who, after having shunned his earthly judge, seems to have suddenly fallen under the judgment of God (he was already suffering severely from diabetes, of which he died in 1881), was the worst of this melancholy species of diplomatists, but was by no means the only specimen of his class. A whole series of Excellencies and others who had been shelved owing to incapacity or some other failing, or for reactionary or ultramontane leanings, &c., made opposition, conspired and intrigued, always zealously, often with the foulest weapons, and sometimes in combination with the lowest associates, against the greatness which overshadowed them. They attempted to cross the Chancellor's plans and to blacken his character, or, at least, to irritate him, and thus to injure his health. A section of the party in the Reichstag upon which the Prince relies to support his measures, made difficulties and curtailed his influence inasmuch as—certainly with the best intentions—they regarded criticism as the pride and first duty of a popular representative. But the main obstacle is that which I pointed out a fortnight ago, and it will perhaps remain the Prince's chief difficulty, unless public opinion opens its eyes and takes more vigorous and persistent action. That obstacle is the anomalous condition of affairs at Court, where, in a certain exalted quarter, the dregs of the *Kreuzzeitung* clique, and the irreconcilable opposition in the Upper House have combined with ultramontane poison out of

the sewers of Rome. There fresh troubles are constantly being prepared for the Chancellor, fresh difficulties are being placed in his path, now at one point and then at another, and the constant encouragement given to his opponents retards the victory which otherwise would doubtless have been his before now.

"We must forgo for the present a more minute description of this *Bonbonnière* full of *Kreuzzeitung* confits and Jesuit sweetmeats. Nevertheless attentive newspaper readers may be reminded by a few instances (which shall be indicated with as much indulgence as possible) of the manner in which the forces, aims, and intrigues of this Court faction have made themselves felt during the last few months. It should be mentioned, by the way, that its mines have been laid for a considerable time past. The chief editor of an important reactionary paper, which has endeavoured for many years to alienate public opinion from the Government and the Emperor, was at length prosecuted and condemned for libel against Ministers. (Incorrect. See last note.) This man has been pardoned on the petition of the offended Ministers, owing to the intercession—well, let us say—of an exalted lady. (According to another version, at least released.) The same exalted lady wrote letters to Catholic associations, which were afterwards published, in disapproval of the ecclesiastical laws. Two members of the distinguished Polish family recently mentioned, both belonging to the Centre fraction, one a former secretary to Ledochowski, and the other a priest who was engaged in the notorious Marping farce, are welcome guests in the circles that gather around this lady. According to all appearances direct instructions were issued by her to the authorities in the affair of the Ursulines. This may perhaps recall to many of your readers Eugénie's action during the war. A Count and Master of the Household who is known as a zealous Ultramontane, whose relations to the *Reichsglocke* were disclosed during the prosecution of that paper, and who took part in the conferences of the editorial staff at Olbrich's received immediately after that scandal one of the highest Prussian Orders—a recognition which few can explain, and which, of course, no loyal reader can account for, except by supposing that the achievements of the *Reichsglocke* were regarded with extreme favour in certain circles.

"How does the reader like these incidents, to which many others equally striking might be added? That they were dis-

tasteful to the Imperial Chancellor must, of course, be obvious. It is, indeed, quite possible that he may have made use of the expression attributed to him, namely, 'that his greatest difficulties arise out of his having to undertake a diplomatic mission to our own Court.'

On the 21st of April Bucher, to whom I had communicated an outline of this article, wrote as follows respecting the former article:—

"In the opinion of the prescribing physician all the ingredients should not be administered in one dose. I fear the elixir may be too potent, and would suggest, if it is still possible, that two doses should be made of it, and that a different medicine should be given in the interval. The latter could be prepared from the article in the *Kölnische Zeitung* of the 15th ('Plans of Reform') which was written by Camphausen, and the answer in the *Post*, which I wrote from instructions received upstairs. Camphausen, it may be mentioned, is a very many-sided man. He not only belongs to the Manchester School, but has relations with the Castle at Coblenz, and is at the same time in high favour with a Liberal and enlightened circle (that of the Crown Princess Victoria), where he is regarded as a corner-stone of Constitutionalism and a sound Protestant. You will shortly receive the flaying (of Schleinitz) and the paragraphs on the branch (of the Berlin *Bonbonnière*) at Karlsruhe. P.S.—Speaking in the Reichstag two years ago Camphausen said: 'The word *impossible* is printed in very small characters in my dictionary.'

I based the third article of our series upon this and another letter from Bucher of the 26th of April. This article, which appeared in No. 19 of the *Grenzboten*, began by stating "that besides the opposition of the Court there were other sources of friction that worried and wearied the Prince, exhausting his powers, hampering his work, and thus stimulating his anxiety to be released from office."

These "other sources of friction" were fully developed, and the article closed with the following postscript:—

"A member of the Reichstag, who is at the same time an intimate friend of the Imperial Chancellor, has felt constrained to issue a warning in the *Magdeburger Zeitung* against our articles. He would be surprised if he knew with what composure we have read his communication. Of course, ignoring all further con-

traditions of this kind, we shall continue to say what we *know*, and *we shall obtain credence for it.*"

A few days after the publication Bucher wrote me :—

"Exception has been taken in a quarter upon whose approval everything depends to the closing words of the 'P.S.' It is thought that they sound as if the Chancellor had spoken through the writer of the article. It would be well to avoid such an authoritative tone. Thus far the message I have to deliver. I fancy such an impression would not have been made if the *Magdeburger Zeitung* could have been read at the same time, but I could not lay my hands upon it. Of course it would not be desirable to state expressly that such an impression is incorrect. Perhaps it may be possible to efface it indirectly by saying something to the following effect." He then gave me a recipe, in accordance with which I prepared the fourth article of our series, which appeared in the next number of the *Grenzboten*.

During this week I received from Bucher nearly a dozen letters with suggestions, warnings, explanations and supplementary matter, but principally with raw material for further articles connected with the three subjects treated above. On the 27th of April he sent me over two sheets of material for the article, "A Branch of the *Bonbonnière*, or the Causes of the Change at Baden." He added: "I can only give you the ideas without any indication of the style in which they should be expressed. I feel that it will be difficult to put it into proper shape." On the 30th I received from him the warning: "Do not on any account take up with the *Post*. It is intimately connected with R. D. Z. (Radowitz), one of the *Bonbonnière* circle." On the 3rd of May he presented me in the person of the widowed Queen of Bavaria with "still another flower to be added to your garland of ladies." On the 6th he wrote: "I would strongly advise you not to publish the article ('The Angel of Peace') in the next number, 1. Gamaliel (the Chief) will be here on the 10th, and will stay for some days, and he would thus find himself right in the heart of the excitement which it is sure to cause, and that would certainly be unpleasant for him. From here he will proceed to his watering place, where he will be quite out of touch with the world. 2. In a few days an incident will become known which seems as if it were specially made to account for the publication of such an article, and which

will surprise many who might otherwise feel disposed to criticise it. Perhaps in the meantime as a stopgap you can use the suggestions in my last letter and some older materials. Or it might be better still to have a pause. One should not spoil the public, or it may easily grow too exacting and look for the same spicy fare every week, which you would not be able to provide." On the 13th he reported: "The patient (he meant the Chief) proposes to go direct to the watering place without touching at B. (Berlin). This I consider to be certain. He thinks of starting on Thursday, but that is uncertain. If I ascertain any change by Tuesday I will telegraph to your wife: 'Fritz better, is to go out on such and such a day for the first time. Anna'—or, 'Fritz must remain here during his holidays.'"

The *Grenzboten* now published the fifth "friction article," which ran as follows:—

"THE ANGEL OF PEACE."

"We learn for the first time through an Austrian journal that the *Czas* (which is known to be the organ of the Polish aristocratic Ultramontane party, and which occasionally, through its patrons the Radziwills, the Czartoryskis, &c., receives very good information indeed respecting sentiments, intentions and occurrences in Court circles and in the upper regions of society) has published the following comparatively colourless statement respecting the Chancellor crisis in Berlin. Some time ago Queen Victoria wrote direct to Prince Bismarck, urging upon him to prevent the war between Russia and the Porte. The answer was evasive. Then followed a second letter from her Britannic Majesty to the Imperial Chancellor, repeating her request more urgently. This time the reply was somewhat more positive in form, but was still not to the taste of the Queen, who then turned to the Emperor, and made him and Germany responsible for the outbreak of war.

"We do not know what truth there is in this report, but we do not consider it incredible. Moreover, this remarkable suggestion that it is our duty to compel our faithful neighbour Russia to maintain peace, not because we have any special cause or reason to do so, but solely to oblige the English by relieving them from all anxiety as to their interests on the Bosphorus, and by enabling them to continue their huckstering in all tranquillity

of mind, has, we believe, reached the Emperor through another channel (which the readers of these articles will be able to guess), and has received warm support here. It must be borne in mind that his Majesty is thoroughly devoted to peace, and sincerely desires that he himself, the German people, and the whole world, may be saved from fresh wars. These being his sentiments, he is disposed to consider the wishes and counsels which, in the opinion of those who submitted them to him, are calculated to serve the cause of peace. But such counsels, if they do not emanate from a great and far-seeing mind, which takes all the circumstances and possibilities into account, may lead to the exact contrary of what is desired, that is to say to war. In January *The Times* implored the Imperial Chancellor to give orders for the maintenance of peace. Somewhat later it addressed a similar affecting appeal to the Emperor, and we may take it for certain that Queen Victoria was induced by her cunning Semitic adviser to use her influence in the same direction through the channel indicated above.

"Let us suppose that Germany had allowed herself to be 'nobbled'—indeed, it is hardly possible to use any other expression—had struck an attitude, and shouted 'Peace in Europe!' and that Russia had not halted at the word of command, but let her troops advance—what would have happened then? Why, we should then, for the maintenance of peace, have been obliged to wage war against Russia, which at the best would serve to pull the chestnuts out of the fire for magnanimous Albion, or our word of command would have proved to be impotent, and we should have made ourselves ridiculous—and ridiculous merely in the service of England, a Power that has never honestly wished us well, and has only accepted our position in Europe in the hope that it may some day be utilised for the furtherance of its own mercenary policy.

"The case of the Paris Exhibition is quite similar. This affair also excited warm sympathy in the quarter which we have in view, where it has become a second nature to 'work for peace.' When the Government, in spite of all such representations and appeals, declined to take part in the Exhibition, MacMahon sent the Marquis d'Abzac, an amiable gentleman upon whom exalted eyes had rested with special favour on a former occasion, to Berlin in order to make a last attempt. The marquis sung a hymn to peace in the most melting accents. We can hear him whisper with

a winning smile that in this invitation France reached out her hand to Germany in reconciliation, that the Exhibition would be at the same time a peace congress. Why rudely reject the proffered hand of a former opponent who had now become a friend? How wonderfully an olive wreath would adorn the brow of a certain august lady! And other graceful speeches calculated to flatter and to touch the feelings. Then another appeal in the highest quarter on behalf of France, so unsuspecting, so well-meaning, so prettily persuasive, warmer and more urgent than before, and, at last, offensively persistent. It was all to no purpose. M. le Marquis did not, after all, succeed in securing anything more than one of the highest Orders for himself.

"But let us again in this instance suppose that the affair had been decided differently, and that in spite of wiser counsels and a truer insight into the nature of the circumstances, the messenger sent by the President of the French Republic had returned to Paris with the acceptance of the invitation to the would-be festival of peace, what would the probable consequences have been? Germany would have co-operated in the Exhibition, and her exhibitors would have found themselves, to say the least, in an exceedingly uncomfortable position. They would have been exposed to dangers of all kinds—we have had ample experience of what the vindictiveness of French Chauvinism means, even in more harmless circumstances—and incidents might and probably would have occurred, resulting at least in irritation, perhaps in an exchange of hostile notes, and conceivably even in something worse.

"The same idea of a special mission to maintain and promote peace—our readers will, of course, read between the lines—governs similar relations with the Ultramontanes, and has, together with other motives, led to advances which would be otherwise inexplicable. After having opposed the Government during the elections with almost unexampled violence, and indulged in the vilest slanders and the most malignant intrigues against all loyal candidates, these worthy people hide the cloven hoof in patent leather shoes, and join the circles to which we have referred with an air of innocent cheerfulness as if butter would not melt in your mouth, and sun themselves in the radiance of the most exalted graciousness and favour. Indeed it is even said that in the council which is usually held to consider the lists of

invitations, the faithful adherents of Rome who condescend to come—this is not done by all of them—are never omitted, but those who are loyal to the King are generally struck out.

"It may be permitted, perhaps, to draw the moral of these communications as follows :—

"In itself a love of peace is always a becoming feature, and particularly in a woman. But in our humble opinion such love of peace should not lead to a desire to play the part of 'Angel of Peace,' to take pleasure in hearing one's self so styled, and to act up to it by thwarting the Chancellor's plans, opposing wise counsels, and persistently promoting a course calculated to bring on war, and to perpetuate existing feuds, inasmuch as it encourages the enemy to regard the 'Angel of Peace' as an ally and to construe her efforts as a fresh stimulus to resistance.

"Heaven is the true home of such angels of peace, and there doubtless their sentimental politics will afford them a plentiful supply of beautiful emotions. We, however, live upon the earth, and the hard necessities of this life can only be properly estimated and dealt with by the understanding."

On the 21st of May Bucher wrote respecting this article : "The doctor considers that the medicine prescribed is too strong and has been administered too rapidly. The patient will now require a *longer* rest. I should like to see the next prescription before it is sent to the apothecary's."

On the 25th of May Bucher sent various supplementary items for the article dealing with Baden which I had forwarded to him for inspection previous to sending it to the press. On the 11th of June he sent me a sketch of another prominent member of the *Bonbonnière*, in an article in which I found little to alter, and which therefore appeared in the *Grenzboten* in all important particulars, both of form and substance, as it left his hands. It ran as follows :—

"A MINISTER *in partibus*.

"BERLIN, June 9th.

"A few weeks ago a Berlin local newspaper published a statement that Baron von Schleinitz, the Minister of the Royal Household, has felt it his duty to submit the notorious *Grenzboten* articles—it is not said where or to whom—and to propose that an inquiry should be instituted with the object of ascertaining whether they

issued from the Press Bureau—which Press Bureau is not specified. The business of the Minister in question, apart from Court functions, with which we are not very well acquainted, consists in the administration of the property of the Royal House. According to Rönne members of the Ministry of the Household are not State officials, and questions affecting the press and the administration of the laws do not in any way fall within their jurisdiction. Perhaps this piece of news is only meant as a humorous reminder to us that one portrait was missing from the little gallery we recently presented of persons whom the achievements of the Chancellor have had the misfortune to displease. We certainly passed over the gentleman in question, but had by no means forgotten him,—any more than many others; but we thought that to each day sufficed the evil thereof. Herr von Schleinitz, when he held the seals of the Foreign Office, certainly pursued quite a different policy to that of Prince Bismarck, and, therefore it is after all small blame to him that he does not approve of the Bismarckian policy. We refrain from an analysis and discussion of the nature and success of the Schleinitz method, which was known in its time as the policy of *moral* conquests. We leave that task to history, where we are inclined to believe the name of Schleinitz will hardly figure except in a parenthesis descriptive of Court life. We take the liberty, however, of asserting openly that he has had no luck as a diplomatist.

“We hear it said that the property of the Royal House would yield a considerably larger income if it were differently administered. That may be the case, and yet we should not blame Herr von Schleinitz. A diplomat is not called upon to understand the administration of great estates and forests, and if he has no knowledge of the subject he may regard it as a misfortune that he should have been appointed to such duties.

“That is not the only misfortune which has befallen Herr von Schleinitz. Diest-Daber heard, and related at the trial, that the *Reichsglocke* had been sent to the Emperor by a lady named Schleinitz. Herr von Schleinitz has denied this statement in the *Reichsanzeiger*, but malicious journalists are now asking whether the evidence of a husband in favour of his wife is conclusive. A contributor to another paper (the *Tribune*) comes to his rescue with another supposition. The gossip might have originated in the circumstance that a former subordinate of the Minister of the

Household, who is still frequently to be seen at his residence, the Geheimer Rechnungsrath Bernhardt (who had been mentioned by the Chief as the channel through which the Empress corresponded with certain foreign Sovereigns) took in ten copies of the *Reichsglocke*. Certainly Herr von Schleinitz has good reason to exclaim, 'Heaven defend me from my friends!'

"He has reasons for this prayer in other respects also. When the war between ourselves and Austria was at hand the Austrians selected his residence as their rendezvous, as did the French at a later period, after they had waged against us a war which they have not yet forgotten. And in that quarter—our readers know the place—where every form of hostility to Prince Bismarck centres, Herr von Schleinitz has always been regarded as the future Chancellor or Minister for Foreign Affairs, or, to express it more suitably in a phrase borrowed from the Curia, as Minister *in partibus*. We credit his Excellency with too much self-knowledge to believe that he personally entertained the hope of being Prince Bismarck's successor. And now he is understood to have actually received no other than Herr von Gruner as coadjutor designate! Surely the man may bewail his misfortunes!"

The information contained in the seventh and last "friction" article was supplied exclusively by Bucher, who also wrote the greater part of it. It was published on the 28th of June in No. 27 of the *Grenzboten*.

"CAUSES OF THE CHANGE AT BADEN.

"STRASSBURG, June 24th.

"A Baden correspondent of your journal has repeatedly expressed his anxiety at the attitude towards the struggle between the State and the Ultramontanes which the ruling circles at Karlsruhe have for some time past shown a disposition to adopt, and indeed which they have actually begun to adopt, since the change of Ministry last September. This attitude, although for the present it is manifested rather in desire than in deed, means a retreat before Rome and her allies. The last time such indications became evident was some two months ago. I immediately made inquiries as to what truth was in them. It is only now however that I have received trustworthy explanations.

It requires a closer knowledge of those circles than can be obtained here to say exactly in what way the change of sentiment referred to has come about, whether through influences that have gradually insinuated themselves there, or in consequence of tendencies which already existed and which those influences divined and afterwards developed. It is regarded as certain, however, by persons who are in a position to know, that the change of weather in the upper regions is associated with certain influences proceeding from Strassburg.

"Frequent visits are paid to Karlsruhe, among others by a gentleman of this city who has lately received an appointment at our University—experts assert less for his scientific attainments than through the recommendations of a coterie whose ramifications extend across the Channel. The following may serve to identify him. M. (I mention no name) formerly had charge of the interests of certain small Republics as Minister Resident in Berlin. There was not much work for him to do there, and as he was of an enterprising turn of mind and felt the necessity of playing a part in the world, he was impelled to dabble in politics more or less openly on his own account. He acted chiefly as letter carrier and newsmonger to the diplomacy of the smaller States (this refers to Professor Geffcken, who was associated with the Coburger, Samwer and Freytag), and endeavoured to promote the ends of the clique which he had joined by means of articles in the newspapers. As a matter of course, he was a zealous free trader, and equally of course he was strongly in favour of the Augustenburger, at the time when the Schleswig-Holstein question was approaching its final solution. If things had followed the course he desired, Hamburg would have taken the field against Prussia in 1866, and would to-day be a Prussian city. People ought, therefore, to have been thankful to him in Berlin, but were not, and on the contrary refused to have anything to do with him. The Senate then sent him as Minister Resident to London, where many doors were opened for him by his enthusiasm for the House of Augustenburg. (It will be remembered that Queen Victoria is the mother-in-law of a brother of the Hereditary Prince of that day, now Duke of Augustenburg.) He therefore always had news to send, but the Senate ultimately found that it cost them too dear, and abolished the post. M. thereupon took a position in the administration of his native State, but seems to have himself soon

realised that his work was not quite up to his pretensions. It was, therefore, necessary to devise ways and means in some other direction, and this was done. His Manchester principles recommended him to the official then at the head of the Imperial Chancellerie (Delbrück), who appointed him his assistant, (miracles, you see, still happen!) and his friends converted the unsuccessful diplomatist into a Professor in Ordinary at the High School of the Reichsland. In 1875 he launched a book entitled 'State and Church,' which is almost as thick as the Bible. The bulky proportions so essential to a professorial production were attained by a superficial historical compilation of some six hundred pages. The last chapter contained an unfavourable criticism of the Falk laws, written—to put it politely—in a very popular style, somewhat as if it were intended to be read by ladies. The real significance of the work,—of course not expressed in so many words, but clearly to be read between the lines,—is: 'I am a model Minister of Public Worship!' It is said that the author received further recommendations from Baden, which, however, failed to produce the intended effect in official circles, owing to a knowledge of his past, and to the accurate estimate formed of the same. Since then, M. has been delivering public lectures on all sorts of subjects, some with a political flavour, so much to the taste of the Francophil Philistines that they flock to hear the professor.

"Another professor found his way across the Kehl Bridge, and to the district which may be described as the handle of the Karlsruhe Fan.¹ I also forbear to give his name. (Max Müller is the professor here alluded to.) For the moment I will merely mention that he belongs to the Bunsen Club, and that—as far as I know—he is one of those German savants who are most indebted to an energetic and persistent system of advertisement. He is a member of the Berlin Academy of Science, and also of the French Institute, and is understood to be a capable Sanscrit scholar, which I do not question, although I certainly question the good taste of his friends in the *Augsburger Zeitung*, who seldom mention his name without describing him as 'our celebrated countryman.' The publication of Indian texts, which he is bringing out under the patronage of one of the Orleans

¹ Karlsruhe is laid out somewhat in the form of a fan, the streets radiating from the "handle," which is occupied by the palace.

Princes, has brought him into communication with that interesting family. In addition to his lectures at Oxford he occasionally delivers others in London, where he holds forth before a fashionable and feminine audience upon the growth of language, the origin of religion, and similar subjects. His numerous admirers in Germany announced a few years ago that he had been induced to deliver lectures here in Strassburg also. It is true that his friends in England put a different complexion on the affair. They say that British soil is no longer so congenial to him as it used to be, or, as they express it, England has become too hot for him. Be that as it may, he put in occasional appearances here, and read lectures. It is asserted that he was at the same time occupied with other matters also, great expectations and desires, which I will now merely indicate. Notwithstanding the skill which he displayed in his lectures on the origin of religion, in harmonising the demands of science with the devout respectability which is indispensable in England, he did not consider himself qualified for the post of Prussian Minister of Public Worship. But, after all, it is no new idea that Falk's inheritance might be divided between two individuals, and he would probably not consider it beneath his dignity to accept the Department of Education (first perhaps at Karlsruhe, and then in Berlin). But for this purpose, of course, Falk must first be got rid of. *Hereditas viventis non datur.*

"A reaction from the East upon the West, from the right bank of the Rhine upon the left, is understood to have taken place since the winter of 1874-75. This is said to be manifested in the lively interest taken in the rights of the French language, which are alleged to be infringed in the teaching of French and in the teaching of religious and theological instruction at the girls' school in Alsace Lorraine. It is related in official circles that in this matter there has been developed a sort of voluntary system reaching up to the most exalted authority in the State, and down again to the lowest. It is true that all these endeavours have, fortunately, been fruitless so far as my information goes.

"Finally, a journey was made to Rome. Between this incident and the commencement of the change at Karlsruhe, there must have been a number of connecting links which I cannot specify. Possibly, although it may not seem quite credible, one may be allowed to associate with this change a certain exalted lady, a

widow of ripe years, who allowed herself to be converted to the only True Church by a fascinating priest, and who now, with the customary zeal of converts, considers it her duty to promote the restoration of peace with Rome, ignorant of the fact that Rome will never hear of peace, but only of complete subjection or of a truce. It may be taken as tolerably certain that bodily and mental conditions, a feeling of discontent, and numerous other more interesting visits than those of the two professors, have helped to place a noble nature in the service of schemes the significance of which such a nature is less able to appreciate than others. Those who are acquainted with the circumstances and persons concerned can easily imagine that in this instance Rome has exercised its influence, not as in the case of Luther, but rather as in that of Mortimer, although not with such striking effect, and that its acute Monsignors knew how to take advantage of their opportunity, even had no Vienna newspaper given a hint of a similar occurrence in that capital. It is perhaps fortunate that the peaceful assurances of 'persons of high position at the Vatican' were illustrated on the 12th of March by the allocution of the Holy Father in favour of a crusade.

"All this is very sad for men of patriotic sentiment, but it will be all the more welcome in another quarter where similar views have been entertained and a like influence has been exerted for years past, and where such assistance 'in the cause of peace' will be utilised to the utmost."

CHAPTER XIV

A Visit to Varzin—Reminiscences of 1866—Bismarck's *Weltschmerz*
—The Question of the Duchies—The Story of the Ems Telegram again—The Duchy of Lauenburg.

At the beginning of June, 1877, I had completed my plans for the *Gartenlaube* article, to which I had now decided to add a description of the houses and estates belonging to the Prince. Having obtained permission to visit Varzin for the purpose, during the Prince's autumn sojourn, I arrived there on October 17th.

When he came into the dining-room for lunch, he had just returned from his morning walk. He wore plain clothes, in which I had not previously seen him—black coat, waistcoat, and trousers, and a white necktie with blue and red spots. He shook hands, and was very friendly. After he had sat down and eaten a few mouthfuls he observed: "As I was walking in the wood and heard your postilion's horn, doctor, I thought to myself, that is certainly some Croat or Magyar who wishes to discuss politics with me, and come to my assistance with his advice. I was just on the point of making myself scarce when I remembered that you had written from Leipzig that you were coming. Once a man came to see me who sent word that if I would not receive him he would hang himself. My reply was, that if he must needs do so, I would have the newest and strongest rope brought down from the garret for his use. He did not get to see me all the same, and went off again without, so far as I am aware, doing himself any harm."

While he drank his milk and black coffee he read the letters, reports, and telegrams received that morning, and instructed his son as to the replies, at the same time discussing matters with

Tiedemann, who, as I afterwards learned, acted as kind of second amanuensis, principally in administrative affairs. The Prince looked fresh and strong, and seemed also to be in good humour. In reply to my question how Gastein had agreed with him, he said that up to the present it was highly satisfactory, and in particular that he slept better than formerly. "It would have been still better," he continued, "if a great deal had not happened between Gastein and here. The next time I have to go to Gastein, I shall let the King do what he likes afterwards, and come straight back here, where I have no need to worry myself over preconceived notions that cannot be altered." As we stood up, observing that I was in evening dress, he smiled and said: "Dress clothes!" and then invited me to accompany him to the new wing that had been added to the house, and in which he had taken up his own residence. After he had shown me those rooms, I asked if he had received the "friction" articles in the *Grenzboten*, and if he was satisfied with them. He replied: "Yes; only they followed each other too rapidly, and in one of them you allowed it to be seen too clearly in what quarter you had received your information." I expressed my regret, excusing myself by stating that Dietze's communication in the *Magdeburger Zeitung* would have considerably weakened their effect upon the public if I had passed it over in silence.

We went to dinner between 5 and 6, and were afterwards joined by Holstein. The Chief was in high good humour and very talkative. He first spoke about Moritz von Blankenburg, whom he described as "my oldest and dearest friend" (I now forget how his name came up), asserting that he had "acted very imprudently in the affair with that shabby Diest." "I had told him," he said, "in the course of conversation on the Bodencredit shares, that possibly Bleichröder, who had the administration of my money, might have bought some such securities for me on one occasion. I could not really know, however, as all my surplus income went to Bleichröder, who made all large payments on my behalf, and acted on his own discretion in these matters. There would therefore be nothing wrong in it if he made some money for me without my knowledge in securities of this kind. Blankenburg had related what I had said as a fact, and Diest made use of this in Court. Bleichröder ultimately proved from his books that no such purchase was ever made.

That was of course very satisfactory, but in the meantime Blankenburg's clumsiness had thrown a temporary slur upon my good name, and that led to our falling out."

This reminded him of an attempt that had been made by one Löwenstein to bribe him after he had been appointed Minister at St. Petersburg and was about to start for his post. The Prince said: "He was an agent who worked at the same time for Buol and Manteuffel, spying, carrying out commissions, &c. He came to me with a letter of introduction from Buol. On my asking what I could do for him, he said he had come to tell me how I could do a good business whereby I might make 20,000 thalers or even more. I replied that I did not speculate, and, moreover, had no money for that purpose. Oh! I did not need any, I could manage it in another way. I said I could not follow him—what was I to do? If I would use my influence in St. Petersburg to bring about good relations between Russia and Austria. I pretended that I wished to consider the proposal, but did not trust him. Löwenstein pointed to his letter of introduction. I considered that insufficient, and wished to have a promise in writing. The Jew, however, was too sharp for that, and said the letter was a sufficient guarantee. I then turned rough, and as he was leaving told him the truth, viz., that I never dreamt of accepting his offer, and threatened to pitch him down the stairs. He thereupon took himself off, but not before he had threatened me with the anger of Austria. His proposal was better appreciated by Manteuffel and Schleinitz, who doubtless may still be receiving subventions from Vienna."

There was then some question of telegraphing to the Crown Prince, congratulating him on his birthday, the Chief being in favour of doing so "for form's sake." He then added, "I purposely omitted to do that in his mother's case—from a feeling of what is due to my personal honour—(turning to me, who sat at his right) for Augusta's intrigues against me still continue, and that is one of the reasons why I have no wish to return to Berlin."

Afterwards, at tea, we were joined by the Prince, who spoke on a variety of subjects, and particularly of his estates and their relatively poor returns. The time passed in this way up to 11 o'clock, when the Prince, looking at his watch, said, "The gentlemen will excuse a sleepy man," and went off to bed.

On the 18th of October, on my remarking that one of his first services had been to keep the King from attending the Congress of Princes at Frankfurt, the Chancellor's reply agreed in all important particulars with the statement he made to us during the campaign in France. "Yes," he said, "that was a difficult task. The Most Gracious insisted on going (to Frankfurt) at any cost; a crowned head, the King of Saxony, had come to him as a messenger, and there was now no help for it. I managed to talk him out of the idea, but with the greatest difficulty, and he was quite nervous about it. I said to Beust, however, 'If you do not leave us in peace now, I will send to Rastatt for a detachment and post a sentry outside the King's door, who will let no one in.'"

I then turned the conversation to the portraits in the Chief's study in Berlin, and he related first how he came into possession of that of King Victor Emmanuel. When the latter visited Berlin he brought as a present for him, the Chancellor, a snuff-box set with diamonds, but first made inquiry as to whether he would be prepared to accept it. "Of course I declined," he continued, "as if it had become known it would have looked like bribery. The snuff-box, with the brilliants, was believed to be worth about fifty thousand francs. He then merely gave me a small picture, writing his name and a few friendly words under it. The King of Bavaria, however, is grateful to me for having saved him from a loss of territory in 1866. Our most gracious master would insist upon having Ansbach and Bayreuth, because they had been in the possession of his ancestors. I said to him that the people there had long since forgotten that, and had grown accustomed to the union with Bavaria. The King wished that each (of the defeated German Princes) should cede a slice of territory—as a punishment. He wanted to play the part of divine justice. I remarked to him that that would not do, it must be left to God, and that no more territory should be taken than was required. He then wanted to take Northern Bohemia—Reichenberg—Karlsbad—or Austrian Silesia from Austria and on military grounds, to take Lausitz from Saxony. I said, however, that either the whole country should be kept, or, if that was impossible, none of it. For a long time he was not at all disposed to agree to this. Saxony owes her preservation to the Austrians, who for once behaved in a decent way. The Ultramontane sentiments at Court, and the friendship between the

Emperor Francis Joseph and the then Crown Prince Albert doubtless also contributed to this result. But I am not to blame for the terms of peace. At that time I lay dangerously ill at Putbus. Savigny is responsible, having, as an Ultramontane, spared the Ultramontane Dresden Court as much as he possibly could, and in particular allowed them more military independence than was desirable. When I heard roughly what had been agreed I offered him my congratulations, but when I read the paragraphs more closely I withdrew them."

We then spoke of the Bohemian campaign, and in the course of the conversation the Chief, among other things, recalled the following characteristic episodes: "In the council of war at Nikolsburg, which was held in my room, the others wished to continue the campaign, proceeding right into Hungary. I was, however, against this. The cholera, the Hungarian steppes, the questionable change of front, as well as political and other considerations, gave me pause. But they held to their plan, and it was in vain that I spoke once more against it. I then left them and went into the bedroom, which was only divided from where they sat by a wooden partition, closed the door and threw myself on the bed, where I sobbed aloud from nervous excitement. After a while they became quite silent in the other room, and their plan was subsequently dropped. When it was feared that the French would intervene, Moltke wished to retire to the Elbe, let the Austrians be, and turn upon the French, who were then weak. I convinced, him, however, that that would be a mistake, as 100,000 South Germans, with at least 25,000 red-breeches, might prove extremely inconvenient to us."

The Imperial Chancellor is regarded as a man of iron character, whose self-confidence never fails. Many will think that he must look back upon his deeds and creations with something of the feeling with which God the Father on the seventh day regarded the world he had made. I am not disposed to question that. But he has also softer moments—moments of apparent or real dissatisfaction with his achievements and his fate—a vein of melancholy, or, perhaps we should say, pensive sentiment, that finds expression as *Weltschmerz*.

Thus, one day during my stay, after gazing for a while into space, he complained to us that he had had little pleasure or satisfaction from his political life. He had made no one happy

thereby, neither himself, nor his family, nor others. We protested, but he continued as follows :—

"There is no doubt, however, that I have caused unhappiness to great numbers. But for me three great wars would not have taken place, eighty thousand men would not have been killed and would not now be mourned by parents, brothers, sisters, and widows." "And sweethearts," I added, somewhat prosaically and inconsiderately. "And sweethearts," he repeated. "I have settled that with God, however. But I have had little if any pleasure from all that I have done, while on the other hand I have had a great deal of worry, anxiety, and trouble," a theme upon which he then dwelt at some length.

We kept silent, and I was greatly surprised. I afterwards heard from Holstein and Bucher that during the last few years he frequently expressed himself in a similar strain. But I would repeat that such utterances can surely be but symptoms of a temporary and sentimental estimate of his mission and success. He is nevertheless a man of deep feeling, as Fräulein Jenny told me on the morning after this outburst that the "tears ran down his cheeks" when he first spoke of his falling out with Moritz von Blankenburg.

The principal room in the new building is a large hexagonal chamber, used by the Chancellor when he is working by himself. Here also the prevailing characteristic of the arrangements is a refined simplicity. The most prominent object in the room is a huge fireplace, nearly four metres in width and about five in height. It consists of green glazed earthenware, and is adorned on both sides with fluted columns, over which two small coats of arms have been placed. In the middle of the chimney piece appears the motto: "In trinitate robur"; and over this, in a yellow field, the eagle of the new German Empire; while the whole is surmounted by a white plaster bust of the Emperor William. The cornice upon which it rests is supported upon each side by eagles on laurel branches which form part of the chimney piece itself. The arms and motto have a history of their own. The former are the escutcheons of Alsace and Lorraine. When the Imperial Chancellor was raised to the rank of Prince, the Emperor thought of having these emblems embodied in his new arms. "But," as the Prince informed me while standing before this chimney piece, "I considered the title of Duke of Lorraine

too grand for me. His Majesty then wished to put the eagle in my escutcheon. But that too seemed to me a questionable measure. I feared that the eagle might devour my clover. A way out of the difficulty was then found by giving me supporters with the banners of Alsace and Lorraine."

The motto, on the other hand, dates from an earlier period, though it is not that of the Bismarcks. When Bismarck was at Frankfurt as Minister to the Diet, the King of Denmark invested him with the Grand Cross of the Danebrog. Now, it is customary to have the names and arms of the holders of this decoration set up in the Cathedral at Copenhagen, with a device which each member is to select for himself. "I then pitched upon this one, 'In trinitate robur,'"—said the Chancellor, "the oak in the trefoil, the old blazon of our family." "And 'my trust is in the Triune God,'" I suggested. "Quite right, I meant it so," he added, thus confirming my suggestion in a friendly but serious tone.

Near the fire, in which huge beech logs splutter and blaze, stand a number of high cushioned chairs. In the next wall is a door which opens into the Chancellor's bedroom. Between this and the window there is a glass case with arms and antiquities, its most noteworthy contents being, to my mind, a collection of prehistoric lance heads and a heavy gold arm ring of spiral form with a green patina, which had been found in a barrow; a rifled pistol with which the Prince, while he was still a Junker, performed all sorts of miracles of marksmanship; a hunting knife which used to accompany him when out bear hunting in Russia, and two large Japanese Daimio swords of the finest steel, with which the Chancellor was invested by the Mikado in the year 1872—invested, inasmuch as these took the place of the decorations bestowed by other potentates upon those whom they desire to honour. Near the swords lay a scimitar in a violet velvet sheath. The Prince took it out and drew it from its cover. It was a genuine Damascus blade. "This was presented to me by the Bey of Tunis," he said. "It is believed to be a fine old weapon of the time of the Crusades. I have also received an Order from him, but not the right one. He sent two, one for the Emperor and the other for me. The one was set with brilliants as large as hazel nuts, the other was common tinsel. Curiously enough he had not said to whom they should be given. I mentioned it to my gracious master, and asked what he

thought. He said that of course the one with the brilliants was for him. It was doubtless worth some 50,000 thalers."

Opposite the bay window, and with its back turned towards it, there is a large sofa with a number of cushions. Among them is one of light blue velvet, on which the following is embroidered in silver thread: "Exodus xxxiii. 12; Psalms xviii. 28." Beneath this inscription is a crown, and a monogram formed of the letters O, B and E, with the date "28 July, 1847-1872." It is a gift presented to the Chancellor on his silver wedding. As I can hardly expect all my gentle readers to have a Bible at hand, I quote the passages referred to: "And Moses said unto the Lord, See, thou sayest unto me, Bring up this people: and thou hast not let me know whom thou wilt send with me. Yet thou hast said, I know thee by name, and thou hast found grace in my sight." "For thou wilt light my candle: the Lord my God will enlighten my darkness."

A narrow, dark passage leads from the Chancellor's bedroom, which also opens on to the park, down a few steps on the right to the bath-room. On the same side, through a mysterious little doorway at the head of a narrow, winding staircase, the eye loses itself in the darkness of what seems to be a bottomless abyss. Inspired by the spirit of George Louis Hesekei, I suggested "The dungeon keep?" The Prince smiled as he replied, "Only a postern gate." And he then explained it enables him to retreat unobserved when he is threatened with tiresome visits. The prospect of such visits suggested the idea of providing an escape when the house was being built. "When unwelcome acquaintances make their appearance," he said, "I slip out here, and bring myself in safety to a certain bench in the park, where I wait till I am told that the danger is over. We have named this door after Senft-Pilsach, a loquacious bore; but you must not publish that, as he is still living."

Friday, October 19th.—At lunch, on mention being made of the unfavourable turn which things had taken for Russia, the Chief said: "If I were the Emperor Alexander I should now withdraw my troops to the left bank of the Danube and remain there for the winter, at the same time announcing in a manifesto to the Powers that if necessary I should continue the war for seven years, even if I were obliged in the end to carry it on with peasants armed with pitchforks and flails. I could depend upon my Russians.

Next spring I should seize a few of the large fortifications on the Danube, and then gradually push forward."

In the evening the Prince remarked: "I have a mind to get the King to appoint me Aide-de-Camp General. That would be quite constitutional, and I should exercise more influence in that position than as Minister. How was it under Frederick William IV.? At that time Manteuffel could do nothing against the will of Gerlach, who was Aide-de-Camp General."

While taking our coffee, the Chief gave a somewhat different version to that which he related at Ferrières of the cigar incident at Frankfurt. He said: "It was in the Military Commission. At first only Buol smoked. Then one day I pulled a cigar out of my case, and asked him to give me a light. With a look of surprise at my audacity he gave it to me, to the profound astonishment of the other Powers. The incident was reported to the various Courts and also to Berlin. Then followed an inquiry from the late King, who did not smoke himself, and probably did not appreciate the thing. Thereupon the two Great Powers alone smoked for perhaps six months. Then suddenly Bavaria also appeared with a cigar, and after a time Saxony followed suit. Finally, Würtemberg also felt it necessary not to remain behind, but this was obviously compulsory sacrifice to dignity, for he puffed his yellow weed with an air of surly determination, and afterwards laid it down half smoked. It was only Hesse-Darmstadt that abstained altogether, probably not feeling equal to such competition."

Saturday, October 20th.—We were talking at dinner of the result of the war with France, and the Chief said: "When I was made Prince, the King wished to put Alsace and Lorraine into my armorial bearings. I should have preferred Schleswig-Holstein, as that is the diplomatic campaign of which I am most proud." Holstein asked: "You wished that from the beginning?" "Yes, certainly," replied the Prince, "immediately after the death of the King of Denmark. But it was difficult. Everything was against me—the Crown Prince and Princess on account of the relationship, the King himself at first and, indeed, for a long time, Austria, the small German States, and the English, who grudged us such an acquisition. It would have been possible to arrange matters with Napoleon,—he thought he could place us under an obligation to him in that way. And finally at home the Liberals were opposed to it, suddenly discovering the

legitimacy of princely fights—but that was only their hatred and envy of me—and the Schleswig-Holsteiners themselves would not hear of it either. All these, and I know not who else besides. At that time we had a sitting of the Council of State, at which I made one of the longest speeches of which I ever delivered myself, and said a great deal that to my audience must have seemed unheard of and impossible. I pointed out to the King, for instance, that all his predecessors, with the exception of his late brother, had added to their territories, and asked him whether he wished to follow that brother's example. To judge from the amazement depicted on their faces they evidently thought I had made too free with the bottle that morning. Costenoble drew up the protocol, and when I looked through it afterwards I found that the passages in which I had expressed myself most clearly and forcibly were omitted. They contained precisely my best arguments. I called his attention to this, and protested. Yes, he said, that was so, but he thought I should be glad if he left it out. I replied, 'Not at all. You must have thought, I suppose, that I had taken a little too much. But I insist upon all that I said appearing exactly as I said it.'

It is true, the Minister observed, as we were afterwards talking of our adventures in France, that he has no longer a good memory, except for matters of business. ("If I have read anything in a despatch or elsewhere in the course of business, I remember it," he said, "but in other things I am not sure of myself.") The foregoing statement, however, agrees in all important particulars with what he told me at Rheims on the 11th of September, 1870, about those events.

Including the time spent over our coffee in the billiard-room, this sitting was an exceptionally long one. We sat together for nearly two and a half hours, and the Prince spoke on a great number of interesting topics, especially political movements, events, and personages. He described exhaustively the way in which Manteuffel (the Minister, not the general) tried to make money on the Stock Exchange, utilising his official position for that purpose. "The Embassies had to send him the Bourse quotations or something of that kind, extracts, reports on special securities, which he received from the telegraph office with the despatches earlier than the bankers. He then got his agent—Löwenstein, who tried to bribe me on behalf of Buol—to make use

of this information without delay. He also wished to employ me in these manœuvres when I was at Frankfurt, but I took no part in them." He then repeated his former statement that Manteuffel was bribed by foreign Governments, and asserted the same of Schleinitz, whom he had always regarded with disgust, as an individual who was physically unclean, with dirty linen, a face that was never properly washed, "the grease oozing out of his pores." Speaking of the corruptibility of mankind, he suspected that there were also some rotten fish of that description on the press. He said: "I have never had any doubt so far as Brass is concerned. He took whatever was offered to him by friend and foe. And doubtless the *Kölnische Zeitung* was not much better. It was in favour of the Danes because the English were on their side; and Kruse, who was formerly a private tutor at Palmerston's, was drawing a pension from Broadlands. Now it was in favour of the Turks, because Oppenheim had Turkish securities which he wished to unload on to other people."

At tea he spoke again of the "conflict" and his conversation with the King at that time, which he had related to me on my last visit to him in Berlin. He now said: "During the 'conflict' they thought out a variety of measures which they intended to take against me—the scaffold, or at least the confiscation of my property. I consequently raised as much money as I possibly could upon my estates. I was then called the Prussian Strafford—you remember Parliament condemned him to the block in the Revolution of 1641. The King was also afraid of being beheaded—the women had talked him into it at Baden. He wished to abdicate if he could not find any one who would govern with him. When I went to meet him on the railway he was quite discouraged and depressed. At length he asked me: 'But what if they were to send us both to the scaffold?' At first I merely said, 'What then?' but I afterwards added, 'You are thinking of Louis XVI., but I would remind you of Charles I. He died with honour, at all events.' That produced a very sobering effect upon him. I had touched his conscience as an officer."

From this incident he came to speak of the behaviour of the King at Ems in presence of the attacks of Benedetti, and said: "I soon noticed that he was beginning to take fright and was ready to pocket another Olmütz. I was at that time in Varzin, and as I drove through Wussow, on the way to Berlin, the Pastor

stood outside his house and saluted me as I passed. I described a sabre cut in the air to show that we meant business. But the news in Berlin was by no means good. I accordingly telegraphed to him (the King) that I requested my dismissal from office if he received Benedetti again. No answer came, and I telegraphed once more that if he had now received Benedetti I should regard it as an acceptance of my resignation and return to Varzin. Then came a telegram of two hundred lines (doubtless words) from Abeken. I thereupon invited Moltke and Roon to a dinner of three, and told them how the matter stood. Roon was beside himself, and so was Moltke. I asked if we were quite prepared for such a war. He replied that so far as it was humanly possible to foresee we might hope for victory. I then took the two hundred lines, and, without altering a word of the King's, reduced them to twenty, which I read over to them. They said it would do in that form. I then had it sent to all our Embassies, with the exception of Paris, of course, and got it inserted in the Berlin papers. And it really did do. The French took it excessively ill."

Sunday, October 21st.—At lunch the Chief, while reading through despatches and telegrams as usual, said to Holstein: "Write that it would be desirable for the press to let it be understood that it is intended, in case of a French *coup d'état*, to recommend the Emperor to convoke the Reichstag for the consideration of such eventualities as may then arise."

Towards 12 o'clock there appeared before the door a carriage for Holstein and myself, and two saddle horses for the Chancellor and his son. We proceeded to some heights affording a view of the entire estate of Varzin. On my saying that this was quite a magnificent little realm, the Prince replied: "Why, yes. If I had bought Varzin merely for riding and driving it would have been a good acquisition; but as it is—potato land!"

It was 4 o'clock when we got back from Annenhof to Varzin. The proofs of No. 3 of the "Reminiscences" had in the meantime been received from Kiel. After a while the Chief called me to his room and explained some of the corrections he had made. Among other things he had struck out some of the opinions he had expressed with regard to Radowitz, and the passage about the six shots and the six cartridges in reserve of which he had spoken in his account of the battle of Gravelotte. "I certainly

said that," he observed, "and the remarks about Radowitz are also quite accurate. But please omit them all the same. His son is now serving under me."

As I wished to leave next morning I took this opportunity of thanking him for having allowed me to spend some days with him, which had been a source of great happiness to me. He reached me his hand and said: "I hope we have not seen each other for the last time. I have a great regard for honourable men." "You have placed a great deal of confidence in me," I replied, "and I beg of you to continue to do so, and to remember me should there be anything to do in the press that ought not to be generally known." I also added: "Your Serene Highness has imparted to me a great number of important facts. These must all be kept secret for the present, but nevertheless will not be lost for the future. You make history, but do not write any, perhaps not even memoirs. Bucher also seems to have made no notes." He was silent. Then he spoke of the power of the press, which had done a great deal of harm. "It was the cause of the last three wars," he said, "the Danish press forced the King and the Government to annex Schleswig; the Austrian and South German press agitated against us; and the French press contributed to the prolongation of the campaign in France."

I broached another subject. "Your Serene Highness believed once at Versailles that you knew how long you would live. You mentioned various figures, seven and nine, but I cannot now remember the year. I fancy it was seventy-six—the year of your life, I mean." "Seventy-one," he replied; "but God alone knows that."

When dinner was announced he let me go in front of him, and as he walked behind patted me a couple of times on the back, caressingly, evidently in the humour in which he was at Ferrières, when he called me "Buschlein," his little Busch.

Of what he said this evening at dinner, and afterwards over our coffee, I have only retained one delightful anecdote. Once upon a time the Junker of Kniephof had a visit from a lieutenant of hussars who was about to call upon an uncle in the neighbourhood. The uncle was particularly punctilious in the matter of etiquette and good manners, and he was next day to give an entertainment that would be attended by a number of guests of similar character and opinions. Overnight Bismarck induced the

lieutenant to drink freely, and primed him so well with good liquor (if I remember rightly it was "Kriegsbohle"—war-bowl—composed of champagne and porter) that in the end he had considerably more than he could carry. Next morning Bismarck drove his guest to his uncle's country-house in a car without springs. The roads were not good, the rain having transformed them into seas of mud, so that the two young gentlemen were badly bespattered when they arrived, while in addition to this the lieutenant was decidedly sea-sick. As they entered the drawing-room, the company of some forty persons (the ladies *en grande toilette*, the gentlemen in evening dress) regarded them with mixed amazement and disgust. The hussar presently disappeared. Bismarck, however, sat down to table with an air of careless gaiety, in spite of the evident disgust which the good people manifested, and acted as if there were nothing in his appearance that anybody could object to. People wondered at the time how it was he failed to have any idea of the unpleasant impression he had made.

I left Varzin on Monday morning at 11 o'clock, again taking the post to Schlawa, proceeding thence by rail to Berlin and to Schönhausen. The latter is situated on the Lauenburg Sachsenwald, and I may as well take this opportunity of relating a characteristic anecdote of what occurred, when, in 1865, under the Gastein Convention, the Duchy of Lauenburg passed to the Prussian Crown.

This little country was a judicial curiosity, and in comparison with the neighbouring States, including even Mecklenburg, a monstrosity. It was a fossilised specimen of the Germany of the seventeenth century, and well deserved to find a place in the Museum of the German antiquities. It had never occurred to any one to make a clearance of the mass of feudal lumber under which all the relations of life were smothered. From whatever point of view the institutions of the Duchy were examined, the observer saw the genuine spirit of mediævalism holding unrestricted and unmitigated sway under the sun of the nineteenth century, and witnessed the exploitation of the majority by a small privileged minority. Lauenburg was the Pompeii of German constitutional history, or, what amounts practically to the same thing, it was the paradise of Junkerdom. The monstrous privileges of the nobility which were set forth in a certain parch-

ment entitled "The Compact" ("Der Recess") had been confirmed without examination by successive sovereigns at Copenhagen on their accession to the throne. The German Confederation, which occupied the little country in 1863, and the Austro-Prussian Commissioners by which it was afterwards administered, had been unable to provide any remedy for these evils. Their time had been too short, and the difficulties of the situation too great, as it was still uncertain to whom the territory would eventually fall. Therefore up to the final occupation of the Duchy by Prussia, apart from the chaotic condition of laws which no attempt had ever been made to codify, it was the custom to fill the numerous overpaid official positions with members of certain "fine families," of course for the most part aristocratic, who farm out the extensive domains amongst themselves, naturally at a rent far below their real value, thus monopolising a great part of the wealth of the country.

On the 25th of September, 1865, King William went to Ratzeburg, the chief town of the Duchy, in order to receive the oath of homage and allegiance of his new subjects. He was met at Buchen, on the frontier, by a deputation of the Estates, who delivered an address, in which they said, *inter alia*: "We have your Majesty's word that you will rule over us justly, according to the customs and laws of the country." By this they unquestionably meant the preservation of their feudal privileges, rather than reasonable justice. In his reply the King made no reference whatever to that passage. This was in itself enough to cause uneasiness, and a change was indeed at hand.

On the afternoon of the 25th, the day preceding the ceremony of homage, which was to take place at the Church of St. Peter at Ratzeburg, Bismarck, who had accompanied the monarch, was enjoying the freshness of the evening on the banks of the beautiful little lake near the town, in company with a Herr von Bülow, Hereditary Marshal of the Duchy, a typical Junker of those parts. As the latter had as yet heard nothing to show that the new ruler of the country intended to confirm the privileges, and was much concerned at this uncertainty, he at length took heart and said:—

"*A propos*, Excellency, how is it with our Compact? I hope his Majesty will confirm it before he demands our homage."

"I imagine that the King will not do so," observed Bismarck.

"In that case," replied the Junker von Bülow, "we shall refuse to take the oath to-morrow in the church."

"In that case," retorted the Minister, coolly, "you shall hear to-morrow in the church that you have been incorporated in the nearest Prussian province."

The two gentlemen then continued their conversation on the beauties of the district, the Hereditary Marshal being probably ill at ease and out of humour, as was to be gathered from the slight acrimony of his subsequent remarks. Immediately on his return to his quarters, Bismarck drew up a decree announcing the incorporation of Lauenburg with the province of Brandenburg, so that in case the aristocratic Estate really had the audacity to refuse the oath and the lawful hereditary homage, it should be read next day in the church, when a demand would be addressed to all present to take the oath of allegiance *en masse*, a demand which the popular Estate would immediately comply with. He assured himself of the approval of the King, and with this little torpedo in his pocket he entered the church next day. First a hymn is sung. A sermon by the pastor follows. Then the vassals are called upon to take the oath, and Bülow has to make a start. He steps forward hesitatingly, pauses for an instant, and glances at Bismarck, meets, however, with a look of determination probably not unmingled with just a shade of contempt, and then proceeds to the altar and swears allegiance. All the other members of the Estates do the same. No confirmation of the Compact! Bucher had this delightful little story from the best imaginable source—the Chief himself.

CHAPTER XV

I return to Berlin and renew my intercourse with the Chancellor—
The History of my Book—Bismarck on the Emperor and the
Crown Prince and Princess—His Instructions to attack Gortscha-
koff's Policy—The turning away from Russia and towards
Austria-Hungary—Italian Politics—Pope Leo—The Causes of
the Chancellor Crisis in April—The New Ministry in England.

THE "Reminiscences" in the *Gartenlaube* were in great part fragments from the first half of the diary which I kept in France in 1870 and 1871. During their preparation I bethought myself that at the audience in which I took leave of the Prince in March 1873 he had said it would be useful and desirable if the whole of the diary were published, with the exception of those passages which tact and prudence rendered it advisable to suppress. Therefore when I set about carrying his desire into effect the only question was whether he was still of the same opinion, and would assist me in the work by looking through the proofs sheet by sheet, striking out what he considered questionable, correcting and possibly making additions. In order to be certain on this point I proceeded to Berlin in the first week of April 1878, and giving a short account of my plan, I requested an audience for the purpose of talking over the matter.

He kindly replied by inviting me to dinner, and I of course accepted his invitation and dined with the family. Having in the course of the conversation referred to himself as an "old man," the Princess remonstrated: "Why, you are only sixty-three!" He replied: "Yes, but I have always lived at high pressure, and paid hard cash for everything." (*Ja, aber ich habe immer schnell und baar gelebt.*) Then turning to me, he added: "Hard cash—that means that I have always put my whole heart into my work: I have paid with my strength and my health for

whatever has been achieved." The German people should be grateful to him for this, instead of allowing themselves to be represented in the Reichstag by men who in their vanity and self-will vie with each other in ingratitude.

After dinner we discussed my proposal, and he immediately gave his consent, only pointing out with regard to the co-operation which I requested, that if he were to read through and make alterations and occasional additions in the proofs he would be regarded by the public as one of the authors of the book. I overcame his scruples on this head by assuring him that, during his lifetime, no one except the publisher, a friend upon whose discretion I could rely, would know that he had permitted and assisted the publication within the limits laid down—not even the printing office, as I would have two proofs sent me, one for him and one for myself, and would reproduce in my own copy any excisions, corrections, and additions which he might make in his, and only send the former to the printer. On these conditions he also agreed to this part of my request. As the manuscript was so far complete that it could be sent to press, the work was taken in hand in accordance with the terms arranged.

On the 5th of July, 1878, the proofs of the first two sheets were sent by the publisher to the Prince in Berlin, and the subsequent ones to Kissingen, where the Chancellor—who was undergoing a cure—remained till the third week in August; then to Gastein, where he again took the waters up to the 16th of September; afterwards to Varzin, and finally once more to Berlin, where I had once more taken up my residence. The proofs were returned to me with the Chancellor's corrections, for the most part in a few days after they had been despatched by the publisher, in order that I should reproduce the alterations in the copy intended for the printer. No arrangement having been made for their destruction I considered myself at liberty to retain them as a memento of my intercourse with the Prince, and I still preserve them. In some sheets there were no corrections, in others a few, while considerable excisions were made in a number of them—the portions struck out, however, not exceeding in all more than one-fiftieth of the whole. At the same time it was evident that the Prince had read the whole very carefully, as he had corrected even unimportant printer's errors. My princely censor had justified some of the larger excisions by marginal explanations, and

also in the letters sent through the Imperial Chancellerie with which the proofs were accompanied. These refer for the most part to statements made by the Prince respecting personages still living whom he was anxious not to offend. My princely "collaborator" also made occasional short additions to my text. It is hardly necessary to say that all alterations were conscientiously reproduced by me and included in the work.

So far everything seemed to be in proper order. Up to his return to Varzin the Prince had apparently no objection to my undertaking beyond those to which he gave expression in the excisions and marginal notes, as well as in the accompanying letters already mentioned, written by his secretary, Sachse, and which might be regarded as disposed of by myself and the printing office. Now, however, according to a letter I received from Count Herbert Bismarck, on Sept. 27, some further objections must have occurred to him.

Having at that time again taken up my residence in Berlin, I called upon the Prince on the 4th of October. He received me in a very friendly way, gave me his hand, and, after inviting me to sit down opposite him at the other side of his large writing-table, said :—

"Well, then, you have once more become a Berliner?"

"Yes, Serene Highness; I found Leipzig too dull in the long run, and, besides, I wished to be near you in order to offer you my services as occasion arose."

He: "And you have broken with the *Gartenlaube*?"

I: Kiel (the publisher) died six or seven months ago, and the new editors considered many things to be trivial, and wished to have them struck out. I was of a different opinion, however, and, as the gentlemen held to their own view, I took back my manuscript. I shall, however, in future have the *Grenzboten* entirely at my disposal, or at least the whole political part of it, which, at present, is not what it ought to be. The article in question was that on Varzin, which, it is true, I treated in great detail. But I look on these things with the eyes of the next century, and I therefore find nothing which concerns you trivial and insignificant; and I feel sure that posterity will be of the same opinion."

He: "But not the present day. That also applies to the book, which has grown too bulky, owing to the numerous details, and you will not make any profit on it. Besides, there are passages that could be turned into ridicule, and the comic papers will not fail

to take advantage of that opportunity. And I, too, should come in for my share. I do not mind that, however ; but you ? ”

I : “ It is also a matter of indifference to me. I have no fear, either of them or of the other critics, if I only know that I have not lost your good-will thereby.”

He : “ Oh ! certainly ; but you have given the remarks made by others at my table—what was said over the wine, and should not be made public. You will make yourself many enemies in that way. I have not struck out much, and have left in a great deal that really ought to have gone out. Other things, however, had to go.”

He took up two of the proof sheets and looked them over. “ For instance, that my poor father ate bad oysters. And here, where Lehndorf tells the story about Princess Pless and the Crown Prince. What will Lehndorf think when he sees what he said at my table published by some one ? ”

I replied that I was not aware he had met the Princess Pless, and that she had not been named by me.

He : “ Yes, but that would be inferred from what preceded. And here again, that I drink freely in order to mitigate the weariness of tiresome company. The *Germania* and the Socialist papers will seize on that and make me out to be a drunkard. And that story about Rechberg. What would he say ? Besides, the affair was quite different to the account you give in the first eight or ten lines. It was not he who had given the provocation, but I, and it was he who first spoke of a challenge.”¹

The Prince then came to speak of other matters in the sheets before him which he considered unsuitable for publication, as for instance a passage in the second volume, page 262, of which he remarked : “ H'm, ‘ That is boiling thought to rags—mere flatulence,’ I know I said that, but everybody must recognise that that applies to the King. And Augusta will read the book—carefully—underline it for him, and comment upon it. Of course I know I had a hard time of it with him at Versailles for whole weeks. I wished to retire, and there was nothing to be done with him. Even now I have often a great deal of trouble with him. One writes an important note or despatch, revises it, rewrites it six or even seven times, and then when he comes to

¹ The passage in question has now been corrected in accordance with the above statement.

see it he adds things that are entirely unsuitable—the very opposite of what one means and wishes to attain—and what is more, it is not even grammatical. Indeed, one might almost say that the Nobling affair was a piece of good luck—on account of the Congress. If that had not happened I should not have secured anything at the Congress; for he is always in favour of schemes that will not work, and is wilful and opinionated in maintaining them. Others too in his most intimate *entourage* have to suffer from this aggravating peculiarity of his which he calls conscientiousness. You should see them when they no longer have to deal with him—they look quite changed, just as if they had returned from a holiday. But the Crown Prince is entirely different."

In reply to my question he then expressed himself favourably respecting the Crown Prince and his consort. On my leading the conversation on to the Duke of Coburg, the Chief observed: "I have also been obliged to strike out some passages here, as that would cause great offence, seeing that he is the 'dear uncle.'"

I inquired how he now stood with the Empress. He replied: "Just as before. She does what she can against me, and she is not always unsuccessful with the Emperor. She will ultimately drive Falk from office. The Court Chaplain? Christianity by all means, but no sectarianism! It just occurs to me," he went on to say, "that in the Horsitz affair you write that Prince Charles sent Perponcher to offer me a bed. It was not he who did that, but the Duke of Mecklenburg. Such an idea would never occur to the Prince. He hates me, and has already caused me plenty of heartburning."

I then expressed the hope that he would not attribute the passages that had been struck out to any bad will on my part but rather to thoughtlessness, as I had intended the whole work to serve and not to injure him. He replied: "A great deal of it is good and quite satisfactory, as for instance the portion dealing with the Pope and the Catholics. I only wish you had made it fuller. But that perhaps can be done later, when a good many things might be added. But could you not now abbreviate some parts of it?"

I replied in the negative, as thousands of the forty or forty-one pages which we had read through were now printed, and any alteration would occasion great expense. When a second edition

was being issued I would beg him to let me know what he wished to add. I could also be of service to him in the *Grenzboten*, which, it was true, was a small newspaper, but still enjoyed a certain prestige. Besides, we could get its more important articles reproduced in the daily papers, as has been done with success during the previous year. He seemed disposed to consider this suggestion.

I inquired whether he was returning to Varzin or would go to Friedrichsruh, adding "or perhaps to the new Bavarian estate which is mentioned in the newspapers."

He smiled and said: "Bavarian estate! I have not the least idea of buying one. I lose enough on the one I bought in Lauenburg, where the purchase money eats up the income of the whole property. How can an estate yield anything when the bushel of corn is sold at the present low price?" He explained this point fully, and then continued: "I told them that long ago, and tried to find a remedy. It is ruining our entire agriculture."

I mentioned that I had heard the farmers at Wurzen and farther up in the Muldenthal complain of intolerable competition of the Polish and Hungarian corn, in view of the high wages they have to pay, and that people looked to him for assistance. "Yes," he said, "there will be no improvement until there is an increase in the railway rates or a duty on corn."

I then turned the conversation once more on the *Grenzboten*, remarking that the publisher put it at his disposal unconditionally, and that I should be able to say whatever I liked in it. I should not, however, be in a position to do this before January or the beginning of February. If he would permit, I then proposed to come from time to time and ascertain his wishes.

"That will be a very good arrangement," he said, "but I do not know whether I shall be back in February. We must first marry our daughter." I congratulated him, and as we did not appear to have quite settled about the *Grenzboten* scheme, I returned to it once more, pointing out that my idea was to report myself and request his instructions on occasions of particular importance, domestic crises, foreign complications, &c. I suggested: "I can come at night, like Nicodemus." "Certainly come. I shall be very glad. But why like Nicodemus? You can also come in the day time."

He then repeated that the comic papers would turn the book into ridicule, that the Ultramontanes and Socialists would make capital out of it against him, and that, I too, would make myself many enemies by it. It was a matter of indifference to him, but I ought to be on my guard. I repeated that I was not in the least anxious on the subject, as his opinion was the only thing I cared about. He then stood up, came with me as far as the door of the antechamber, and shook hands with me on parting.

The book, *Count Bismarck and his People* (*Graf Bismarck und seine Leute*) was published at the beginning of November. It immediately attracted universal attention, and was reviewed in the German, and soon afterwards in the foreign press from the most varied points of view, forming for several weeks a general subject of conversation. All the opinions agreed in one particular, namely, that *the author was in a position to tell the truth, and had desired to do so*. For the rest, there was a wide divergency of views, both as to the intention and justification of the author in making his revelations, and as to the literary value of his work. A remarkable circumstance was that there seemed to be a certain fixed relation between the favour shown by the critics, and the distance between Berlin and the place where the reviews appeared, these growing more favourable as the distance increased. It was amusing to note that many formed their opinion of the book without having read anything beyond a number of sensational extracts from it; and several papers showed questionable taste in treating it in an unfriendly fashion after having filled column after column with what struck them as its most interesting passages.

Two editions, amounting together to seven thousand copies, were exhausted within two months. A third and fourth followed rapidly, and before the end of the first year it was necessary to issue a fifth edition of the novelty which had made so many enemies. There were at this time fourteen thousand copies of the book in circulation, certainly a very considerable success in view of the fact that times were not particularly good and the price of the two volumes by no means moderate. Even then the run continued. A sixth edition appeared after a certain interval, and subsequently a seventh, a popular issue of ten thousand copies in another and cheaper form.

In a few months after the first publication of the book in

German there were nine translations on the market. That was nine translations in as many months, and an entire circulation at home and abroad of about 50,000 copies. Moreover, the German literary hacks who occupied themselves with Bismarck lived upon fragments of my work and drew their supplies from it for years, frequently without mentioning their authority.

On the 23rd of February the Prince sent me word to call upon him next day, when I had an hour's interview with him, which was in many respects very remarkable.

The Chancellor looked very well and was friendly, as he always is. He came a few steps to meet me, gave me his hand and asked, smiling: "Well, are you still of opinion that you have done me a service with the book?" "Yes, Serene Highness," I replied, "with all right-minded and sensible people."

We then sat down at the writing table, and he said: "Yes, but they are not numerous. It must give others the impression that I am a bitter, censorious, envious creature, who cannot bear the vicinity of any greatness. Humboldt—well, I give him up, he was really an envious creature—Heise, Gagern. It's well I struck out what I said about Moltke. That would have been still worse, for when effrontery succeeds it is all right. You have also come off badly—just as I told you."

I: "Oh! certainly. They have made me out to be a fearful cur: narrow-minded, indiscreet, tactless, tedious, and what's more, a flunkey and an Epicurean. All that is wanting is that they should say I am accustomed to devour a couple of babies for breakfast. The Jewish press in particular. But I despise this stuff too much to pay any attention to it."

He: "The Jews were angry at your letting me say they are not painters. Meyerheim let me know that he is not a Jew, not even his grandfather. All the same, I do appear in the book to be bitter and envious, and I think I am not that. I know very well that you did not intend it. We both knew the reasons why I was often angry and bitter, and I knew still more about it. Such shameful things had happened that I wished to retire—at Versailles."

I: "Dupanloup?"

He: "Still worse . . . Then in the diary form the whole thing was bound to be fragmentary, and many connecting links had to be omitted."

I: "I regret that it gives many persons that impression, but my intention was only to show how Count Bismarck felt, thought and lived at a certain period—during the war with France. It was not to be a delineation of character, but only a photograph of an important period in your life, so far as I could see it—a contribution to history. I have not merely reproduced the scoffing remarks, but also the appreciative opinions, and have communicated traits which, if I may so express myself, show that you are good natured and humane, and, in particular, that you sympathise with the feelings of the common people."

He: "H'm, and pray what might those traits be?"

I: "The sentinel at the Bar le Duc, for example, and the Bavarian stragglers after the battle of Beaumont, together with the first sentence of the remarks you made at Ferrières, which began with the reference to the spot of grease on the tablecloth. Also your opinion of Dietze, when the *politesse de cœur* was discussed. You praised him very highly."

He: "Yes; but after all he is of no importance, not a politician. A good deal that would have been useful to me ought to have been given more fully, and other things should have been omitted. It was not possible to do that, however, owing to the fragmentary form."

"But that can be remedied in the fifth edition," I replied. "You were thinking of doing so the last time I had the honour of speaking to you on the subject. You can give me additions, for instance what you have said on various occasions respecting the Pope and the Catholics." "I would not recommend that now," he replied, "in your interest and in mine. The indignation aroused by the book has now subsided, and anything of the kind would revive the discussion of the whole subject in the entire press."

I observed: "The book has also been praised by papers of high standing in Germany, and more particularly in England and America. *The Times* published three long articles on it, and it has been described as a eulogy, but one which is based solely upon truth."

"Yes, in England," he said; "but here at home, that is the main point."

I continued: "And then I have not given merely conversations, but also newspaper articles which contained not my ideas

but yours. I am heartily sorry that it has injured you. I was pleased with everything you said. I am quite indifferent to what people say about myself. Every word of abuse was an advertisement. I do not care for the esteem of our journalists or of those who accept their views. I have no fear, because I have no hope."

"No hope?" he asked, as if he had not quite understood me.

"Yes, Serene Highness," I replied; "no hope—that is to say, I am not ambitious and have no personal aspirations. I do my duty as I understand it. For the rest, I hold to the principle which has been described as the ninth beatitude: Blessed is he that expecteth nothing, for he shall not be disappointed. I know too that I am not what they, in their envy and wounded vanity, describe me to be. And finally, in issuing this book I have not depended at all upon my own judgment, but submitted it to you before it was printed."

"That is true," he replied; "but out of consideration for you I did not strike out as much as I ought to have done. Arrangements had already been made, and a good deal of it was printed. It would have lost in interest if much had been omitted, and I did not wish to diminish your success."

"I thank your Serene Highness for that," I said. "But I have myself also left out a great deal of what appeared to me to be questionable matter respecting princely personages the Emperor and others. One passage which some people think refers to the Emperor was overlooked. I myself had not thought of him in giving the passage."

He asked: "Why, what was that?"

I replied: "That in which the flags are referred to which were not mentioned in the treaty and which they afterwards desired to have delivered up—the Parisian flags, Serene Highness."

"Ah, that was less the King than Podbielski. Well, you must omit that passage in future editions. For the rest, *once I am dead you can say whatever you like, everything you know.*" I replied: "May that day be far distant! and in the meantime the book shall remain as it is, unless you wish to make any additions yourself. I have no idea whatever of taking any independent action in the matter." "How old are you,

doctor?" he asked. "Fifty-eight, Serene Highness." "Well then, I am six years older than you."

He then spoke of the opposition of the free-traders in the Reichstag who denounced his schemes of Customs reform. "It is remarkable," he said, "how they, Richter and Bamberger in their speeches always attack me personally, instead of dealing with the question under discussion. The personality is of course a matter of indifference. My former ideas? How I have come to hold such views? Whether I have been consistent? I formerly consented to that which I now oppose; I have been playing a part; I am an amateur of genius, full of contradictions and always disposed to experiment at random. That is the main point for them. It is only incidentally that they refer to the matter itself. Whether I have a system? Richter at length said the only sensible and correct thing, that I doubtless had no system whatever. That statement is quite true, if it be limited to economic affairs—people are eventually forced to admit that I have one in politics. When I entered office my task was mainly a political one: the unification of Germany under Prussia. I was obliged to subordinate economic considerations, in so far as they were in any way affected, to that end. Otherwise I should have had no time. I had Delbrück for economic affairs, with which he was thoroughly acquainted, having administered them for years and being the first authority in his department. I reposed confidence in him, and when I was of a different opinion I sacrificed my opinions for political reasons, and also because I still wanted him for the founding of the Empire, after 1866 and 1870. If I was of a different opinion I did not enforce it officially. He has therefore acted for years by my side with perfect independence. It is true that afterwards my attention was called to the fact that we were not on the right track, at first through the complaints and admonitions of the public. But it was only when political questions no longer occupied the first place that I was able to consider the matter on its merits and not in connection with those questions. And it was not until Delbrück had retired in consequence of ill health—perhaps he had himself recognised that things could no longer go on as they had been doing—that I was obliged to form my own opinion, since I had no one to replace him. His two councillors were unsuitable. Michaelis is quite insignificant, and the other is only useful for

certain things. In that way I was actually forced to take the matter in hand myself, and then I found that it must be managed differently. Moreover the entire current of affairs had changed, the other Powers being about to adopt a different policy, or having already done so: Austria and Russia had suddenly taken the plunge by providing that in future the Customs dues must be paid in gold, while France, in spite of the payment of the milliards to us, was continuing to prosper, but not under a free-trade system. Then the Americans, who, by an increase of the tariff, had been enabled to drive others out of the market! Only two countries were constantly losing ground: Rich, burly, full-blooded England, with its old industry favoured in so many different ways; and poor, weakly Germany, which was still engaged in making a beginning—the latter being the worse off of the two. It was therefore necessary to follow suit, and speedily."

I said that the Opposition did not appear to feel any confidence in their cause. A National Liberal member of Parliament, Römer of Hildesheim, had agreed with me when I told him the day before that the Prince would certainly be victorious, and had added: "Why, in his speech he threatened us with a dissolution, and if that were to take place many of us would not come back after the elections." The Chief replied: "I have not exactly done that, but it may come to it. If only the manufacturers would not isolate themselves, split up into fractions, and cut themselves off from the agricultural classes! They would like to negotiate respecting individual items, the iron tariff, and so forth,—every one for himself. But that will not work. They must hold together. If you can remember that as well as you did the bitter remarks at Versailles I shall be very pleased."

I suggested that it might perhaps be well for me to get some materials for articles out of the documents that had already been drawn up on the question in order to prepare the public mind. He replied: "Yes, but these are not yet ready. There is great procrastination. I do not mean that the officials are badly disposed, but they do not make any progress, and the Commission is waiting for the necessary data. I have taken this load upon my shoulders in addition to the others, and should like to do it all myself. And then one has all sorts of vexation and worry, which

does not tend to improve the health, any more than the enormous quantities of work I have been doing recently. I have been busier at Friedrichsruh than in Berlin."

I asked how his health in general now was. "Not what it should be," he replied. "I am weak in the legs, and cannot stand for any length of time. Leyden said to me: 'If this weakness in the legs is to be remedied, the head must do no work for three months.' I ought to have resigned, and I had intended doing so two years ago. But what is a man to do when he cannot resist tears? Still I should have gone; but the National Liberals began their attacks, and I was obliged to remain. And then there was the outrage in addition: the old man with his bandaged arm lying there, and hardly able to say, 'Yes' at the Council respecting the Regency—I thought to myself that it would be a sin against God if I left him. And then the National Liberals were no politicians in the autumn of 1877. Bamberger has recently declared, in an elegiac tone, that they were justified in expecting consideration, or even gratitude, from me. As if they had co-operated with me for sentimental reasons, and not because of their Nationalist principles! I am represented as having disowned them, while it was they who turned from me because I could not be as liberal as they were. If their leaders had been real politicians, they might have secured a great deal from me then, and more still in the course of time. But the maintenance of the party was of greater importance to them than the prospect of practical benefit. When Bennigsen returned from Varzin they said: 'He cannot work *with* this Minister, but *after* him.' It would be well if the fifteen or eighteen members of the party, who by rights belong to the Progressists, were to withdraw—but they remain. And now I am attacked by their newspapers, the *Kölnische*, the *National Zeitung*, the *Hannoverscher Courier*, quite in the style of the Progressist press. I am opposed in the Reichstag on all questions—obviously to prove that I require the support of these gentlemen—in connection with the tobacco monopoly, the tobacco tax as I intended it, and the Anti-Socialist laws."

I remarked that doubtless this was also, to some extent, due to their juridical turn of mind and their idea of a legal state, which, in reality, would be nothing but a state of lawyers and County Court judges, where they would rule and arrange everything accord-

ing to their own theories—a state which would have no more claim to exist than a theologians' or traders' state.

"Yes," he replied, "that is true; but the chief cause is their enmity to me. And how ungrateful they were to the King about the Anti-Socialist laws! The old man who had boldly risked his crown for Prussia and Germany in 1866 and 1870 struck down by the hand of an assassin—and even in 1864, when a coalition of the Powers on behalf of Denmark (Schleswig-Holstein affair) was by no means impossible, they did not wish to protect him because I proposed it."

The conversation then turned on the condition of the Emperor. The Prince observed: "He has lost in energy and intellectual power, and has thus become more open to improper influences."

I inquired about the Successor, and how the Chancellor now stood with him.

"Well," he said, "quite well. He is more human, so to speak, more upright and modest—his character resembling that of his grandfather and of Frederick William I. He does not say: 'I have won the battle, I have conducted the campaign,' but, 'I know that I am not capable of doing it; the Chief of my General Staff has done it, and he therefore deserves his rewards.' The Most Gracious thinks quite differently. He also cannot tell exactly an untruth, but he will have it that he has done everything himself; he likes to be in the foreground; he loves posing and the appearance of authority. The Crown Princess also is unaffected and sincere, which her mother-in-law is not. It is only family considerations that make her troublesome, formerly more than at present."

"The uncle in Hanover?" I suggested.

"No, not so much as the Coburger and the Augustenburger; but she is honourable, and has no great pretensions."

On leaving I said: "If your Serene Highness should want me at any time, and should require anything in which I could be useful, I would beg to be remembered."

He replied: "Well, what I said to you just now about the Free-traders, the National Liberals and Delbrück was intended in that way. Make it public, and I should be glad if you would send me a copy."

I accordingly wrote an article "On the Genesis of the Imperial Chancellor's Customs Reform," which was intended to

appear in No. 10 of the *Grenzboten*, and sent him a proof for revision on the 28th. It was returned to me in three hours. The Chief had struck out nothing except the following. After the words, "when Delbrück retired at this time, owing to the condition of his health," he crossed out the passage: "and none of his fellow-workers in the department of political economy was capable of replacing him;" as also the word "absolutely" in the phrase: "The Chancellor was absolutely compelled to prepare himself by a thorough study of the facts to take the matter into his own hands." It would therefore appear that I had actually retained what he had communicated to me, nearly as well as the bitter remarks he had let fall at Versailles.

In the meantime I had a further interview with the Chief on the 27th of February.

"You recently told me," he began, "that when I had anything to say you could get it into the *Grenzboten*." I replied: "Certainly, Serene Highness; it shall be done without delay."

"Well, then, I would beg of you to write something on the policy which Gortschakoff is promoting in the Russian press, and particularly in the *Golos*, and to draw a comparison between what we have done for the Russians and what they have done for us. It must, however, be written with tact, in a diplomatic way."

"I will try to do so," I replied. "I am acquainted with the articles in the *Golos* through the German *Petersburger Zeitung*. It shall be done at once, as was the article on the subject of our last conversation. With your permission, I will send you a proof of it to-morrow, in case you should wish to add or strike out anything."

"Please do so," he said. "And now as to Gortschakoff. You know how the *Golos* incessantly attacks our policy and me personally, asserts that we were ungrateful at the Berlin Congress, and recommends joint action with France. That is the work of Gortschakoff and Jomini, and this fact must be got into our press. Gortschakoff must be shown what we have owed or have not owed to Russia during the past fifty or sixty years, and what we have done for her in this period. Russia helped us in 1813, but in her own interest. In 1815, the Russian's policy was in a general way a good one, but at the same time it injured us by frustrating any organisation of Germany which might not have fitted in with the Emperor Alexander's plans for rearranging the

world ; our demand for compensation also received but very lukewarm support from the Russians. Finally, their gains were greater than ours, although we had risked and achieved more, and made greater sacrifices than they had done. You know that in 1828 we did them good service during the Turkish war, by Muffling's mission, for example, which helped them out of a great embarrassment. In 1830, they wanted to attack us in co-operation with France, for whom we were anxious to secure the left bank of the Rhine. The execution of this plan was only prevented by the outbreak of the July Revolution. Shortly before the February Revolution a similar plan was being developed. In 1847 we suppressed the rising in Posen in the interest of Russia. During the first war with Denmark they ran counter to us. Of course, you know what took place at Warsaw, in 1850, when the Union was under consideration. We have in great part to thank the Emperor Nicholas for our pilgrimage to Olmütz. During the Crimean war in 1854, we, who had been badly treated shortly before, remained neutral, while Austria, who had been well treated, joined the Western Powers ; and in 1863, when the insurrection broke out in Poland, and was supported by Austria and the Western Powers in their Notes, we took the part of Russia, and the diplomatic intervention failed.—It should only be a short balance sheet, giving the debit and credit sides—you will have to read the subject up.—In 1866 and 1870 Russia did not attack us—on the contrary. But that, after all, was in Russia's interest too. In 1866, Prussia was an instrument for venting the anger of Russia upon Austria ; and in 1870 also it was only sound policy on her part to side with us, as it was undesirable for the Russians that Austria should join against us, and that a victorious Franco-Austrian force should approach the frontiers of Poland, it being a traditional policy in Paris to support Poland at the expense of Russia, a policy which was also followed in Vienna, at least of recent years. And then, if we had reason to be thankful to them, we returned the compliment in London in 1870. We secured for them the freedom of the Black Sea. But for us they would not have obtained it from England and France."

After a short pause he continued, while I, with one of his big pencils, noted down what he said : " Gortschakoff is not carrying on a Russian policy, which takes us into account as friends, but

a personal policy. He always wants to cut a figure, and to be praised by the foreign press, and in particular by the Parisian newspapers. He sympathises with France, which cannot be said of the Emperor. He would like to posture as the friend and supporter of that country. The Dreikaiserbund only satisfied him for a short time. As far back as 1874 the threads of the Gortschakoff-Jomini policy are to be found in the foreign press—oglings and advances towards an intimacy between Russia and France of 'la revanche.' The rejection of these addresses is due rather to France than to Russia. This policy does not appear to have originated with the Emperor Alexander. It culminated in the period 1875-77, when the rumour was circulated that Gortschakoff had saved France from us, and when he began one of his circular despatches with the words: 'Maintenant la paix est assurée.' You remember Blowitz's report in *The Times*. Read it again, and mention the matter. His account was correct, except where he spoke of an anti-French military party in Prussia. No such party existed. The same policy, which must be distinguished from that of the Emperor, is now being carried on in the *Golos*, which was formerly Gortschakoff's official organ. Whether, in spite of all signs of disfavour this is not still the case, and whether Jomini does not still inspire it, is doubtful. At any rate it is Gortschakoff's policy which it represents. People are now talking of his retirement, and that Lobanoff, the Ambassador at Constantinople, is selected to be his successor. Those who are well informed, however, do not believe this, nor do they think he will retire from office as long as he lives. He is old, feeble, and decrepit; yet, notwithstanding his failing powers, the anti-German publications are placed to his credit—and not without reason. They also account in part for his popularity in Russia—and his vanity has not decreased. After 1874 it seemed as if his thirst for fame would give him no peace. At the time of the Reichstadt Convention he is understood to have said: 'Je ne veux pas filer comme une lampe qui s'éteint; il faut que je me couche comme un astre.' You might bring in, at the same time, that he has really been stupid as a politician. He has only acted for himself during the last four years—that was in the preparations for the Turkish war, and no one can say that he displayed any particular skill in bringing it about. The relations with Austria—or, indeed, even with

Rumania—were not skilfully managed. What did he do during the six months which he spent at Bukharest? The old fop was more occupied with the fair sex than with business. The relations with Austria and Germany were also not properly cleared up, although it ought to have been his chief task to assure himself definitely of the position of Austria towards the aims of Russia." In the further course of conversation, Schuvaloff's name came up, and I said he was regarded by many persons as Gortschakoff's successor. The Chancellor replied: "Schuvaloff is a clever man, but he has no chance. There is too much Court intrigue against him, and the Emperor Alexander will not have about him a man of real weight. Otherwise Schuvaloff would be excellent from the point of view of peace."

The interview had lasted over half an hour. I went to the Foreign Office, where Bucher enabled me to take a copy of the documents, and of Blowitz's article in *The Times*. Three days later the article desired by the Chief, to which I gave the title, "The Gortschakoff Policy," was ready. On the 6th of March I sent a proof of it to the Prince, and was pleased to find that he only struck out some seventeen lines from the nine pages of which it consisted. It then appeared in the *Grenzboten*, and extracts were reproduced in the entire European press. It gave rise to a particularly lively controversy in the English and Russian newspapers, and some of them discussed it in long leading articles as an event of the first magnitude; so that it may be assumed that the object the Chief had in view was satisfactorily attained.

After the first volume of the fifth edition of *Count Bismarck and his People* had been printed, Captain Derosne's French translation appeared in May, 1879. The translator made some additions to the passages respecting Madame Jesse, which began with the words:—"We are in a position to add to Dr. Busch's diary some particulars which were noted down at the time by Madame Jesse, who owned the house occupied by M. de Bismarck and his suite from the 6th of October, 1870, to the 5th of March, 1871." I showed these to the Prince, who, after reading them over, declared them to be mostly fables, and very poor fables. He observed, in conclusion:—

"And as to this clock: 'Je ne veux pas—je ne cède pas.' On the contrary, she let me know that if I would give her 5,000

francs in compensation for the damage done to her house and property, she would let me have the clock."

I now informed him that Derosne also proposed to translate *Letters to Malwine*, and that I had promised him an introduction and explanatory notes, in case he (the Chief) gave his permission. He said: "Yes, with pleasure." I replied: "I had hoped as much; as it is evident that, although the French do not love your Serene Highness, they take an interest in you, and, indeed, a deep interest. The translation, which was published on the 8th instant, was sold out in five or six days, although the edition consisted of 3,000 copies; and an advance collection of quotations from it (of which 10,000 copies are said to have been issued) is also understood to have been very speedily disposed of."

He then said: "But tell me what you think of the last debates in the Reichstag, and the position of the Customs Reform."

I replied: "Well, I think one may congratulate you on the commencement of victory in the matter. The manner in which you disposed of Delbrück in the debate on the corn tariff was simply delightful. Why, that was a refutation, point by point."

"Yes," he replied, smiling, "but we cannot yet say how things will go at the third reading. If it is not passed, I shall make a Cabinet question of it; and, as the King will not let me go, we shall dissolve. They, however, would seem inclined to procrastinate; and, in that case, I am not yet certain whether we ought to dissolve. Another year can, perhaps, do no harm, and the elections may in the meantime turn out better. The Ultramontanes, with whom it is altogether impossible to come to any permanent understanding, will hardly support the revenue taxes. Then we must have a dissolution, as we regard the reform as a whole, from which no part can be dis severed."

I asked if I might say that in the press. He said: "I think not. Emphasise in detail the position of the Eighty-eight (the Opposition) in their private and business capacities, to the iron tariff. How most of these gentlemen—lawyers, journalists, holders of funded property—are people who live upon fees, salaries, pensions, dividends; and, having no immediate connection with agriculture, are not personally affected, and have no experience, yet have most to say in the matter."

"Who neither sow, nor reap, nor spin, as you said to I. Asker,"

I observed, "and who are nevertheless fed and clad. Of course, you did not refer to them alone, but to the whole class."

"Certainly," he replied. "Write that, and hunt up the necessary personal information. That may prove useful as a means of clearing up the situation for the elections. It must be shown that the majority of our legislators are the people who have nothing to do with practical affairs, and have no eye, no ear, no sympathy for the interests which the Government, in this case, defends. Learned men, particularly the leaders and principal speakers. Men of theory, who have no proper feeling for realities, and who have acquired their knowledge, not from experience, but from books, must no longer have the sole power and chief influence in the Legislature."

He then made a move, as though the interview were at an end. I rose, and he gave me his hand, and then asked: "How are things in general going with you? You look rather poorly!"

I replied: "Much obliged to your Serene Highness, but, thank God, I have nothing to complain of. There is only one thing I want, viz., that you should make more use of my willingness to serve you. The article on Gortschakoff, for example, did its work in the press fairly well." "I know that," he said, "but I have so much to do just now. Even as it is I want five or six more hours in the day to get through my work." "And how is your Serene Highness's health?" "Not good. It was better, but the overwork and worry! I must shortly get out of harness again."

It was not until the 6th of October that I again saw the Prince. He was in plain clothes and in evident good humour. On reaching me his hand he said: "Well, doctor, how are you? How are the patients getting on?"

I: "The patients? Whom do you mean, Serene Highness?"

He: "Why, the newspapers."

I: "They are as ill as ever, or I should rather say, as stupid."

He: "Well, just at present we could also find use for a doctor in the Foreign Office. Things are getting very dull there. Bulow is seriously ill, and is hardly likely to recover. I shall not see him again after his holiday. And Gastein has not done me any good either. I was obliged to work too much there, and yet to no purpose. I felt very well at Kissingen, but now—my health was better when I left Berlin on the closing of the Reichstag than it is at present. It was just the same as long ago

as 1877. I then took a longer holiday than usual, but business followed me like my shadow. Radowitz is also not well. He, too, complains, and requires some rest. There is now some talk of looking for assistance to one of our Ministers abroad, Alvensleben and Stirum being mentioned, as well as Schlözer, who is in favour with the Crown Prince. With us the trade of a Minister is exhausting, and they sometimes even die of it, as Brandenburg did after the Warsaw-Olmütz events. A vast amount of nerve power is used up, particularly in the Foreign Office among the elderly gentlemen. Fresh friction continually arises. It was the same in former times, when three Ministers went out of their minds. He (the King) has been wearing out others besides, for instance, Falk, who retired solely on account of exhaustion and worry. He (Falk) has no reason to complain of me, I took his part in all questions. The King was always against him whenever he wanted to carry something through. I advised him not to take it so much to heart. When the Most Gracious, who is entirely under the influence of the Queen and the Court Chaplains, sent him an order which he had to execute, he should have pointed out that it must have his counter-signature if the King wanted to keep up constitutional appearances, but that his own convictions made it impossible for him to sign it, and he should then have waited to see what would happen. But he is too easily offended, and so he tendered his resignation—really on account of a mere trifle, because a Herr von Hagen (so I understood him to say), an utterly insignificant creature, a blockhead, a coarse, stupid Junker, who had collected signatures to an address against him, had been elected on to the Managing Committee of the General Synod. But the real reason was exhaustion, and vexation at not being able to make any headway with the King. It was somewhat different in Friedenthal's case. He was an intriguer whom I was glad to see the last of. They would have been pleased to retain him—at Court, where his wife was very thick with the Empress, and the Emperor interfered very little in his affairs. Hobrecht's case was again different. He retired, doubtless because he himself recognised his inefficiency. He was not at all equal to his position, and was, besides, of too weak a character to deal with the numerous obstructive forces in his Ministry. With us, however, the Foreign Ministry is the worst of all. There the friction never ceases.

My nature is such that I have been able to stand it for seventeen years ; but Bülow, who conducted affairs during my absence, and who, when he thought he was through with something, constantly met with fresh hindrances and senseless and obstinate objections—he is suffering from spinal disease, and will die of it."

He paused for a moment, and then continued : " That comes chiefly of the Emperor's infatuation for Russia. I am also Russian in my sympathies, but not blindly, like the Emperor, who, with the exception of his brother, Prince Charles, and of Princess Alexandrine—is quite alone in this respect at Court. He sees and hears nothing, and no argument or evidence makes any impression upon him. He went to Alexandrowo in spite of the fact that I repeatedly protested in the most positive way against his doing so. They are making immense preparations in Russia, have increased their forces by 400,000 men, as much as the peace footing of the German Army. They can now put twenty-four new divisions into the field, that is, twelve army corps. And a mass of cavalry is stationed near the western frontier which could pour in upon us in three days. The reports are reliable, and the Emperor is acquainted with the facts, but will not credit them. At Alexandrowo they turned his head with sentimental talk and reminiscences of Queen Louise, so that he does not recognise the danger, and nothing can be done with him. And yet it is so evident. Against whom are those armaments directed? They say in St. Petersburg that Constantinople must be conquered through Berlin. Others say that the road lies through Vienna, but that Vienna must be reached through Berlin. We must therefore seek support, and the direction in which it is to be found is indicated. The sensible portion of the 42,000,000 Germans would prefer to have a good understanding with both Russia and Austria. But if one is obliged to choose between them, then everything points to Austria, national reasons and others. In that country there are some nine or ten millions of Germans, and the Hungarians are also decidedly upon our side ; indeed, even the Czechs (with the exception of a dozen or so of irreconcilables, who are of no account) are at least disinclined to become Russians. But let us suppose that Austria were a purely Slav country. Russia is strong enough alone, and we cannot be of much assistance to her. Austria is the weaker of the two, although at the same time a valuable ally, and we can be of great

assistance to her. She can also strengthen us in our policy of peace. When we are united, with our two million soldiers back to back, they, with their Nihilism, will doubtless think twice before they disturb the peace. The idea of such an alliance has been very favourably received by the German Princes ; and they are in thorough agreement with it in England also. France, too, is at present obviously in favour of the maintenance of peace, but for how long ? The Crown Prince is quite of my opinion ; it was a matter of course, he said, that we should unite with Austria. It is only the Emperor—he has recovered physically from the great loss of blood in the last attempt upon his life, but his mental powers have been weakened.”

I remarked that the old gentleman's age, his eighty-two years, must doubtless also have some effect. Water on the brain was apt to set in at that age.

“That too,” he added, “and consequently he does not understand what is said to him, even when it is very simple, and will not adopt any measures that are proposed to him. He and his brother and Princess Alexandrine are the Russian Rütli. You must not say anything about this in the press—at least, not as yet ; nor of the intention to bring about an alliance for the maintenance of peace either, as that is still in course of development. But you may speak of the condition of affairs in the Foreign Office, how one's ideas and decisions are affected by consideration for the political requirements of the Empire, by responsibility to the Reichstag, and by the views of the Sovereign ; and that the friction thus arising wears some Ministers to death, and invariably injures their health. Refer to Brandenburg as an instance which the present situation recalls. Bülow has been destroyed in that way. It is our Most Gracious who has done for him. The doctors say that the pain in the hip indicates a dangerous spinal disease. He is to be brought in now from Potsdam to Berlin, but I shall go out with my wife to see him. If he goes to Italy, who knows if we shall meet again ? I must not stay longer than a quarter of an hour with him, as the excitement would be too much for him. I am extremely sorry to lose him.”

I said : “I have heard him described as a particularly capable worker.”

“Yes,” he replied, “and adroit, sensible, and loyal ; not like

Thile, who was the Empress's messenger, and whom she kept here for a long time after I had made up my mind to get rid of him, owing to his incapacity. I learned to know and esteem him at Frankfurt (he was now referring again to Bülow), whilst he still held the post of Danish Envoy to the Germanic Diet. And when he had become Minister for Mecklenburg he also showed great ability in the Federal Council, so that I was determined to have him."

He then recurred to the alliance with Austria, repeating in other words what he had said to me, *inter alia*. With the exception of the Emperor and the two other personages, almost the only people in Germany who were still in favour of Russia were the East Prussian corn-dealers. In reply to an inquiry as to the attitude of the Emperor Francis Joseph, he said: "Very fair and reasonable. He came specially on my account to Vienna from his shooting-box, adopted all my ideas, and was prepared to do everything I proposed in the interest of peace." He observed, in conclusion, that he was leaving for Varzin in a few days. "Friedrichsruh is too near," he explained, "and I shall not take any official with me."

This interview resulted in an article, "Fresh Friction," in the *Grenzboten*, which was also discussed and commented upon at length in the home and foreign press.

I did not see the Chief again that year. The Prince returned from his holiday late in the winter, and it was only on the 9th of March, 1880, that I received an invitation from the Imperial Chancellerie to pay him a visit.

The Chancellor wore a dark grey coat with a military stock. On my making my bow, he reached me his hand across the table, and said: "I really have not much to say to you to-day, but I was anxious to see you again. My health is still indifferent. It is true I have nothing in particular to complain of, and sleep well enough—nine hours last night—and eat with appetite, but I tire immediately. I must not walk or stand for any length of time, as it brings on neuralgic pains. That comes from the overwork of last year, and from the violent excitement. You know that that does not at all agree with the Gastein waters—it may even prove dangerous.

"At that time I was extremely anxious on account of Russia, and feared an alliance between her and Austria, which the French

would also have joined. Latterly the Russians had written us brutal letters, threatening us in case we did not support them in the Eastern question, and I thought they could never act in that way, unless they had in Austria a good friend, who might become an ally. They had also endeavoured to bring about an alliance in Paris, through Obrutscheff. He is the adjutant and confidant of Miljutin, the Minister of War. But the French did not want it, and informed us through our Ambassador and others—just as a virtuous woman tells her husband when somebody makes improper overtures to her. That worried me a great deal. I had always desired to come to an understanding with Austria. As far back as 1852 I had an idea of the kind. It was—while the German Confederation still existed—that Austria should not want to have the sole authority in Germany, nor always hamper and coerce Prussia; she should grant Prussia a position in the Bund, which would allow her to use her whole strength in repelling the threatened attacks and pretensions of neighbouring Powers. They would not hear of this in Vienna, however; thought it was unnecessary. They held that Prussia had most to fear from such pretensions, and required Austria's good will and assistance more than Austria required hers. We had, therefore, to submit to being treated as an inferior, and indeed treated abominably. You know the Schwarzenberg policy, which was continued up to the Congress of Princes. They refused to share, and insisted upon having everything for themselves. We were therefore obliged, for our own self-preservation, to give them a practical proof that they were mistaken in thinking we must always lean upon them, and therefore give way to them, being unable to do anything for ourselves. So we took the opportunity in 1866, pitched them out of doors, and came to an understanding with the others—on fair terms. I then again thought of a reconciliation with them, for instance in 1870; but it was impossible to do anything with Beust, and so the preparatory steps came to nothing. Andrassy seemed better disposed. It was necessary, however, to put my old idea into a new shape, in consequence of the altered situation. *I wanted an open constitutional alliance against a coalition*, indissoluble, *i.e.* only to be dissolved on our side by the Emperor, the Federal Council, and the Reichstag, and on theirs by the Emperor and Trans- and Cis-Leithania. Then came the Turkish War, the Berlin Congress, and the execution of what had been

there agreed upon. In St. Petersburg they expected us to look after their interests unconditionally, and to support all their demands. We could not do that, however, as some of them were unfair and dangerous. They began with imperious and arrogant warnings, and finally proceeded to threats. I could only explain that by the supposition either that an understanding had already been arrived at between Vienna and St. Petersburg, or was being negotiated. Andrassy's Russian journey and various other circumstances seemed to confirm these apprehensions, and so last summer I was in a state of great anxiety. France would doubtless have soon joined the other two. In these circumstances, it was questionable whether England would have stood by Germany, as that country can never be easily induced to take sides with a Power which does not seem to have the upper hand. It was, therefore, with a heavy heart that I went from Kissengen to Gastein, and when Andrassy came I was very curious to hear what he would say. I then ascertained, however, that nothing of the kind existed. No understanding had been come to with Russia. I then brought forward my idea, which he immediately accepted, that is to say, he was in favour of the alliance, but not of a constitutional one. He would not hear of that, nor of publicity; and, indeed, in the end, it was as well not, as their Reichstag would have picked holes in it from their ignorance, and wanted this or that to be altered. Their Parliament is even worse than our own."

"Yes," I said; "the Constitutional party there are still more pettifogging than our Parliamentarians."

"You are quite right," he added. "With that exception Andrassy quite agreed with me, and the Emperor in Vienna was perhaps even more strongly in favour of the alliance. But our Emperor was not. He raised really brutal objections, and wished to sacrifice the welfare of the Fatherland upon the high altar of his Russian friendship, although the Russians had been as perfidious and insolent as it was possible for them to be—also towards Austria, so that the unquestionably russophil Archduke Albrecht afterwards said to Andrassy: 'I rejoice now in the alliance with Germany, as the Russians are the most untrustworthy intriguers.' At that time I may have written I should say a thousand pages, working day and night, using all sorts of arguments, and begging and praying, but without the slightest result. And yet there was

no time to lose. Andrassy wished to retire. He, like myself, was tired, and he could afford to rest and be lazy. He had already provided himself with a successor, but considered it an honour to conclude the treaty himself. Nor could I remain for ever in Vienna. Yet if it were not now concluded with Andrassy, I felt the treaty would come to nothing, as the others had no heart in it. Moreover, the Russians might after all be able to come to terms with them against us. But the Most Gracious did not understand this. Even in Berlin he continued to hang back. At length he appeared to yield. I begged for leave of absence, and it was granted in a particularly official tone. Hardly had I turned my back when he issued a variety of contradictory orders, and I was obliged to send Stolberg to him in order to bring him round again. Stolberg behaved very well, and was not at all servile. And so the thing was at length done, and I believe it will last. The Austrians cannot help themselves now, and taken altogether the Emperor Francis Joseph is honourable and trustworthy."

"So he—I mean our Emperor—did finally sign it?" I remarked. "Until now I thought, in spite of what the press said, that he had not done so."

"Yes, he *has* signed it," he replied.

"And it is a formal treaty, no mere protocol, as was stated?" I further inquired.

He smiled as he answered in low German: "Dat kann ik Se nich seggen." (I cannot tell you that.)

"Well, I observed that your Serene Highness referred to it several times as the 'treaty.'"

"Yes," he replied, "but that must not be written. You must not let that be known. It would be all the same to me. I even wanted a public treaty."

He was silent for a few seconds, and then spoke about the weather. "A very fine day. But I cannot go out, although I should like to; I am afraid of catching cold. And yet I ought to show myself in the Reichstag for once, and honour them with my presence. I have no mind to it. I do not love their students' club ways. For them the Party is always the first consideration, and everything hinges upon that. It is the case with the Conservatives as well as the Liberals. Instead of working with the National Liberals, where it is obvious that the leaders of the Left

Wing no longer exercise their former influence, instead of at least approaching them, the Conservatives prefer to go with the Ultramontane Centre. And yet there is no trusting the latter. I, too, desire peace, but they are not to be gained over by any concessions whatever, so long as a Protestant Imperial House rules here. Bennigsen manages his people very well. It is true that nothing can be done with Rickert and the little Jew, Lasker. All the same he acted sensibly with regard to Stosch. And Hänel, too, who is otherwise accustomed to look up to the Court (the Crown Prince). He ought to have been treated quite differently—I mean Stosch, a vain, incapable fellow. But they are a servile lot. It is true that the Free Conservative section is the party of the distinguished and the wealthy, and it was their duty and that of the other Conservatives to oppose anything that was really unwise or bad, otherwise they would have forfeited their position. But they are all servile, Court Conservatives in secret, and Court Liberals in public. They spare him because they believe he is in favour with the successor, which is really not the case, however."

I observed that the same sort of thing happened in England, where they all kneel and crawl on their stomachs before the Queen, and even look up with devotion to the Prince of Wales.

He replied: "Perhaps, but it is harmless there. She has little to say in matters of State, and cannot modify the policy of the Ministry of the day. In that particular they do not hold with the Court, and do not, as here, spare incapables because they are in favour there. And he is not even liked by the future Master. He is only retained because he is a Freemason of high degree. I have had that experience also with others who were incompetent, but held high Masonic rank. He concluded that mischievous military agreement with Saxony. I knew nothing whatever about it until the Saxons appealed to its provisions, and it was then too late. He did us harm also in France in 1871, when we were negotiating respecting compensation for the troops that remained behind, making us lose at least sixty millions. I do not want to bring any charge against him, but one cannot help wondering what he got from the Saxons and from Thiers. And our fleet, which has cost us such a fearful amount of money, is quite worthless, because the right man has never been put at the head of it. I thought it ought to be at least equal to the Russian fleet, but it is not—the Russian is better. He is a servile creature, and deceived the

Emperor at the review. The sailors had to show themselves smart well-drilled infantry men ; and so the Emperor, who is himself a foot soldier, thought everything was all right. But they pass it over in the Reichstag because they do not wish to offend the Court, and want orders and titles. It is just the same with our press. Pindter, for example (the editor of the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*), begged to be invested with a higher official title. Well, he can have it. Those sort of people place their paper at the disposal of the Government whenever it is wanted. But I should prefer to be plain Herr Pindter, rather than Commissionsrath Pindter."

The Chief then, after referring to Hohenlohe, "who also does not wish to injure himself with the upper circles," came to talk of the appointment of the Secretary of State in the Foreign Office. There were great difficulties in the way of this appointment, he said, as the pecuniary position of those in view was such that they could not take the post.

I asked : "Was Hatzfeldt really thought of in this connection?" "Yes, but he cannot take it. He is in financial difficulties. He can manage to get on as Minister in Constantinople, but not here. He would have been capable enough. Hohenlohe cannot do so either. He has a great château at Schillingsfuerst which costs him a great deal and brings him in nothing. Radowitz, who is even more capable than Hatzfeldt, is no better off in money matters. Moreover he has a Russian wife and six children, which is also not quite the thing. Solms, in Madrid, is too servile,—he would do everything that the Most Gracious desired."

I : "How about Werther, in Munich, who used to write those brilliant despatches with so little in them?"

He : "He, too, has not enough money."

I : "He is understood to have a large estate in Thuringia, Beichlingen, near Eckartsberg."

He : "First of all that is not the place ; then it is an entailed estate, and his father has impressed upon him to live economically and extend the property."

I : "In that case I do not know any other who would be suitable."

He : "Keudell, in Rome, might be nominated."

I : "He has a rich wife, but has he the ability?"

He: "Your question shows that you have formed a more accurate opinion of him than others have done. He has a reputation for ability because he knows how to hold his tongue, and people fancy that his silence covers ideas and knowledge. I thought so too, but have convinced myself that he has neither. Moreover, he is too hasty in judgment, sanguine, and thoughtless. Finally, he would be unfair to his subordinates, which would also be the case with Radowitz, who, it is true, is not a German. Both are vain, and want admiration and obsequiousness. Whoever is not prepared for that sort of thing will find himself overlooked and treated with disfavour."

I asked: "How is it now with the Empress, Serene Highness? Does she still cause you difficulties?"

He: "Exactly the same as ever. She is still intriguing with the Ultramontanes, and I know that the coarse and brutal notes which I have received are due to her."

He paused for a moment and then said: "Now if you have anything further to say to me or to ask——"

I stood up, thanked him for giving me the pleasure of seeing him once more, and took my leave.

I took the first part of this interview as the subject of an article which appeared in the *Grenzboten* under the heading "The History of the German-Austrian Alliance." This caused as great a sensation in the German and foreign press as the previous articles on Gortschakoff's policy and the Fresh Friction.

The Chief sent for me again on the 20th of March, and, after shaking hands as usual, he drew from an envelope the article on the Treaty with Austria, which I had sent him on the previous day, and asked: "Did you send me this?" I replied in the affirmative.

He: "H'm, I suppose, then, it is already printed?"

I: "Yes, already copied into the other papers and telegraphed to London."

He: "That's a pity. On the whole, the article is very good—you have a powerful memory—but there are some things in it which I should have liked to see modified. It is somewhat too highly seasoned—too blunt."

He then read aloud the passage in which it was stated that even towards the end the Emperor still manifested great reluct-

ance, and said : " That is true, but it is too strongly expressed." He then went on reading, and on coming to the part in which the trickery and mendacity of Russia were mentioned, he observed : " That is also true, but it ought to have been expressed with more diplomatic tact, now that they have struck a different chord. Of course, what we now want is peace, after we have buckled on our armour. And it would also have been better if both articles had not appeared in the same number. Then a great deal is mentioned which was not intended for the public, but only for your own private information. They will now mark these passages and send them to him—she (the Empress) or Prince Charles, who always tries to injure me, and who has always been very Russophil, like his sister, Alexandrine of Mecklenburg. He also knows why !"—and he made a gesture as if he were counting out money.

" Money, Serene Highness ? " I asked.

" Well, or—— Surely you know—the old rake ! "

I now said : " Might I ask what is the attitude of England towards the alliance ? "

He replied : " They are entirely engrossed in the elections. A great deal will depend upon the result. The Italians hope that Gladstone will be victorious. You have doubtless read their assurance that they wish to retain friendly relations with all the Powers, but reserve the right to act in accordance with their own interests ? They are like carrion crows on the battle-field that let others provide their food. They were prepared in 1870 to fall upon us with the others, if they were promised a piece of the Tyrol. At that time a Russian diplomat said : ' What ! they are asking for something again, although they have not yet lost a battle ! ' "

I said : " Of these it is only the Piedmontese who seem to be any good as soldiers. Always covetous and always weak. Look at Lissa, where their powerful fleet was shamefully beaten, and their admiral fled like a coward. If they would only seek to strengthen their position at home, where no Ministry lasts more than a few months, and where the people are crushed by taxation and debt ! "

" Yes," he replied, " that is the real *irredenta Italia*. They ought to take that in hand, instead of thinking of conquests. But one day they will find themselves in the same case as Spain

under Isabella, and the Papal States and the Kingdom of Naples will be once more restored. Russia and Italy are the only Powers opposed to peace. Russia who is not satisfied with her 400,000 square (German) miles of territory and wants further conquests. Well, I don't know of anything else to tell you."

I suggested: "I thought I might at the same time get instructions to write about the Pope."

"Yes," he said, "it might be pointed out that Leo's conciliatory attitude should not be over-estimated. Not only the *Germania*, but also the Progressist journals exaggerate it, but only for the sake of opposition, in order that they may be able to say, 'The Curia desires peace, but the Imperial Chancellor will not have it.' The present Pope is, it is true, more reasonable, and, perhaps, more moderate than his predecessor, but the utterances in his letter are after all capable of many interpretations, and on the whole are more academic than practical. Of what good is it for him to say: 'I believe I shall be able to consent to this or to that?'" He then quoted a Latin sentence, and continued: "And who will vouch for the accuracy of the interpretation which is now being placed upon it? Who will guarantee that his successor will think in the same way? The Church has been putting forward the same claims for a thousand years, and will continue to do so. One Pope may carry out the old policy in a more peaceful, or in a bolder and more imperious fashion than another, but at bottom the policy itself is always the same. The May laws remain, but if they show moderation in Rome we can administer them in a less rigorous way—a *modus vivendi*. There are many people, however, who desire to have peace at any price, and would even go to Canossa—to save themselves trouble. These include, for example, the Minister of the Interior and the Crown Prince. He wants above everything to have peace and a quiet life, and nothing to trouble him. He will not go into battle. It is just like the septennate with regard to the army. He wanted a permanent grant in order to avoid fresh struggles, as he thought his turn would come within the next few years, and he thinks so now, for the old gentleman can hardly live to be ninety."

"What your Serene Highness has just said about the Crown Prince," I remarked, "bears out the description of him which you gave me in 1870 during the drive from Beaumont to Vendresse—a

pleasant life without much thought or care, plenty of money, and praise from the newspapers."

"Yes, that is his character," he replied. "Like his grandfather Frederick William III., whom he resembles in other respects also. Of course you have read the *Memoirs of Caroline Bauer*?" "Yes," I replied. "And those of old Hofrath Schneider." "Ah, quite so; he also tells similar stories, but in his innocence does not know what injury they do him. The old King used to drive seven times a week from the Pfaueninsel or the palace at Potsdam to the theatre in Berlin, in order to see worthless commonplace pieces, and afterwards to go behind the scenes and chuck the actresses under the chin, and then drive back the long dusty road he came. That is also the Crown Prince's style—he wants to amuse himself, not to govern. It may turn out badly some day when I am too weak to do anything more, and we may lose ground again in many ways. It is true he wishes to keep me, but I shall go. In future, a Great Elector or a Frederick the Great, will not be required. A Frederick William I. would suffice, or even a Frederick William II., for he would not have been so bad had he not been rendered effeminate by the women."

I inquired about the Stosch article. "Oh!" he replied, "anything one likes may be said about him. That is a matter of indifference to me. He cannot come in my way. He speculates upon the Successor, and owing to his position among the Freemasons, he has managed to give some people the idea that he has a certain prestige with the Crown Prince. There are some others also who dined together recently and divided the duchies amongst themselves as at Wallenstein's banquet. How does that passage run? Ah, I can't remember." I quoted it. "Sie theilen dort am Tische Fürstenhüte aus. Des Eggenberg, Slawata, Lichtenstein, des Sternbergs Güter werden ausgeteilt. Wenn er hurtig macht, fällt auch für ihn was ab."

The Chief smiled and said: "Friedenthal was also one of them, a vain, intriguing fellow, whom I was glad to see go. Then Gneist—of whom I had rather a good opinion formerly, but who lacks character, and is a trimmer—Delbrück and Falk, and also Rickert. Falk has spoken about my relations with him in a way that cannot be reconciled with the truth. I have always taken his part, and acted as mediator between him and our Most

Gracious, causing myself thereby a great deal of worry. Hohenlohe is apparently to preside over this new Ministry, in order to secure it some prestige. He has been selected as their Chancellor."

"And," I said, "who has not already wished to be Chancellor? Even Münster, the Cloud-compeller!"

"Yes," he replied, "and others too, because it is such an easy task. That reminds me how the Elector of Hesse sent his own doctor to Bernburg to make inquiries as to the mental condition of the last Duke. He reported that he had found him worse than he had expected, quite imbecile. 'But, good Heavens! he cannot govern in that case!' exclaimed the Elector. 'Govern?' replied the doctor, 'Why, that will not prevent him.'"

He then spoke once more about his future retirement, and said: "How difficult it is to replace even Bülow! The gentlemen sit in their comfortable embassies and will not come here to undertake the heavy work. Hatzfeldt would do. He is intelligent and serviceable, but has no proper income, and might be tempted to associate himself with the financiers. It would be necessary to give him a grant. In that way the thing could be managed. Hohenlohe also is clever, but he allows others to use him for their own purposes. There is my eldest son, who has been working under my guidance for seven years, and who promises well—but that would not do, as he is only thirty."

With these words he rose and gave me his hand. As I was leaving he called after me: "Quite gently and diplomatically—I mean your writing." I had been with him over fifty minutes.

Towards the first week in April the newspapers began to talk of a Chancellor crisis. On the 11th I received a letter requesting me to visit the Chancellor on Monday at 4 o'clock. He was walking in the grounds attached to the Foreign Office, in plain clothes, carrying a big stick in his hand and accompanied by his two dogs. In a few minutes I was summoned to him in his study. "How are you, doctor?" he said. "Things have again been going badly with me during the last few days. I have been worrying over our officials—over the clownishness of Stephan—and others are just the same. The newspapers give a false account of the origin of the present crisis, and I would request you to rectify it. It has not turned solely or even chiefly on the

attitude of the non-Prussian Governments in the question of taxing receipt stamps on Post Office Orders and advances, but to fully as great an extent on the improper behaviour of our officials. You know I have repeatedly complained in public of Prussian Particularism in regard to the arrangements and requirements of the Empire. During my frequent long absences one arbitrary proceeding has followed another, so that a kind of Republic of the Polish type has grown up, in which each departmental chief insists not only upon having views of his own, but also upon putting them into execution. *Vortragende Räte* (Councillors who have the privilege of direct intercourse with their chief), whose views are not in agreement with those of the heads of their department, and even Ministers who differ from me in their opinions, endeavour to give practical effect to their ideas, and that too as if it were a matter of course. But it is nothing of the kind, and it is obvious that that cannot be permitted by the head of the Government of the Emperor and King."

He paused and seemed to expect that I would write down what he had said. Before I had come in he had placed a fold of blotting-paper, several sheets of foolscap, and two freshly-pointed pencils at the side of the writing table where I usually sat. I began by making a note of a few of the principal points, but I now wrote down everything he said literally, he speaking more slowly and in tolerably regular sentences. The following, therefore, after a few introductory words referring to what had been previously communicated, was published in the form of an article entitled "The Cause of the Chancellor Crisis," in the *Grenzboten* of the 15th of April. In this way the *Grenzboten* had the honour of having the German Imperial Chancellor as one of its contributors. He said or dictated:—

"So far as we know (I afterwards added: 'and we believe ourselves to be well-informed') there is absolutely nothing in the Chancellor crisis that tends towards any change in the Constitution. Nothing is farther from the Prince's mind. He considers the Federal Constitution fully sufficient if the rights which it accords to the individual States are exercised with moderation. Any irregularities or stoppages of the machinery have been due in part to the procedure of the Federal Council, and in part to the circumstance that many Governments have not attached sufficient value to the exercise of their right to vote. According to the practice hitherto followed,

too much importance has been given to the committees and too little to the general meetings. The former have discussed matters at great length, while on the other hand, the plenary sittings have been almost exclusively devoted to questions which had been so far settled by the committees that nothing remained to be done beyond taking the simple decision, Yes or No. It was, therefore, not possible for those Governments that had not been included in the committees in question, or had found themselves in a minority there, to secure consideration for their views at the plenary meeting, and to bring about a timely understanding, without causing great delay either by asking for fresh instructions or by referring the matter back to the Committee. The balance of parties is not the same in the committees and in the plenary Council. If the committees' majorities carry their resolutions into effect they deprive the unrepresented Governments of their due influence. If, on the other hand, the negotiations and discussions of these matters were transferred from the committees to the plenary meeting the views of all parties would receive timely consideration.

"We must here repeat what we said at the commencement" (this sentence was mine), "namely, that during the frequent absences of the Chancellor there has arisen among a section of the Prussian officials a condition which borders on absolute indiscipline; and, if it be true that the Prince has stated that he hardly ever succeeds in securing due regard for his legitimate authority without raising the Cabinet question, it is quite certain that a remedy is absolutely indispensable, unless the prestige of the Federal Council and of its chief is to suffer irreparable damage. The Federal Council cannot become a public meeting, at which each official of the Ministry may, without authority and at his own goodwill and pleasure, give expression to his personal opinions on every question, and endeavour to secure their adoption.

"If the Royal decree lays stress on the conflict of duties in which the Imperial Chancellor may be involved under the Constitution, that difficulty can scarcely be overcome by an alteration of the Constitution in a manner acceptable to all concerned, but rather by a statesmanlike and prudent exercise on the part of all concerned of the rights bestowed by the Constitution. This does not mean that the Chancellor would be justified in declining to co-operate in the execution of a decision taken by the Federal Council. But assuming that he

is bound to carry out such a decision and is therefore the immediate official representative of a decision for the consequences or the principle of which he may find himself unable to accept responsibility, it could hardly be contended any longer that he occupied a responsible position, but on the contrary that the post could be filled equally well by any subordinate official who would have simply to carry out the instructions given to him.

"It can scarcely contribute to strengthen the constitutional organisation of the Empire, to force the Imperial Chancellor, and with him the three largest Federal States, into a position in which they must appeal to the lawful privileges of the minority. For the Chancellor, on his own initiative, to refuse to carry out a formal decision of the Federal Council would be a course barely compatible with the consideration which he owes in his official capacity to the majority of the Federal Governments. A sense of official propriety would probably lead the Chancellor in such circumstances to avoid having to execute a resolution for which he could not accept the responsibility, by tendering his resignation, thereby announcing his readiness to co-operate in the selection of a successor whose convictions should not stand in the way of the Federal resolution. Anyhow, the best solution would be not to drive things to extremities. The prevention of such crises as the present will be facilitated if less importance is given to the discussions in Committee, and more to those in the plenary sittings; and if the custom which has recently arisen, for half and even more than half of the Federal Governments not to be individually represented at these plenary sittings, is abandoned. The practice of appointing proxies is based solely upon the rules of procedure, and not upon the terms of the Constitution. The matter would take a very different complexion if the decisive plenary sittings took place only during a relatively short period within the Parliamentary Session, instead of being spread over the greater part of the year, according to daily requirements, as has hitherto been the case."

He asked me to read over the last sentence he had dictated, and said: "That will be enough. Do you wish to know anything further?"

I: "What does your Serene Highness think of the result of the elections in England?"

He: "The matter is not one of importance for us. The Russians, however, expect a great deal from it. But the Liberals must in general follow the same lines as Beaconsfield. But even if the English were to come to an understanding with the Russians, and were to be joined by Italy, which has always been coquetting with the English Liberals, that would not lead to any great danger, and might turn out badly for the Italians. The closer England draws to Russia the more she drifts away from France. A combination would then arise in the East which would threaten French interests in that quarter, and particularly in the Mediterranean, where they are different from those of Russia and England. The same remark applies to England's relations with Italy. In certain circumstances the result might be an understanding between France and Austria and ourselves. As yet we cannot positively say what we should have to offer in return—certainly not Alsace-Lorraine, but perhaps something else. Italy, however, would fare badly in the matter, as in that case Austria and France could easily come to terms. Italy is like the woman in the fairy tale who had caught the golden fish—what was her name? Ilsebill—and could never catch enough. The fish may have to go back to their old places. Naples and the States of the Church may be restored."

I had been with him for about three-quarters of an hour, and what he had said to me respecting the English elections and a possible co-operation between England, Russia and Italy, was embodied in a *Grenzboten* article, entitled, "The New Ministry in England." This was commented upon in leading articles in London, Paris and Italy.

I now proceeded to Leipzig; but on Thursday, the 10th of May, received a telegram from home stating that the Chancellor wished to see me that evening at 9.30 P.M. I therefore returned to Berlin next morning, and was received at 9.5 A.M. by the Chief in his study, and had an interview with him which lasted an hour and a half.

He began: "You were on a holiday?"

"Yes, Serene Highness, I was in Leipzig for a few days, but had left word at home to telegraph if you sent for me, and so I am here."

He: "That was too much. I only wished to speak to you on some matters of principle. I would commend two subjects to

your consideration. First, the exceptionally outspoken and cordial pleasure which the Liberals manifest in their papers at the circumstance that in future I shall let internal questions alone, and restrict myself to foreign affairs. They argue that I know nothing about internal questions, and have accomplished nothing. On that point you might read up Hahn's book, in which you will find detailed particulars. Who, then, proposed the May laws, and persuaded Falk to agree to them in spite of innumerable judicial scruples, which he only surrendered after long hesitation? Now they extol them as a kind of Palladium, and so does he. But he showed by no means as much energy against the Clericals in his administrative capacity, as he does now in his Parliamentary speeches. And who carried through the scheme for the purchase of the railways by the State? Surely not their Camphausen, who, on the contrary, fought against it, and tried with all his might to create delay. And yet it has turned out well, even now, since Maybach is making money, and will cover the deficit for us. Moreover, the gentlemen who—as they assert—wish to strengthen the Empire by the development of the constitutional system, forget that I twice carried the military septennate, and thus avoided a dangerous conflict by acting as a mediator between the Crown, which wanted the military budget to be permanently fixed, in order to get rid of the differences once for all, and the Reichstag, which insisted upon its constitutional right of supply—avoided it twice, as the conflict which formerly threatened would now have broken out afresh. This time it was managed by an increase of the army, which the Crown accepted as an equivalent, and which the Liberals in the Reichstag consented to more readily than they would have done to a renunciation of their constitutional rights. You may then refer to the anti-Socialist laws which I proposed, and to which the Liberals raised all sorts of objections. But I may regard as my chief service the new Customs policy, which I forced through in spite of Delbrück, and in dealing with which, I was not only opposed by the free traders in the Reichstag, but also by the Governments that held free-trade views, and by their Councillors. As you know, in this case the initiative has been taken by me, and I have also done most of the work in curing this Delbrück disease."

I took the liberty of interrupting him with the remark: "This Bright's disease in the economic body of the nation."

"Yes," he replied, smiling, "that's what I mean—this Bright's disease! In the course of years we have become more and more pulled down by it—grown poorer and poorer—and it was time that something should be done in the matter. But for the five milliards of 1871 we should have been close upon bankruptcy a few years sooner. It is true people will not see that, but the nation knows it, for it feels the consequences. The representatives of the learned classes, the lawyers and the holders of invested property are not conscious of it. I have repeatedly received addresses from the lower classes, as, for instance, from Westphalian miners, congratulating and thanking me. But my opponents will have to open their minds still further, when I come to them with my war tariffs, which they will of course fight against, and first of all with the tariffs against Russia. Besides, I have been the only champion of the national interests against Hamburg Particularism in the free harbour question. In this matter the National Liberals, and especially the Left wing, are rather Liberal and Particularistic than National. Lasker, Bamberger, Wolfsohn, Rickert,—also a Jew, although baptised a Protestant—are in this matter no better than Sonnemann, the Socialists, the Poles and the Guelphs. They are only national when it comes to opposing the pretensions of a monarch, as for instance the King of Bavaria. But when, as in this case, it is the Particularism of a Social Democratic republic, where the Socialists have the upper hand at the elections—that is quite another thing. Then Particularism must be supported, and I must be opposed. That I have always taken a determined stand against these people is a point upon which I may well take credit to myself in connection with internal affairs."

He paused for a moment and then continued: "It is I and I alone who have taken up the struggle against the Centre party and its wire-pullers, and gone through with it in spite of all the intrigues of the Court. If a few paragraphs in the Ecclesiastical Bills should be thought to give evidence of yielding, that is a mere optical delusion. We make no terms with Rome, and will not go to Canossa, but we shall endeavour to restore peace independently between ourselves and our Prussian Catholics. It is better that Bishops should return accompanied by triumphal processions than with wailings and complaints. In that way they recognise that something has been conceded to them—a great deal if they like to put it so. But if they do not then

manage to get on with us, why, we have the discretionary powers in our hands and can remove them once more, or render them harmless in some other way. They do not, however, understand that at the Dönhofsplatz, nor do the Free Conservatives either. That is the reason why I do not go there, as I do not care to speak to deaf ears. It may yet come to my being obliged to retire without the King's permission. And then—a Bavarian painter, Lenbach, made a good remark recently: 'To deliver a good speech there, is like letting off fireworks before the blind.' Their policy is party policy. Bennigsen and Miquel called on me a few days ago and wanted to talk me into abandoning the Bill, but allowed themselves to be persuaded by my arguments. A meeting of the party was held the same evening, and there they returned to their former position. You must, however, say nothing about this in the press—as to our attitude towards the Bill and the parties, that is only for your private information. They must not think that we wish to influence them, and if you were to say anything on the subject it would be immediately regarded as a communiqué. Of course you are aware that Windthorst recently described you as the leading official mouthpiece. We shall first see what they make of the Bill. Perhaps that will suffice for us, perhaps not."

He again made a short pause, and afterwards continued: "And now as to the second subject which you might treat. I should like to have a sketch of the Centre party, showing that we should gain little from its dissolution or reorganisation. The Conservatives would not be largely reinforced thereby—that is through concessions on the part of the Government with regard to the ecclesiastical laws." He was silent for a moment, and then, turning from this train of thought, he said:

"You know how Russia would never willingly permit us to grow too strong as against France, lest the value of her own friendship and possible assistance should be reduced. Her notion is that we should remain dependent upon her, and under an obligation to render her equivalent services. It is just the same with the Liberals, including the Right wing. They think of themselves and of their party, first of all, and want the Government to regard them as a power whose good will has its price. They really look upon themselves as outsiders, and—so far as the Government is concerned—as an opposition which

must be won over by concessions, and whose support must be duly appreciated and paid for at the highest possible rate, and as promptly as may be. I must always be made to feel that they are indispensable, in order that I may be obliged to come to terms with them. For that reason the Government must not be too strong, must have no secure majority, and therefore in their hearts they are pleased at the existence of the Centre party. Its numerical strength suits their views, however little they may have in common with them as Ultramontanes. The Government should constantly feel its weakness in presence of this opposition of 95 or 100 members, and bear in mind the possibility of the Liberals refusing their support. They, the Liberals, must be reckoned and negotiated with, and their good will must be purchased. That is a party policy, and not one which keeps in view the welfare of the State."

He then returned to the Centre party, and explained to me that only about one-third of its members could be won over by concessions on the part of the Government to oppose the pretensions of the Curia and to reinforce the supporters of the Ministry. "These are the Bavarian nobles," he continued, "and the South German nobles in general, as well as those of Silesia. Not the Westphalians. The latter were never reconciled to Prussian rule, and have always opposed the Government, even before the Empire came into existence—even when the Pope himself seemed to be quite satisfied with Prussia—I mean Pius IX., who said that the Catholic Church was better off in Prussia than anywhere else. The Westphalian nobles are sulking like the Guelphs out of sheer Particularism. They cannot forget the old episcopal *régime* and the advantages,—the fleshpots of Egypt—which they lost when it disappeared. It is different again with another group of the Centre party, with the Rhenish members, for example. They are, in the first place, Liberal or Democratic Catholics, and only in a secondary sense Ultramontane, Catholic, Progressists, anti-Imperialists. Most of them would not have got in on their Liberal programme. They were returned to Parliament because they had promised to support the demands of the Bishops and the Pope. They, like the Particularists of the Centre, could not be won over by any concessions, however great, as they are really Progressists, or little less."

After I had made a few remarks in reply, we both rose, an

example which was followed by the Chief's dog. This animal at first seemed to entertain evil intentions respecting my coat or throat, but when his master ordered him to lie down, he crouched under the table and put his head between my knees. It is a savage animal, which has already severely bitten and torn the clothes of people well known in the house, such as Chancery attendants. In spite of the chastisement inflicted upon him with the heavy leather whip that lies on the table, he has not considered the error of his ways nor assumed politer manners. He appeared to take a liking to me, however, and I had also later on occasion to congratulate myself on his good will.

CHAPTER XVI

The Chief wishes to be represented in the *Daily Telegraph* as a Legitimist, though regret must be expressed for the fact—Legislation for the Working Classes—The Opposition to Social Reform—The Jews—The Defection of the Conservatives and National Liberals—"Professor" Gladstone—British Blunders—The Berliners in Parliament—The Tunisian Question—French Colonial Policy—The Chancellor upon the Jews once more.

I was in rather frequent intercourse with Bucher during the summer and autumn of 1880. On the 3rd of June he sent me the material for an article on the attitude of the Curia towards the Italian Government, which appeared in the *Grenzboten*, under the title "The Government and the Bishops in Italy." On the 28th of October he came to my lodgings and dictated to me—on the instructions which he had received by letter from the Chief—the following message for the *Daily Telegraph* :—

"A critical situation has arisen here. It is a question whether the Imperial Chancellor will remain in office or not. The affair is connected with the appointment of the Secretary of State in the Foreign Office. The difficulties appear to be of a personal and not of an official character. The leader of the opposition at Court is said to be General Count Goltz, brother of the former Ambassador in Paris, who appears to seek in another quarter the laurels which he failed to win upon the battlefield; while von Radowitz, who is now conducting the business of the Paris Embassy, is understood to be the candidate for the post of Secretary of State. It would be an extraordinary circumstance, which might have incalculable consequences, if the Chancellor, at the moment when he seems to possess exceptional authority in European affairs, were forced to retire from office through a Court intrigue. I should regard the news as highly improbable if the source of my information were

less trustworthy, and if it were not confirmed by what is known of the principal personages of the drama. Previous experience has shown that no other difficulties cause the Chancellor to display such a morbid sensibility as the favour manifested by the Court to certain intrigues, which are now directed against him personally. This feature in his character was also evident during the Kulturkampf, at the time of the trials for libel, and on his tendering his resignation in 1877. It is impossible not to recognise in this an element of weakness, due to the traditions of his early life and to his attitude towards the monarchy, an element which partakes of 'Carlism' (exaggerated loyalty), rather than of statesmanship. (Here the eyes of the two Augurs met, and exchanged a significant smile.) We regret being forced to acknowledge that his devotion to his Fatherland and his people is subordinated to the service of his King (the two Augurs grinned again); and that even at the present day the greatness of the task imposed upon him has not emancipated him from the pressure of Court and dynastic influences. Had he been a Hanoverian or Bavarian it is probable that owing to his attachment to the dynasty he would have remained an inveterate Particularist. We should greatly regret, not only on political grounds, but also in his own interest, to see him at this time of day stumble over obstacles which are trivial enough, though, we are sorry to say, he regards them as insurmountable."

That was obviously not written by Bucher. The latter, however, added that the old Emperor imagines he might personally intervene in the Eastern question, and has already despatched telegrams behind the Chief's back. We have now achieved some success at Constantinople, and the Prince wanted to recall Hatzfeldt, so that he might leave his post with credit on being transferred to the Foreign Office. Later on things would go wrong again, and the responsibility for that would fall chiefly upon Hatzfeldt as the *doyen* of the ambassadors. The Emperor, however, allowed himself to be persuaded by Goltz that everything would go on quite as satisfactorily as at present, and he therefore preferred to leave Hatzfeldt permanently at Constantinople. Bucher remarked that the term "Carlism" came from the Chief himself.

I wrote to the *Daily Telegraph* saying that the article came from the very best source, and, indeed, in great part literally—a circumstance which I begged them to keep secret. I asked them

to publish it as early as possible, and without any alteration or addition—including the apparent reflection upon the Prince, which was made for a special purpose.

The *Daily Telegraph* published the article on the 2nd of November, but by that time the crisis had already been solved in conformity with the Chief's wishes.

On the 18th of January, 1881, I wrote to the Chief reminding him of my readiness to place myself at his disposal in case he wished to have any matter of importance discussed in the German or English press, and two days later, I had an audience which lasted for an hour and a half. The Prince sat at his writing-table with his face towards the door, and looked particularly well and hearty. He said: "So you have come for material, but there is not much to give you. One thing occurs to me, however. I should be very thankful to you if you would discuss my working class insurance scheme in a friendly spirit. The Liberals do not show much disposition to take it up, and their newspapers attack my proposals. The Government should not interfere in such matters—*laissez aller*. The question must be raised, however, and the present proposal is only the beginning. I have more in view. I grant that there may be room for improvement in many respects, and that some portions of the scheme are perhaps unpractical and should therefore be dropped. But a beginning must be made with the task of reconciling the labouring classes with the State. Whoever has a pension assured to him for his old age is much more contented and easier to manage than the man who has no such prospect. Compare a servant in a private house and one attached to a Government office or to the Court; the latter, because he looks forward to a pension, will put up with a great deal more and show much more zeal than the former. In France all sensible members of the poorer classes, when they are in a position to lay by anything, make a provision for the future by investing in securities. Something of the kind should be arranged for our workers. People call this State Socialism, and having done so think they have disposed of the question. It may be State Socialism, but it is necessary. What then are the present provisions for municipal assistance to the poor? Municipal Socialism?"

He paused for a moment, and then continued: "Large sums of money would be required for carrying such schemes into execution,

at least a hundred million marks, or more probably two hundred. But I should not be frightened by even three hundred millions. Means must be provided to enable the State to act generously towards the poor. The contentment of the disinherited, of all those who have no possessions, is not too dearly purchased even at a very high figure. They must learn that the State benefits them also, that it not only demands, but also bestows. If the question is taken up by the State, which does not want to make any profit, or to secure dividends, the thing can be done."

He reflected again for a few seconds, and then said: "The tobacco monopoly might be applied in that way. The monopoly would thus permit of the creation of an entailed estate for the poor. You need not emphasise that point however. The monopoly is only a last resource, the highest trump. You might say it would be possible to relieve the poor of their anxiety for the future, and to provide them with a small inheritance by taxing luxuries, such as tobacco, beer, and brandy. The English, the Americans, and even the Russians have no monopoly, and yet they raise large sums through a heavy tax upon these articles of luxury. We, as the country which is most lightly taxed in this respect, can bear a considerable increase, and if the sums thus acquired are used for securing the future of our working population, uncertainty as to which is the chief cause of their hatred to the State, we thereby at the same time secure our own future, and that is a good investment for our money. We should thus avert a revolution, which might break out fifty or perhaps ten years hence, and which, even if it were only successful for a few months, would swallow up very much larger sums, both directly and indirectly, through disturbance of trade, than our preventive measures would cost. The Liberals recognise the reasonableness of the proposals—in their hearts; but they grudge the credit of them to the man who initiated them, and would like to take up the question themselves, and so win popularity. They will, perhaps, try to bury the scheme in Committee, as they have done other Bills. Something must, however, be done speedily, and possibly they may approve of the general lines of the scheme, as they are already thinking of the elections. The worst of the lot are the Progressists and the Free-traders—the one party wants to manage things its own way, and the other is opposed to all State control, and wishes to let everything take its own course."

"Yes," I said, "certainly ; the Free-traders, the Secessionists, and the Jews are the worst. Bamberger and Rickert."

"Yes, the Jews," he replied. "Bamberger has again told a mass of lies in his book—that I broke with the National Liberals and turned towards reaction. Yet while I have been Minister I have never belonged to any party, either Liberal or Conservative. My party consisted solely of the King and myself, and my only aims were the restoration and aggrandisement of the German Empire, and the defence of monarchical authority. That should also be emphasised and further developed on some occasion. The Conservatives, in so far as they were in favour of reaction, were always opposed to me, because I would not consent to it. You remember the attacks of the *Kreuzzeitung* at the time of the Inspection of Schools Bill, afterwards during the great libel cases."

"Diest-Daber and Co.," I said.

"There they completely renounced me, and attacked me in every possible way because I would not join them in their reactionary programme. It was just the same in 1877 with the National Liberals. When Bennigsen failed to form a Ministry because he put forward demands that I perhaps could have agreed to, but to which the King would not consent, they left me in the lurch, and their newspapers preached a crusade against me. In the same way they entirely misrepresented the publication of the Bülow letters, making all kinds of unfounded insinuations, as, for instance, that they were directed against Bitter, whom I had not in my mind at all."

Returning again to the Jewish members of Parliament, he exclaimed : "Yes, Bamberger, Lasker, and Rickert—self-seeking fellows !"

I remarked : "I suppose Lasker is now only working on the quiet, in their conventicles. He has discovered that he is no longer as important as he was. The great man has failed at three elections, on the first two occasions in large Jewish towns, Breslau and Frankfurt, and then at Magdeburg."

He replied : "Yes, but I draw a distinction between Jew and Jew. Those who have become rich are not dangerous. They will not put up barricades, and they pay their taxes punctually. It is the enterprising ones who have nothing, particularly those on the press. But after all, it is the Christians and not the Jews who are the worst."

I: "It is true that Rickert pretends he is not a Jew, but I should say that he is one all the same. The 'Parliamentary Almanack' describes him as an Evangelical."

He: "Look up some of the older years, and there you will find that they give no particulars of his place of birth or religion. I asked Bleichröder, who told me that — (I could not catch the name) was not a Jew, but that Rickert probably was."

I: "Anyhow, his style of argument is sufficiently Hebraic."

He (after a pause): "You have managed to give the *Grenzboten* such a character that it is regarded much as the Official Gazette. Hänel asserts in the *Kieler Zeitung* that it is out-and-out official, and that you only say what I think and wish."

I: "I have never boasted of it anywhere. It doubtless arises from the fact that some of your expressions and your style, which is different from that of others, are met with now and again in the articles. Nor is this at all welcome to me; for although I have influence upon them and can sometimes prevent the insertion of political articles that are submitted to me, articles do sometimes get published in it which are not to my liking. What did your Serene Highness think of Lindenau's article? I believe he told the truth. He asserts that Friesen was instructed from Dresden before the outbreak of the war with France to use his influence chiefly for the maintenance of peace, and probably he (Lindenau) was the Councillor entrusted with the delivery of that message."

"Yes," replied the Chief, "Saxony is worse than Bavaria."

"With the latter," I remarked, "a letter from you was all that was needed to get King Lewis on to the right track."

He smiled and said: "But in Saxony things will be awkward when once Prince George, with his Ultramontane crew, comes to the throne."

"He!" I exclaimed. "In Leipzig we have always looked at it in this way. Should there be another great war with France or any other Power in which we were to lose one or two important battles, and should the people in Dresden then go over to the enemy, we should then hope to see what was not possible in 1866 forthwith take place and the country annexed—a fate from which the tutelary genius of the dynasty who sits in a cherry stone in the Gruene Gewölbe at Dresden would hardly be able to save them."

"Yes, in such circumstances it would doubtless come to that," he replied.

I then said: "Might I ask how things are going with regard to foreign affairs? What are our present relations with France?"

"Oh, quite good!" he said. "They desire peace, and so do we. And we oblige them in many ways—but not on the Rhine—that is not possible. We were on good terms with England, too, under Beaconsfield; but Professor Gladstone perpetrates one piece of stupidity after another. He has alienated the Turks; he commits follies in Afghanistan and at the Cape, and he does not know how to manage Ireland. There is nothing to be done with him."

He then asked how I was getting on, and I inquired how he was. I said he looked better than I had seen him for a long time past.

"Yes," he said; "I am really very well just at present, except that I have attacks of neuralgia which frequently deprive me of my rest—a nervous faceache, toothache, and such things. I have not smoked for the last fortnight."

I then took leave of him, and immediately wrote the first of the two articles he desired, which appeared in the *Grenzboten* under the title "Working-class Insurance Bill." I then proceeded with the second article, "The Imperial Chancellor and the Parties," a proof of which I sent to the Chief for correction on the 17th of February. He returned it to me two hours later, with a message to the effect that the article might just then be misunderstood by the National Liberals, it should be held over for a week or a fortnight; he would himself again discuss the matter with me personally, when there might perhaps be some additions to make.

On the 19th of February I received a hasty summons to call upon the Prince. He was in uniform, and seemed as if he intended to go out. He shook hands, and said: "Nothing can be done with the article on the National Liberals which we recently discussed, owing to a necessary change of front towards the party attacked in it. The article was good, but we will not print it. You are now regarded as official. But there is another matter I should like to have discussed, that is to say, the debate on the remission of taxes in the Upper Chamber, and the unsuitable constitution of the latter. There are too many Berliners in it, and too many high officials, retired and otherwise."

He then took up a list of members, and read: "Ex-Minister

Bernuth—it is true he held office in Hanover, not here ; the two Camphausens, the one with the handle to his name and the other without ; Friedenthal, Patow, Lippe, Manteuffel, Rabe, Rittberg—I cannot rightly remember whether he was a Minister ; then Sulzer, Under Secretary of State, seventeen or eighteen Actual and Privy Councillors and other high officials ; together with some sixty-nine or seventy members who were nominated owing to special Royal favour. I have jotted down something on that head—let Rantzau give it to you, and use it, but not literally, otherwise my style may be recognised. Turn it into your own style." I promised to do so ; and then expressed the pleasure I felt at his obtaining such a large majority and routing Camphausen so thoroughly in the debate.

He smiled and said : "You should have seen him and his whole crowd—the sour faces they made. And Camphausen, who kept me waiting for seven years, because he was unable to manage anything except with the milliards which remained in his hands after paying the cost of the war—there was still a surplus of a few hundred millions which he did not know how to invest. When a couple of millions were mentioned at a meeting of the Cabinet he merely smiled. When a hundred millions were spoken of, however, he laughed so heartily that you could see the two teeth in his mouth. The 'man of milliards,' he was so lazy that I had to beg and pray him to draft the Fiscal Reforms Bill ; and he never produced it until just at the end, and then it was not fit for use !"

I reminded him that I had already mentioned this in the *Grenzboten* as long ago as 1877 (in one of the friction articles).

"Ah !" he said, "have that reprinted. It will be useful as confirming what I have said to him. It is true that at length he produced something and wanted to proceed with his unworkable tobacco tax, and to take some steps in the railway question. But he stumbled over Bamberger, instead of treating him with contempt. Camphausen was the leader of the storming party in the Upper House. He had worked up the whole affair, joining with other archplotters and rabid free-traders. But I must go. Speak to Rantzau, and he will give you the notes. But you must not show them to any one."

He rang the bell, and Count Rantzau brought the paper. He said it was written very illegibly and with many abbreviations ; he would, therefore, like to read it over with me up stairs. The

Chancellor remarked, smiling : "Never mind if it is rather illegible. If the doctor cannot quite decipher it he will not be able to reproduce it word for word."

I was, however, able to make it out at home, although with some trouble, and then embodied it in an article which appeared in the *Grenzboten*, under the title of "The Upper Chamber."

On the 3rd of May I received an invitation to pay the Prince a visit next day. In the antechamber I met Bucher, who had been called to him before me, and who remained with him for about a quarter of an hour. On receiving me afterwards the Prince said : "You want fodder, but I have none at present. I was thinking in the garden of what to tell you, but found there was nothing to say. Of course I could talk to you about the speech I am going to make in the Reichstag one of these days, but then people would say : 'He has been reading the *Grenzboten* to some purpose ! All the same one might deal once more with what I recently said respecting the municipality of Berlin and the Progressist clique, and about the inhabited-house tax and valuation. Also as to the removal of the Reichstag, which it is not absolutely necessary should meet in Berlin. They object to my regarding myself as the champion of the lesser folk, of the poor. I have, they say, no right and no need to do so, although recently people have again died of starvation here. The speech on the inhabited-house tax defended the interests of this class of the population, and also that of fair play. The Progressist party and the Manchester clique, the representatives of the ruthless money-bags, have always been unjust to the poor, and have invariably done everything in their power to prevent the State from protecting them. *Laissez faire*, the largest possible measure of self-government, unlimited opportunities for the great capitalists to swallow up the small business men, and for the exploitation of the ignorant and inexperienced by the clever and cunning. The State should merely act as policemen, chiefly for the protection of the exploiters."

He reflected for a moment, and then continued : "I am not against a considerable degree of municipal self-government as opposed to State administration. It has its good points, but also its disadvantages. If it does not always display as great a sense of justice as State officials do, that is only human nature, which is imperfect. People will always be disposed to favour relatives, customers, friends and members of their own party, even when

they intend to act impartially ; in these circumstances men and things look different to what they really are. It is therefore quite conceivable that in making valuations a shopkeeper will, in spite of himself, apply a different measure to his customers and to others, and if to this be added party and religious rancour it is scarcely possible to prevent injustice. That may lead to very serious evils in a large town where one party has got hold of the administration, particularly as party spirit does not as a rule restrict itself to unfair valuations, but also disposes of municipal offices and work. Municipal self-government must therefore be restricted, and the State must protect those who do not belong to the party in power from the arbitrary and unfair treatment with which they are constantly threatened by the municipal administration elected, and continually influenced by that party. It was therefore a mistake on the part of Eulenburg—I mean the late one—to give the Berlin Corporation such wide powers. He was really a Conservative, but wished to make himself popular, and you will see from the newspapers that he has succeeded in doing so. Moreover, he was a friend of Forckenbeck's, and that also will have influenced him in making concessions to the Progressist clique. This did not concern Berlin alone. In general we held different views on the district and provincial regulations. I wanted to have them reconsidered and partially altered, as they contained some dangerous concessions. Eulenburg, however, was in a hurry, and wanted to finish the general outlines, which were to apply to all the provinces. I should have refused my signature if the draft had been submitted to me. The King was also displeased with these concessions, which affected his prerogatives and whittled down the authority of the State. Thus, for example, on the occasion of the recent solemn re-entry of the King (on his return to Berlin after his recovery from the effects of the Nobling outrage), the municipal authorities made arrangements without previously consulting Madai, to ascertain what was thought on the subject by the King, whose ideas were quite different. That also accounts to some extent for Eulenburg's retirement. He took advantage of the incident in the Upper House to withdraw from a position which had become untenable. The democratic clique which rules Berlin noisily enforced the rights granted to them, and acted as if they could do whatever they liked. Even the streets, since they have become the property

of the town, must serve their purposes to the disadvantage of many people, as, for instance, with regard to the tramways. Since the rights of the State over the streets of the city have been transferred to the municipality, one may say that the mediæval 'right of convoy and escort' has practically been revived. But when the railway had to be carried across the Jerusalemstrasse, Maybach showed them once more what was what."

He was silent for a moment and then observed: "I therefore will not have the State made omnipotent, but on the other hand I will not permit its disintegration, its division into communal republics after the style of Richter and Virchow. We have seen in Paris what such self-government leads to. At present an attempt of the kind is again being made. Just read the speeches which Andrieux, the Prefect of Police, has delivered in the Chamber and before his electors. They show that men of sense and character are not in favour of unrestricted self-government, even in Republican towns. You will find it in the last numbers of the French newspapers. There are many good points in it which are also applicable to our own circumstances.

"And then as to the rumours about the Reichstag and its removal from Berlin, a great deal more might be said. Say that it was no mere threat, but an idea that is seriously entertained. It has many things to recommend it. The Emperor can summon the Reichstag wherever he chooses, as the Constitution has made no provision respecting the place where it is to meet. The old Emperors of Germany had no imperial capital; they assembled the representatives of the Empire, the Princes and Estates, wherever it was most convenient to them, sometimes in the north and sometimes in the south and west. In case of danger from the west at the present day Berlin or Breslau would be a convenient place for the sittings of the Reichstag, while disturbances in the east would render a Bavarian, Rhenish or Hessian town, such, for instance, as Cologne, Nuremberg, Augsburg or Cassel, more desirable. In certain circumstances there would also be no objection to Hamburg or Hanover. The members of the Reichstag would be heartily welcomed in all these places, while they would have the further advantage of a change of air. Moreover, they would as a whole come into contact with other sections of the population, other people, and other conditions, and would be subjected to other influences than those

which they have hitherto experienced. It would be as great a mistake to confound the Berliner with the German as it would be to confound the Parisians with the French people—in both countries they represent quite a different people. There are also other important considerations in favour of this plan. The independence of the members and liberty of speech is better guaranteed in towns of medium size than in a great city with over a million inhabitants. That was proved in 1848, when the Radicals and Democrats, who now style themselves the Progressist party, had seized power. The mob threatened, and indeed besieged, those members of Parliament whose attitude they disapproved of. An Auerswald or a Lichnowski¹ might well be done to death here, and indeed with still greater ease. Away from the capital the members of the Reichstag need have no fear of the scandal-mongering press of Berlin. How many of them have the courage to despise that journalistic rabble? In revolutionary times how many of them would have the courage to hold their ground against intimidation and threats directed against their life and honour? Such times may possibly return. In smaller towns it is much easier to protect them than here, where, in future, the Progressists, the Jacobins and the Socialists will enter into a close alliance, with the object of promoting the democratic aims which they have in common. Their fellows in Paris concluded such an alliance in 1871. But if these parties were to come to an understanding in Berlin, the friends of order and of monarchical institutions would find themselves in a minority, and could not enforce their views, even if all the shades of opinion into which they are divided were to unite. That has been also recognised elsewhere. In the United States, Congress does not meet in New York, Philadelphia, St. Louis or Chicago, but in Washington, a town of medium size, which is usually very quiet. The Legislative Assemblies of the different States also meet in towns of medium size, or, indeed, sometimes in quite small places. There were good reasons for the continuance of the French Chambers at Versailles, and it will be almost a miracle if they do not one day have cause to regret their return to Paris. Even the removal of Parliament from Berlin to Potsdam would offer a certain guarantee against the disadvantages and dangers

¹ General Auerswald and Prince Lichnowski lost their lives in the disturbances at Frankfurt in 1848.

which I have described. Finally if the Reichstag were not domiciled in Berlin, it would not have such an enormous crowd of Berliners among its members."

He rang the bell and asked for the Parliamentary Guide, and then went through the alphabetical list of members, from Bamberger, Benda, Bernuth and Beseler to Weber and Wehrenpfenig, in order to find out the Berliners, I writing down the names as he gave them to me. "Now count them," he said. "How many are there?" There were forty-six. "You must not mention their names, however, as there are a number of good friends of ours, and strong monarchists among them."

He then spoke more slowly, as if dictating, at the same time walking up and down the room. I wrote down what he said. "The number of those who regularly attend is close on two hundred, and of these the forty-six Berliners are probably always present. We thus arrive at this monstrous condition of affairs, that this city Berlin has no less than a fifth, indeed nearly a fourth, of the entire effective representation of Germany, including Alsace-Lorraine; and even in the largest attendance—which may be put at about 310—the Berliners form 15 per cent. of the whole. There is one Berliner for every million inhabitants of the German Empire, and if the sense of intolerable boredom created among many members by the infliction of speeches from Messrs. Richter and Lasker, lasting often more than two hours, continues to increase at the same rate as it has done recently, it may be taken for granted that in future Berliners will form one-fifth of the representatives of the Empire who are in regular attendance. They are always in their places, and when the democrats among them find themselves supported by an equal number of their fellows from the Provinces they have almost a certain majority on the average attendance of 200 members. Moreover, there is in this city a considerable number who make a business of their Parliamentary activity, combining it with the editorship of newspapers. Both occupations dovetail into each other, and help to give the industrially unproductive classes the *fruges consumere nati* preponderance in the law makers' establishment. With the assistance of the officials who live on their salaries in Berlin and elsewhere, and for whom the Parliamentary Session is a pleasant holiday in comparison to their other work——" He did not complete the sentence, but smiled, and said: "When they are

here they are just like youngsters who are glad not to have to go to school, and who hang their heads when they are obliged to return there after the holidays. Here in the Reichstag, and in the Lower House of the Diet, there is no strict discipline, no stern masters, no subordination and no reprimands. They are the representatives of the popular will, can enjoy the sense of their own importance, and win admiration by their speeches. All these together make exactly that kind of a majority which should not exist. That must be done away with. The German people has a right to demand that the Reichstag should not be Berlinised."

He then reflected for a while and said: "Foreign affairs? There is also not much to write about on that subject at present."

I suggested: "Tunis? I have written a long article on this subject for the *Grenzboten*, but it is for the most part geographical and historical, and contains very little politics."

He promptly exclaimed: "That's dangerous! Please let it be! It is better not to touch it. You know people think when you write anything that it has been inspired by me."

I explained to him that I had only dealt with facts and suppositions, and that the article hinted that he regarded the French enterprise with sincere good will, and would be pleased if they were satisfied.

He replied: "Ah, that is all right. You have put it very well. You might also say that we should be pleased to see those neglected districts that had formerly been fertile and well cultivated come into the hands of a great civilised people who would restore them to civilisation. But do not show too much good will, or the French will take offence at us for giving them permission to undertake hostilities. Say nothing about England and Italy. It is in our interest if they should fall out with the French, and when the latter are busy in Tunis they cease to think of the Rhine frontier. But all that must not be as much as insinuated—write something about Russia in preference. There the peasants must be converted into private owners of their lands, of personal and hereditary property. Now when the land is held in common by the entire village, and is divided up from time to time, the drone and the drunkard have the same right as the diligent labourer who does not spend his time in the public-house. This common ownership must cease. Those, however, who desire to bring about revolution and to set the peasantry against the

Emperor fight tooth and nail for the retention of this communism, as if it were a palladium. It is said to be a genuinely national and primitive Russian institution. In doing so, however, the gentlemen manifest gross ignorance. The common ownership of the land was formerly a traditional custom here, except in a few districts, as, for instance, in parts of Westphalia up to the Stein-Hardenberg legislation. A similar custom prevailed in France up to the First Revolution. The Russians, however, have probably received it from us, from the Germanic Rurik, as they afterwards received other European institutions."

At this juncture von Bötticher, the Minister was announced; and the Prince took leave of me with the words, "I must break off here, as I cannot keep him waiting. Auf Wiedersehen. But be very careful in dealing with Tunis." I had been with him over half an hour.

On Sunday, the 26th of June, the Prince sent a message requesting me to call upon him at 4 o'clock. He was in plain clothes, and looked very poorly, with dark lines under his eyes. He had allowed his beard to grow, as he usually does when his nervous affection is exceptionally tormenting. He asked how I was getting on. I answered: "Well, Serene Highness; but it is not necessary to ask you, as one knows from the newspapers that your health has of late been very indifferent."

"Yes," he replied, "very bad. Weakness and oppression, and pains all over, in the body, chest, and face. Up to my sixty-sixth year I had good teeth, but now they all pain me, tugging and tearing above and below and all round." He drew his hand down one cheek and then up the other. "But that comes from the great excitement, which is due this time not to political affairs, but to other matters of which we will not speak," (he doubtless referred to certain family affairs . . . of which some hints had appeared in the newspapers), "and one must keep on working all the same—incessantly. The King is pitiless. He knows how I am, and yet every day he sends me notes that must be answered. I have had this illness already several times; first, in St. Petersburg, when I heard that they were thinking of committing the blunder of mobilising in favour of Austria in the Italian question, in which case Austria would have left them in the lurch; then before and after the war in 1866 at Putbus; again at Versailles; and in '74, on the occasion of the libels (Diest-Dabers), when I was

deserted by old friends, and when the Minister of the Household subscribed for ten copies of the *Reichsglocke*; and in 1877 when Augusta's *entourage* intrigued against me. But what I would like you to do is this. The Progressist party now speak as if they had done everything, and as if we had to thank them for the unification of Germany and the foundation of the Empire. I should like to have a historic survey prepared which would show that, on the contrary, they have used every possible means to defeat that end. As long ago as 1848 and the following year they so far injured the good position held by Prussia, that as a result we had the miserable Manteuffel régime (*die elende Manteuffelei*), Olmütz, and afterwards to the Canossa days in Paris, where our plenipotentiary was obliged to wait for hours in the ante-chamber before he was admitted, and where Prussia was altogether left out of account. Then under the Ministers of the new era when they, with their dogmatism and their opposition to the re-organisation of the army, brought on the appointment of a Bismarck Ministry. At that time they were in favour of a mere militia, although they entertained far-reaching schemes against the Confederation and Austria—or rather, great aspirations. They expected no doubt to blow them down with their unwholesome breath as the walls of Jericho were brought down by the blast of the trumpet. That is not mine—the breath—but Shakespeare's."

"Julius Caesar?" I suggested.

"No," he replied, "Coriolanus" (Act iv. scene 6). "Menenius, the breath of the garlic eaters which 'made the air unwholesome' as they threw their greasy caps in the air and shouted for the banishment of Coriolanus. And then their attitude towards me. They always wished me ill, wished me even to the scaffold. Their one desire always was to upset the Ministry, and take its place. In the course which they pursued they never took the condition of Germany into consideration—that is to say, they often alluded to it in their speeches, but never seriously thought of it. And their action was always directed towards promoting the objects of our opponents abroad. They were in favour of Austria, when I was against her, and *vice versa*. They worked into the hands of France, like Mayer and Sonnemann, who held similar views, and who could scarcely be regarded as anything else than French officials. They would not have an army or a fleet, or a strong Prussia, and only wanted to establish democratic rule. They

fought against my plans in the Schleswig-Holstein question—'not a groschen to the Ministry'—although I have reason to be particularly proud of my share in it, seeing that it was a drama of intrigue, equal to Scribe's '*Le Verre d'Eau*.' For the sake of the Augustenburger's rights, as they said, Schleswig-Holstein should be formed into a new minor State, which would have voted against Prussia at every opportunity. Kiel is still one of their chief strongholds, from which the movement is directed."

"Yes, Hänel," I said, "Ex-Minister of Justice to Duke Frederick, who wished to come to an arrangement with Napoleon against Prussia. I am pretty well acquainted with the condition of affairs at that period. When I was disclosing the Kiel intrigues in the *Preussische Jahrbücher* I explained the situation to a company, consisting of members of the Progressist party gathered at Mommsen's, who was at that time beginning to entertain more sensible ideas on the subject. All I could say, however, was perfectly idle. They held to their standpoint that it was unjust."

"Mommsen?" said the Chief. "He has always proved himself a greenhorn when he mixed in politics, and most of all at the present time."

"One of those awfully clever Professors who know everything better than every one else," I remarked.

"They were also opposed to the acquisition of Lauenburg," continued the Chancellor, "and when the war with Austria was imminent they desired to 'rid Prussia of the itch to be a great Power,' and organised popular meetings all over the country, at which resolutions were passed against 'a fratricidal war.' It is an unquestionable fact that at that time they traitorously hoped and prayed that the enemy might be 'victorious. Their ideas were most clearly represented by that member of Parliament who afterwards conducted an anti-Prussian agitation in the Vienna press—What's his name?—the man with the broad, smooth face?"

"Frese," I suggested.

"Yes, that's the man I mean," he replied. "They afterwards said, 'If we had only known that!' But that was merely a lying excuse. What they desired was not unity but freedom, as it was understood by their party, and radical rule. After 1866 and 1870 they were always the friends or enemies of every foreign Power according to the side which I took against it or for it. In all great questions the position they adopted was determined by their

hatred of me. They urged that peace was threatened by the disfavour with which the Powers regarded the latest reorganisation of Germany, and yet in dealing with the military question they endeavoured, in combination with the Centre party, to weaken rather than to strengthen our power of resistance. They opposed the consolidation of the Empire in every way. First, they were against Russia, particularly in 1863; then, when our relations with that country became less satisfactory, they took up the Russian side; and when we were once more on a better footing with St. Petersburg they again turned against Russia. They opposed the Socialists at first, but when the Anti-Socialist laws came up for discussion they assisted them. Finally, when I came forward with State Socialism they fought it tooth and nail, because it is a weapon against the revolution which they desire. What they require is discontent. That is their element, and the means by which they promote their ends. They sacrifice everything to that. It was the case in the question of customs and taxation, and with regard to the more lenient application of the May Laws which they also opposed in the commencement, as well as in the Hamburg affair in which they were thorough Particularists, as they had formerly been in the Schleswig-Holstein question. It was the same in the purchase of the railways by the State, which has given exceptionally good results and with which the public is perfectly satisfied. Throughout the whole history of the Empire the Progressist party has been the *advocatus diaboli*. Happily however they were invariably mere firework devils," he added, smiling.

"Bellows," (*Püstriche*) I said, "as Mephisto called them, when he assembled the devils with straight and crooked horns over to the grave of Dr. Faust."

"Yes," he replied, "they can only lie like the Father of Lies. But they will not succeed in the long run. Here in Germany lies have a short life, and the Germans do not allow themselves to be taken in for any length of time, as other nations such as the French are apt to do, who attach too much importance to fine speeches."

I then inquired how he expected the next elections to turn out. He said: "The moderate parties will be weakened, while the Progressists will probably increase their numbers, the Conservatives, however, doing the same. This time, however, we will not stand by and see our plans wrecked. We shall dissolve if we cannot

carry our State Socialism—our practical Christianity! At present it is not worth while for the sake of three months."

"Practical Christianity?" I asked. "Did I rightly understand your Serene Highness?"

"Certainly," he replied. "Compassion, a helping hand in distress. The State which can raise money with the least trouble must take the matter in hand. Not as alms, but as a right to maintenance, where not the readiness but the power to work fails. Why should only those who have in battle become incapable of earning a livelihood be entitled to a pension, and not also the rank and file of the army of labour? This question will force its way; it has a future. It is possible that our policy may be reversed at some future time when I am dead; but State Socialism will make its way. Whoever takes up this idea again will come to power. And we have the means, as, for instance, out of a heavier tobacco tax. That reminds me. My son had recently to deliver a speech against the Progressists before some association, and I advised him to introduce the phrase, 'The voting cattle from the Richter stables, with the Progressist winkers' (*das Stimmvieh aus den Richterschen Ställen mit dem Fortschrittsbrett vor dem Kopfe*), but he considered it too strong."

We then spoke about the *Deutsches Tageblatt*, which he had taken up while he was speaking. He said it was well edited. I observed that "the *National Zeitung*, that dreary organ of the Secessionists, Bamberger and Co., has hardly 7,000 subscribers still left." "That was always a Jewish sheet," he replied. "The proprietor and editor are both Semites." "And inflated pedagogues," I took the liberty of adding.

This led the conversation to the Jews, and their connection with the Progressist party. He said he was surprised at their being so hostile to him, and so ungrateful, as after all they owed to him the political position which they held in the Empire. "At least through my signature," he continued. "They ought to be satisfied with me, but they will one day force me to defend myself against them."

"As you did against the Ultramontanes," I said. "In that case, Serene Highness, you would become more popular even than you now are, as you would have with you not merely the sixty or the hundred thousand who signed the petition, but the millions who loathe the Jews and their politics."

CHAPTER XVII

Bismarck and Anti-Semitism—The German Constitution—The Egyptian Question—The English in a Blind Alley—The Emperor, the Crown Prince and Prince William—Philopater and Antipater at Potsdam—The Empress and her Intrigues.

ON the 14th of September Bucher wrote to me that he was in Berlin, and on the 21st I called upon him. He told me that the Chief had again had "difficulties with the Emperor."

The Prince returned to Berlin on the 12th of November, and I saw him on the 15th. He was in plain clothes, looked fresh and hearty, but began by complaining of his health. He had been ill, he said, during the whole five months of his holiday, even at Kissingen, but particularly at Varzin, where he had had to endure great pain. It was his old trouble.

He then spoke of the elections, and stated that in certain circumstances he would retire, as he had already intimated to the Emperor. "The centre of gravity has changed," he continued. "The Progressist and Secessionist Jews, with their money, now form the Centre. At first I was not in favour of this agitation (for Stöcker as an Anti-Semite). It was inconvenient to me, and they went too far. Now, however, I am glad that the Court Chaplain has been elected. He is an energetic, fearless, and resolute man, and he cannot be muzzled. The elections have shown that the German Philistine still lives, and allows himself to be frightened and led astray by fine speeches and lies. He will not hear of the protection of labour against the foreigner, nor of insurance against accident and old age, nor of any reduction of school and poor rates, but wants direct taxation to be increased. Well, he can have that, but not while I am Chancellor."

"Do you seriously mean that, Serene Highness?" I asked. "I believe they have only nibbled at the democratic bait just as they did formerly."

"It may be that they do not quite know what they want. But they have taken this course at the elections, their representatives vote against me, and, in order to govern I must have a majority—which I cannot find under these conditions. In case of necessity it might be possible to manage with a coalition of Conservatives and Clericals and such like, but the Centre Party has been against us all through the elections, and there is no trusting them. Folly and ingratitude on all sides! I am made the target for every party and group, and they do everything they can to harass me, and would like me to serve as a whipping-boy for them. But when I disappear they will not know which way to turn, as none of them has a majority or any positive views and aims. They can only criticise and find fault—always say No. You are right in saying that they have turned the people's heads with their fine phrases and lies. They make out that I am in favour of reaction, and want to restore the old *régime*. If I can get my monopoly, tobacco will cost three to five marks a pound, but cigars will be three times as dear as they are now. They have frightened the people by reviving the old stories of the past, Junker rule, the *corvée*, territorial jurisdiction, and even the *jus primæ noctis*, as, for instance, in Holstein and Lauenburg. There the Danish Kings had allowed all the ancient institutions to remain—unadulterated mediævalism. The Junkers ruled, and were decorated with the Order of the Elephant. They took all the best posts as if they had inherited them. They held the most remunerative offices up to ten thousand thalers a year, or at least four to five thousand thalers; and yet they neither did nor could do anything except pocket fees and impose heavy fines. They farmed the domains among themselves, on the lowest valuations, and lived on the fat of the land. When I came there the people were obliged to drink the abominable beer which the Junkers brewed on their estates, and no one could purchase a piece of ground because they did not wish the population to exceed two thousand to the square (German) mile. There the people still remember all this misrule, and emissaries of the Progressists and Secessionists—who are just the same—threaten them with its revival, and warn them against

me. I am represented as desiring to restore that state of things, yet the contrary is the case, and it was I alone who abolished it."

I reminded him of the homage of the Estates in Lauenburg, Bülow's anxiety respecting the maintenance of the Compact of the nobility, and the scene in the Ratzeburg Cathedral, asking if that was a correct account of the incident. He then related it to me once more, the narrative agreeing in all important particulars with that already given. Returning to the agitation that preceded the elections, he continued as follows: "They do not, however, even believe what they preach. They hate and slander me because I am a Junker and not a professor, and because I have been a Minister for twenty years. That has lasted too long for them—hence their vexation. They would like to come to power themselves, and form a Government. But that is mere covetousness, and not ability, and if I were to make way for them they would be desperately embarrassed, and would recognise that they could do nothing. I was born a Junker, but my policy was not that of the Junkers. I am a Royalist in the first place, and then a Prussian and a German. I will defend my King and the monarchy against revolution, both overt and covert, and I will establish and leave behind me a strong and healthy Germany. To me the parties are a matter of indifference. I am also not a Conservative in the sense of the Conservative party. My entire past as a Minister is evidence of that. They saw that in 1873 in the question of the Inspection of Schools Bill, when they turned their backs upon me, attacked me in their papers, and wrote me absurd letters."

He took from the shelves near him a copy of a letter with which he had disposed of an old gentleman in Pomerania (Senft-Pilsach), who had at that time warned him to reflect and pray. This letter, which he read to me, directed attention, *inter alia*, to the Psalms, chapter 12, verses 3 and 4: "The Lord shall cut off all flattering lips, and the tongue that speaketh proud things: who have said, With our tongue we will prevail; our lips are our own: who is lord over us?" He then returned to the last elections, and observed: "The defectiveness of our institutions is shown by the credulity of the electors. It may come to this, that we shall some day have to say of the German Constitution, after all attempts at government and reform under it have failed, as Schwarzenberg said at Olmütz: 'This arrangement has not stood the test.' But that must not be printed now. It is only for your-

self. . . . They have now invented another calumny. " They take advantage of my attachment to the Emperor, and pretend that I am clinging to office, that I am devoured by the love of power. It may turn out differently, however, and I may say to them: 'Here you have it! Now let us see you govern!' That, however, can only be after a division on some important question, not on the electoral returns. The Emperor is half inclined to try it and let me go, if only for one session. Things cannot go on as they are much longer. Of course, I am not going to desert the Emperor; it would be unfair to leave the old man in the lurch. But I cannot renounce my convictions, and I will not have a return to the period of conflict. I demand more appreciation and better treatment."

Returning once more to the statement that the Liberal parties had been guilty of gross misrepresentation during the last election, he added that they had at the same time set the followers of the Government a good example by their excellent organisation, energy, and self-sacrifice. "Many people on our side, such as Herzog, for instance, have also given a great deal of money," he said; "but the Progressists have done more. They had all the treasure of the Hebrews at their disposal, and were at the same time thoroughly drilled and well organised."

"And now," he asked, "have I anything else for you? Unruh has published various things that should be refuted." He took up the October number of the *Deutsche Revue* and went through it carefully page by page, correcting its inaccuracies and "electioneering lies."

Presently Theiss announced the Minister Maybach. I rose, and putting under my arm the number of the *Revue* which he had given me with his grey, red, and blue pencil marks and comments, was about to leave. Before going, however, I said: "Might I venture to ask whether Gambetta has called upon you, Serene Highness?" "No," he replied. "He has said so himself, and it is the fact. Of course it is evident from his journey to Dantzic that he had thought of paying a visit to Varzin. He doubtless reconsidered the matter there, or they may have written to him from Paris that it would not make a good impression."

I took my leave and immediately wrote down what I had heard. I worked up the first part into an article entitled "The Chancellor Crisis," which appeared in the *Grenzboten*: the criticism of the

Unruh Memoirs was utilised for another article, and these, together with a third article, "The Imperial Chancellor and the Reichstag," I handed in on the 2nd of December for delivery to the Prince. An hour later I was summoned to his palace. The Chancellor sent me word that he was waiting for me in the garden. On my passing through the door of the large antechamber, I found him standing outside with his dog. He shook hands in a friendly way, saying immediately afterwards, however: "But what have you been doing, Doctor? Why, that is all wrong, the very opposite of what I wanted. Surely the article is not yet printed?" I regretted that it was already published. "That is most unfortunate," he rejoined. I asked which of the articles he meant. "Why, that about Unruh," he answered. "You have said exactly what Bennigsen asserted. It might have been written by one of my worst enemies. And the other is also not correct—often pure nonsense. I remember it was just the same three years ago with the things you sent on to me to Kissingen and Gastein—in many places the direct contrary was the truth." I replied that that was only the case in one instance, in the story about Rechberg, which was then left out. He would not agree to that, however, and continued: "You must submit these articles to me before they are printed. You now trust too much to your memory, which is not so good as it was formerly, or you have not listened attentively. I related it all to you quite differently."

He took the article out of his pocket, and as it had grown dark we passed through another door into his study, where he looked through the passage once more.

Finding in the course of his examination that the misfortune did not extend to more than some five lines in an article of nine pages, his excitement gradually subsided. Indeed, the "Büschchen" at the beginning had already sounded less severe, and at the close he said, "I must have a breath of fresh air before dinner. Come along!"

We strolled up and down in the park for about an hour longer, and spoke of other matters. I congratulated the Prince on the success with which he had repelled the attacks of his opponents in the Reichstag three or four days previously. "Yes, successfully," he rejoined. "That's very fine, but what good has it done? They have, all the same, refused the 80,000 marks for an adviser on political economy; and the Government has now no means of

keeping itself informed." I remarked that they had obviously been influenced by their own ignorance of practical affairs, and particularly with industrial matters, as well as by jealousy and fear. Bamberger's assertion that they knew enough themselves was no proof of the contrary. They wished to appear before the public as the only infallible wisecracks, and also being doctrinaires, they could afford to ignore economic facts.

We then spoke about Windthorst, of whom the Chief said: "His vote against the Government has destroyed the slight degree of confidence I was beginning to feel in him." The conversation then turned upon Bennigsen's Parliamentary activity, and I remarked on the striking circumstance that up to the present he had taken no part in any of the debates. The Prince rejoined: "It is very sensible on his part to keep silent, although he is a good speaker. He sent the others to the front—Benda, and he also voted against it—a further proof that he and his party are quite untrustworthy. He has no decided views, he is not frank, and he is afraid of Lasker. With him it is always vacillation and half measures. Do you play cards?" I replied in the negative. "But you know the cards?" "Yes." "Now at whist he always keeps three aces in his hand, and gives no indication that he holds them. He can no longer be counted upon, and besides his followers have been greatly reduced owing to their vague and vacillating policy. Nevertheless, he still sits there with the same high opinion of himself and the same dignified air as formerly when he commanded hundreds; and he will continue to do so even if they should be reduced to thirteen, like George Vincke's Old Liberals. There is nothing to be done with the others either. It has now come to pass, through the absurdities of the Liberals, that the tag, rag and bobtail, the Guelphs, Poles, and Alsacians, the Social Democrats, and the People's Party, turn the scale, putting those they support in the majority. Mitnacht, who was with me before you came, is of the same opinion. In future we shall have to count upon the Governments rather than upon the Reichstag, and indeed we may ultimately have to reckon upon the Governments alone."

I said that the whole Parliamentary system would in time lose all credit, even with the public, through such senseless attacks and votes. It brought everything to a standstill, but was itself unable to produce anything better. "The effect of the recent debates,"

I went on, "is already here and there observable. This morning I met Thile, who stopped me and asked what I thought of the Parliamentary struggle. He was immensely pleased with the attitude you had adopted. And women speak with disgust of the way in which you were hounded down and personally insulted by the Progressists and Lasker. A Hanoverian lady, of Guelph sympathies, spoke to my wife yesterday in this sense. This disgust and this pity for you will gradually affect the men, and help to bring about a change in the present tendency. I myself feel no pity, I only foresee your triumph. Pray excuse me for comparing you to an animal, but you remind me of the picture of a noble stag, which time after time shakes off the snarling pack, and then, proud and unhurt, regains the shelter of his forest, crowned by his branching antlers." "Yes," he said, "one might take another animal, the wild boar, which gores the hounds and tosses them away from him."

He was silent for a time, and as we walked up and down he hummed the tune, "Wir hatten gebauet ein stattliches Haus." He then remarked suddenly: "But if they go on in that style they will ultimately meet the fate to which I alluded—the Luck of Eden-hall. You know Uhland's poem? It will be a case of Bang! and snap goes the German constitution! You spoke of Thile. Do you mean the former Secretary of State?" I said, "Yes, I meet him sometimes, as he lives in my neighbourhood." "He is a dangerous man," he observed. "He was quite incapable. He could do nothing, and wrote nothing, because he was afraid it would be corrected; and yet I kept him for ten years, although he conspired against me with Savigny. He is to blame for the Diest libels, which led to the prosecution. I heard the whole story and how it began from Rothschild. Savigny went to him about the promotion of the company in question, and asked him if he could not let him have a share in it. Rothschild said no, he had already been obliged to part with a large share, a million and a half—meaning to his branches, the houses with which he is associated. Savigny, however, thought he was alluding to me, and would appear to have hinted something of the kind, but Rothschild seems either not to have understood him, or not to have answered with sufficient clearness. Savigny then carried the tale further, telling it first to Thile, who mentioned it to his brother, the general, instead of speaking to me, his chief, and in this way Diest

ultimately came to hear of it. But, as Minister, I have never done any business with Rothschild, and even as envoy at Frankfurt very little. I drew my salary through him, and on one occasion I exchanged some stock for Austrian securities. I have not found it necessary. My profession as Minister has brought me in something, and through the grants and the gift, of the Lauenburg estates I have become a rich man. It is true that if I had gone into a business, or carried on a trade, and devoted to it the same amount of labour and intelligence, I should doubtless have made more money."

We then returned once more to the recent debates in the Reichstag, and I again expressed in strong terms the contempt I felt for the Opposition. "You were always a gentleman pitted against vain and vulgar creatures," I said, "and in saying that I am not thinking of your rank as a Prince." "No, I understand—a gentleman in my way of thinking," he rejoined. "Lasker's Jewish forwardness and presumption," I continued, "the Professors with their priggish airs of superiority, and their empty pathos; Hänel, the self-complacent and pathetic doctrinaire—it is impossible to imagine anything more repulsive. He wanted to be Minister of Justice in 'sea-girt Schleswig-Holstein.'" "Yes," said the Chancellor, interrupting me, "they had divided the parts among themselves before the piece had been secured, and they probably have done the same thing now. Nothing came of it, however, after the interview which our Most Gracious had with me upstairs in the yellow chamber, where he remained with me from 9 o'clock until near midnight." "And where he heard the simile of the chickens in Low German," I added. "And then that impudent, lying clown Richter, and the whole tearing, snarling, sprawling pack face to face with simple, solid, positive greatness. It was as if you belonged to an entirely different species." "Yes," he said, "when I lie down in bed after such debates, I feel ashamed of ever having bandied words with them. You know the way one feels after a night's drinking, if one has had a row and perhaps come to blows with vulgar people—when one begins to realise it next morning, one wonders how and why it all came about." Then after I had promised to make the corrections immediately and send them to him, he took leave of me with the words, "Good evening, Busch. Auf Wiedersehen." Busch! Not "Herr Doctor," as usual.

On the 2nd of January, 1882, I again visited Bucher. He complained in general of the incapable *entourage* of the Prince, including his sons, and of Rudolf Lindau, whom they favoured because he gave card-parties and made himself useful to them in other ways. He was a mere tradesman, without education or political knowledge. The Prince wished to make things comfortable for himself, and no blame to him, but he was mistaken if he thought the machine would still go on working as it ought to. In that respect the choice of the *personnel* was of importance, and those who were now engaged, particularly in the press department, were almost constantly blundering. The stuff which Paul Lindau wrote for the *Kölnische Zeitung* was also of little value.

On the morning of the 29th of March I called upon Bucher. He declared that the anti-German party in Russia was growing dangerous, and though the Emperor appeared to be our sincere well-wisher, he would perhaps be unable to withstand it. It was true that he had spoken very sharply to Skobelev who told Schweinitz, as he was returning with him from Gatchina, that the Emperor had severely reprimanded him (*il m'a donné un savon*). The General actually looked depressed. A Russian diplomatist (Nesselrode, if I understood rightly) once said of Holstein when the latter was with Bismarck in Petersburg years ago: "*Ce jeune homme sait une foule de choses, mais il n'est pas capable d'en faire une seule.*"

Pope Leo has shown great readiness to meet us half way in personal questions. Among other things, he had originally desired to appoint to the bishopric of Osnabrück a former Jesuit and pupil of the Collegium Germanicum, who had been recommended to him by Tarnass. But when our Government pointed out that the candidate referred to had taken part in various forms of anti-German agitation, the Pope unhesitatingly dropped him.

Three days after the Chancellor's return from Freidrichsruh, on the 8th of June, I received a letter stating that the Prince "wished to speak to me for a few moments," and requested me to call upon him next day. I called at the time appointed, and the "few minutes" extended to a full hour. The Prince was in plain clothes, with the exception of military trousers. He had grown thinner, so that his coat hung in folds over his shoulders. Otherwise, however, he looked well, and was evidently in good humour. He greeted me with a shake hands and "Good day, Büschlein."

Then, inviting me to sit down, he said: "You want fodder, but I have none. There is nothing going on either in domestic or foreign affairs. You recollect that little bit of Herzegovina, and now we have that little bit of an Egypt. It is not of much concern to us, although it certainly is to the English and also to the French. They set about the affair in an awkward way, and have got on a wrong track by sending their ironclads to Alexandria, and now, finding that there is nothing to be done they want the rest of Europe to help them out of their difficulty by means of a conference. Nothing can be done with the fleet without a landing force, and this is not at hand, so that it will be merely a repetition of the demonstration before Dulcigno. In that case it was the rocks, here it is the European warehouses, otherwise they would in all probability have already bombarded the place. It is also a question whether they would not have come off second best, as the Egyptians have very heavy guns, and their artillery is not bad. But so far as a conference is concerned, it is like an inquiry round a board of green cloth, the interest of the Powers are not the same, and therefore it will not be easy to come to any practical conclusion. The Sultan too will not co-operate. He is not without justification in declining to do so. If he can put things right by writing letters and sending plenipotentiaries—which we shall know one of these days—the Western Powers will have reason to be thankful. If not there will be no alternative left but for the Padishah to send his Nizams to restore order there. That is due to the absurd policy which Professor Gladstone has pursued from the beginning. He tries to come to an understanding with France and Russia, forgetting the fact that their interests in the Levant are quite different to those of the English. He surrendered all the valuable results which English policy had tried to secure during the past eighty years in its dealings with the Porte and with Austria, and thought he could work miracles when he had offended them both. And in France they have also taken a wrong course out of consideration for public opinion. Egypt is of the utmost importance to England on account of the Suez Canal, the shortest line of communication between the eastern and western halves of the Empire. That is like the spinal cord which connects the backbone with the brain. Any increase of Turkish power does not affect England injuriously in this, or indeed in any other respect. France thinks more of

the prestige to be gained by the Porte if it exercises a mediating and controlling influence in the Egyptian question, and fears that her own prestige in Africa might suffer. Nevertheless, France has also very important material interests there, since there are 14,000 Frenchmen in Egypt and only 3,000 English. It was in vain for me to point out to them that an Arabian Empire, such as Arabi may have in view, would be far more dangerous to their position in Africa than any strengthening of Turkish influence on the Nile. The Porte is an old European landowner who is deeply in debt, and who can always be reached and subjected to pressure if he becomes too exacting. It is impossible to foresee what effect an independent Egypt would have upon the French position in Africa. That is doubtless recognised by Freycinet, but he is afraid of the traditions, prejudices and vanity of the French, and of Gambetta, who manipulates them. It is true the division in the Chamber turned out favourably, indeed very much so; but even assuming that Gambetta cannot return to power shortly, the wind may soon blow from another quarter, and the understanding with England come to an end. A campaign in co-operation with the French, a military occupation, would be a hazardous undertaking for the English, as the French could always send more men than they, who require their soldiers in Ireland, and who have altogether none too many. If France had the larger force there she would of course exercise more influence and play the leading part, and it would perhaps be difficult to get her out of the country again. The rest of us would not co-operate in a military sense, as for the present the question is one of comparative indifference to us, and it is no business of ours to pull the chestnuts out of the fire for other people, particularly for the English. So there they are, with their ships, in a blind alley, and now they want a conference to put the matter right. Here also we are expected to come to their assistance, and bring pressure to bear on the Porte, thus embroiling ourselves with the Sultan—a suggestion which, of course, we must politely decline."

"Much in the same way," I said, "as the English before the last Russo-Turkish conflict wished you to forbid the Russians entering upon hostilities, merely because that did not suit England's policy, and when Queen Victoria wrote to you and the Emperor to that effect." "Yes," he rejoined, "and it was the same before the Crimean war, when Bunsen pleaded their cause.

They must manage to get out of the difficulties into which they have plunged by themselves—having made their bed they must lie on it."

"In home affairs," he continued, "there is also nothing of importance that you are not weary of. They will reject the tobacco monopoly. There is no other course open to them now." "But, Serene Highness," I said, "you will submit it to them again, and carry it through in three or four years' time?" "That depends upon circumstances," he replied, "upon the future elections. I have no intention of pressing the tobacco monopoly out of a mere liking for this particular method of fiscal reform. The monopoly is an evil, but it is still the best of all available means of reform I first want to get from them my certificate that I have done everything in my power to do away with an unfair form of taxation, but that they would not hear of it. Then they may settle the matter with their electors and justify their conduct, should it perhaps result in an increase of the class tax (a form of direct taxation), while other burdens cannot possibly be reduced."

"Then one might as well emigrate," I said.

"Certainly," he rejoined. "The class tax, which at present is retained only in this country, is one of the chief causes of emigration. If you only knew for how many evictions it is responsible among the poorer and indeed even among the middle classes! It is like the Russian poll tax, and does not permit of any equitable distribution of the burden in accordance with the condition of those who have to bear it, while indirect taxation distributes itself automatically. My object was to provide a remedy for this and to lighten the burden of the poorer citizens. That ought also to have been the object of the Diet. But you have seen from the discussion on the Appropriation Bill how little disposed they are to do so; and Lingen's motion, which was adopted by the Commission, will not even admit the necessity of a reserve."

I observed: "The emphasis laid upon economy in his motion is quite after the manner of the pedagogue, and of the narrow-minded Philistine."

"That is true," he said. "They certainly have not much amplitude or breadth of view, and they are bent on obstinate resistance to the Emperor's message, in which a far higher standpoint is adopted. But that is their nature. They only think of their joint-stock companies, *i.e.*, their Parliamentary parties, and

whether their shares will rise or fall if this or that is done or left undone. They trouble their heads very little with anything beyond that. Besides they hope that the old Emperor will soon die and that his successor will give them a free hand. The Emperor, however, does not at all look as if he were going to oblige them. He may live for a long time yet, and indeed reach a hundred. You should see how robust he is now, and how straight he holds himself! From what——(I understood, Lauer) says, the Nobiling phlebotomy has been of benefit to him, both physically and mentally, the old blood has been drawn off, and he looks much less flabby than formerly. We are now on good terms, better than we have been for years." "And the Successor will have to follow the same course," I said. "He cannot govern differently without doing mischief." "Oh, yes," he rejoined. "He also would like to retain me; but he is too indolent, too much devoted to his own comfort and thinks it would be easier to govern with majorities. I said to him: 'Try it, but I will not join in the experiment!' Perhaps they are out in their reckoning however, and a long-lived sovereign may be followed by a short-lived one. It seems to me as if this might be the case. He who would then ascend the throne is quite different. He wishes to take the government into his own hands; he is energetic and determined, not at all disposed to put up with Parliamentary co-regents, a regular guardsman!—Philopater and Antipater at Potsdam! He is not at all pleased at his father taking up with Professors, with Mommsen, Virchow and Forkenbeck. Perhaps he may one day develop into the *rocher de bronze* of which we stand in need."

He then came to speak of his other schemes of reform, and observed: "The so-called Socialistic Bills are in a tolerably fair way. They will force themselves through, and develop further, even without me. The most pressing and necessary measures will in the main be soon carried. But it is unsatisfactory that they should want to bring the funds for the relief of the sick into too close connection with the insurance scheme. In this case it is not advisable that the payments in kind should be transformed into money payments." "But it is intended," I said, "to drop the State subsidy, through which you hoped to reconcile the labouring classes, by getting them to recognise that the State not only makes demands upon them, but also comes to their assistance,

procuring relief for them in case of need, and providing for their future as far as possible."

"No, not dropped," he replied, "but it is not immediately necessary in the new form which the Bill has taken. In about five or ten years it will be seen how far the contributions go, and in fifteen years' time it may be asked whether, and to what extent the State should contribute. It is sufficient for the present that all sums falling due are immediately paid, the State guaranteeing the amount."

He again explained this in detail, and then said: "I am tired and ill, and should prefer to go, once I got my release from the Reichstag, but I do not like to leave the old Emperor alone. When he lay on his back after the outrage, I vowed to myself that I would not. Otherwise, I would rather be in the country at Friedrichsruh. I always felt better there; while here I get excited and angry, and become so weak that I can scarcely work for a couple of hours without losing hold of my ideas. How beautiful and fresh it was there in the country! I enjoyed every day, driving out and seeing how fine the rye looked, and how healthy the potatoes!"

This led him on to speak of the hope which he had of a good harvest, and that again to the price of corn in Germany and England. In this connection he observed, *inter alia*: "The opinion that low prices for corn mean happiness, welfare and content is a superstition. In that case the inhabitants of Lithuania and Rumania ought to be the most prosperous of all, while prosperity should decrease in proportion as you come west towards Aix la Chapelle. In England, the price of corn is now lower than here, and yet discontent prevails among the poorer classes, Radicalism is spreading, a revolution is approaching, and that democratic republic for which Gladstone and his friends and associates, Chamberlain and Dilke, have helped to pave the way, will come. It is just the same in Spain and Italy, where the dynasties, it is true, will offer resistance, but probably to no purpose. In France it remains to be seen whether the Republic will maintain itself, and if it does a condition of things will arise similar to that in America, where respectable people consider it disgraceful to have anything to do with practical politics, or to become a Senator, Congress man, or Minister."

On my rising he walked about the room for a while, continuing

to speak, but sat down again soon as if he felt tired. He mentioned Herbert, who is still in London, and from this I turned the conversation on to Hatzfeldt, remarking that his appointment as Secretary of State had not yet taken place. He rejoined: "That is due solely to the fact that he himself has not yet declared in favour of remaining. He has still to complete his arrangements, and settle with his brother about a mortgage. Moreover, I cannot blame him if he prefers to draw—(I did not catch the amount) in Constantinople, where things are cheaper, than 15,000 thalers here. He has a fortune of about 100,000 thalers. I wanted more for him, 60,000 marks, but the Federal Council rejected the proposal, as they could not give the Secretary of State more than the Imperial Chancellor, who receives only 54,000, but who has become wealthy, thanks to public grants. You cannot expect everybody to be prepared to make sacrifices. Every one is not disposed to lead a simple life, cutting his coat according to his cloth, and to forgo great entertainments and other expensive habits; and then it is a case of five into four won't go, so I borrow one. He must, however, decide between this and July. Otherwise we shall have to ask Dr. Busch."

"No, thank you," I replied. He said: "There are two doctors of that name, and I mean the other, not Büschlein. But Busch has as poor health as Hatzfeldt, who is effeminate to boot, wraps himself up like a Frenchman, and goes to bed when he has a headache or cold, so that I have already been obliged to do their work instead of their taking over mine."

From these invalids he passed on to the Empress. "She lives on and is again in good health, but a great deal of my illness comes from her intrigues. Schleinitz is also on his legs again, although he was very ill. Doubtless he thinks: 'Perhaps there may be some more Jewish *pourboires*, so I must keep alive!'"

I asked if he would speak in the debate in the Reichstag on the monopoly. "Yes," he said, "if my health permits it. Not for the purpose of convincing them, but to bear witness before the country, and then to demand my release." I inquired whether he intended to go to Kissingen again this summer. "No," he replied. "Although the waters have usually been very beneficial, they did me no good the last time. For nearly four months afterwards I was tormented with hæmorrhoids that were fearfully pain-

ful, burning like hell fire." He then added a description of the symptoms.

He had in the meantime shaken hands several times by way of taking leave of me, but each time started some new subject. He now reached me his hand for the last time, and, as usual after such interviews, I went straight home in order to write down what I had heard without delay, before anything else should chance to blur the impression.

CHAPTER XVIII

Further Interviews with the Chancellor—Relations with Russia and Austria—The Gablentz Mission—Queen Victoria—An Unpleasant Epistle—A Severe Reprimand—Bismarck collaborates with me—Bucher's Journey with Salazar—A Press Campaign against England—Documents and Articles on South African Questions.

ON November 27, 1882, I gave Bucher two articles and a letter to be forwarded to the Prince at Varzin. The letter ran as follows :—

"Every man has his own ambition. Mine consists in studying and giving as true as possible a picture of your Serene Highness. I am accordingly about to write a new book respecting you in which the more important material scattered through my previous book will be brought together and supplemented from my own observation, and such sources as the letters in Hesekei's work, and the despatches published by Poschinger and in Hahn's collection. It will not be a biography, but only a detailed character sketch, in a number of chapters, such as Bismarck and Parliamentarism, Bismarck and the German Question, Bismarck and Religion, the Legend of Junker Bismarck, Bismarck and the Diplomats, Bismarck and the Social Problem, Bismarck as Public Speaker and Humorist, Bismarck and Austria, France, Russia and the Poles, and, finally, Bismarck in Private Life. The way in which I propose to treat the subject will appear from the two articles herewith enclosed, which I would beg you to regard as mere preliminary studies. The first of these, 'Bismarck as a Junker,' being a harmless sketch, has already been published in the monthly periodical, *Aus Allen Zeiten und Landen*, and the second, 'Bismarck and Religion,' is to appear in the *Grenzboten*. In case of new material coming into my possession both shall be

re-written for the book, the object of which is to assist the future historian, and at the same time to be useful to yourself. Everything calculated to interfere with the latter purpose shall be omitted. It is highly desirable that I should receive your Serene Highness's help in the course of the work. I therefore venture most respectfully to recall the fact that Heseziel was greatly assisted in this way, and that your Serene Highness in 1873 held out hopes to me of similar assistance. Moreover, as many parts of the book will certainly produce the impression that the author is well informed, it is to be feared that should it at the same time contain errors, the public may also accept them as true.

"I therefore beg in the first place that the two specimen articles may be kindly revised and returned to me, supplemented with as much new material as possible, and, where needful, corrected. I would afterwards, with your permission, send in from time to time legibly written copies of other chapters, and crave the same consideration for them.

"It may be said that such books should not be written during the lifetime of the person described. I take the liberty of rejoining that they can be best done at that time, if confidence is reposed in the writer, as he can then obtain fuller information than can be found in archives, the contents of which are not always, later on, rightly understood by every one.

"Should your Serene Highness desire to communicate verbally with me on the matter, I am ready at all times to obey your commands without delay."

On the 1st of December, Bucher called upon me to return the two articles, and he at the same time communicated to me the contents of a letter from Count Herbert, to the effect that the Prince had read the articles through, and had said with regard to the second that he could communicate nothing on a matter of so personal a character; and that he could not remember having made the statement on page 2 that he had "brought about three great wars." It might be possible to insert the word "perhaps" in that sentence. His (Herbert's) personal opinion was that nothing more ought to be written about his father, and if he had any influence with me he would use it in this direction. I explained to Bucher that if the Prince himself had asked me not to publish anything more about him, I should most *probably* for-

bear to do so, but that Herbert had no claim to any influence upon me. "What is Hecuba to me?" I concluded.

December 20th.—I was sent for in the afternoon to the Prince, with whom I remained for three-quarters of an hour. After reaching me his hand he said: "You have doubtless come with great expectations, and think I shall have something to say to you about the article in the *Kölnische Zeitung*—the one on Russian armaments." I asked: "Did that come from here?"

He: "No, not from me; but from the military authorities."

I: "And the statements are correct?"

He: "Certainly. They are constructing many more railways than they require for trade and traffic, and the garrisons in the western towns and fortresses have been placed almost upon a war footing. I should not be surprised if there were a war with them next year. The Bourse has also shown itself much concerned, but I believe that the fall in quotations arises rather from anxiety respecting France. But (he continued) you have been indiscreet in the *Grenzboten* in your reference to the alliance with Austria. It has been very awkward for them (in Austria), for the Hungarian Diet can now come and demand information on the subject."

I replied: "I thought that the matter had gradually leaked out. Three or four months ago some one, I forget now who it was, said to me that everybody now knew that a formal alliance existed, and not a mere memorandum. Perhaps my informant had it from Vienna. I was therefore of opinion that it could do no harm, and might possibly be of use if I mentioned it incidentally, as I did in the *Grenzboten* article, and I was quite astounded when all the newspapers wrote leading articles upon it. I must be very much mistaken if I have not seen something similar elsewhere."

"Yes," he said; "but it was a State secret, and if you had only remembered from whom you had it, an inquiry might well be instituted. It is quite possible that something of the kind had already been said elsewhere; and if what you wrote had appeared in another paper, perhaps no one would have taken any notice of it. But you have given the *Grenzboten* such a nimbus that it is placed on a level with the Official Gazette. That is not good for you as a writer. You are regarded as, in the highest degree, inspired."

I: "That is a matter of indifference to me. It only excites

hatred and envy; and I have never associated with the local journalists."

"Well," he said, smiling, "you can destroy this nimbus if you will only write something thoroughly silly."

I: "And if you then have a vigorous *démenti* inflicted upon me."

He: "But, seriously, you can to a certain extent correct the statement which you blurted out inadvertently, by saying that in doing so you believed you were only repeating what was already known; and you might go on to add a number of useful observations, as, for instance, that, if the alliance did not actually exist, it ought to be brought about, as it would be of great advantage and would fulfil the requirements of two peace-loving Powers—and, further, that we should very much regret the truth of the assertion made by the *Kölnische Zeitung* that it had only been concluded for five years; in that case it should be extended over a longer period. Finally, it would be in accordance with the interests of both Empires to strengthen and consolidate the good political relations existing between them by closer commercial relations on a treaty basis."

He then returned to the question of the Russian armaments, and said, *inter alia*: "Now I am to assist! But they can settle the matter themselves. Three years ago I made proposals to them which they would not accept. Now let *them* settle it!"

He reflected for a while, and then suddenly exclaimed: "Can you find us money, and rid us of the bailiff? . . . Parliament will not agree to the licensing tax, not even the Conservatives, each one of whom is cleverer than the other, while they are all of them wiser than the Government. Here there is nothing but discord, and the majority are blockheads. What is the use of their Conservatism when they will not support us? A progressive income tax is unjust, and would not be of much assistance, but an equitable income tax would be good and useful. That can be obtained by self-assessment, and it would in a short time cover the deficit in the four classes. The higher classes—14,000—pay about seven million marks, and to double that amount would be oppressive, it would mean a tax of 26 per cent. The capitalist is either a mortgagee, and if his taxes are raised, he turns upon his debtor and raises his interest to 5 or 5½ per cent. interest, instead of 4; or a loan and debenture company, and then its securities

would lose as much in value as the tax amounts to ; or a holder of industrial shares, and then the tax might reduce or indeed destroy the export trade in the manufactured article. The State cannot tax its own securities, and therefore there only remain foreign securities and railway shares. People are not afraid of the capitalist, but only of the tobacconist, the wine merchant, and the brewer. Of the capitalist one may say :—

“ I prithee take thy fingers from my throat ;
For though I am not splenetic and rash,
Yet have I in me something dangerous,
Which let thy wisdom fear ! ”

If the Conservatives were at one with the Government all would be well. As it is, however, we shall doubtless be obliged to dissolve again in February, and then there will not be so many Conservatives returned. The King has so far committed himself that he can no longer govern with the bailiff. His position is most painful, and he will ultimately ask the country again and again whether the bailiff is to be retained.”

He then spoke about Wedell's motion for taxing time bargains on the Bourse. In his opinion it was not a bad idea, but the phrase “time bargains” should be defined.

In the course of his remarks he mentioned Bleichröder's name, and I asked whether he had noticed certain hints that Bleichröder's schemes with regard to the Turkish tobacco monopoly and railways were being promoted by German diplomacy. He denied the fact. It was true, indeed, that in the Rumanian affair Bleichröder had been supported, because, in that instance, in addition to some distinguished gentlemen, a great number of small investors were concerned. Of the former he mentioned Ujest, and, if I am not mistaken, Lehndorff. There Bleichröder had really done good service, “gallantly risking his money, and it was for that reason that he had been ennobled by the King.” Primker, on the other hand, he described as “clever but unscrupulous.” As to the Austrian Government, he observed that they had committed themselves too far with Hirsch.

We finally came to speak about his neuralgia, which caused him a great deal of pain. I suggested that it probably came from a bad tooth.

He : "Others have thought the same, but the doctor has hampered at all my teeth, and says they are sound. No, it is a nervous affection, muscular pain, particularly when I am worried and excited. That is why I do not attend the Parliamentary sittings ; for what a delight it would be to certain people if, in the middle of a speech, I suddenly made a wry face, and were unable to proceed !" He dismissed me with the words : "Adieu, Büschlein, auf Wiedersehen ! But take care to avoid further indiscretions."

January 14th, 1883.—Called this morning on Bucher, who denounced as "a lie" the Prince's statement that the article in the *Kölnische Zeitung* which followed the paragraph in *Grenzboten* on the Austro-German Alliance, and emphasised, first its five years' duration, and then the warlike preparations of the Russians, did not come from the Foreign Office, but from the military authorities. (Perhaps this assertion was intended to lead me into some "blunder" which would have deprived the *Grenzboten* of its "nimbus.") "The article is by Kruse, who, as you are aware, is here. I know also who corrected it." (Probably Bismarck, or possibly Bucher himself under his instructions.) The fact that the Chief told me to advocate the renewal or prolongation of the treaty, with additional commercial provisions, tallies according to Bucher with a proposal which the Chancellor made in Vienna. He was, however, informed in reply that that would not do, as Austria-Hungary consisted of an industrial and an agricultural country, with different interests. Bucher condemned the proposal, saying : "He is in too great a hurry, because he thinks he has only a few more years to live." I shall now take care to get away from Berlin as soon as I can, and thus avoid further risk of hearing and circulating untruths from the Chief's mouth.

January 28th.—Wrote to the Chief yesterday, informing him that the editor of *Harper's Monthly* (published in London) had asked me to write an article upon him, and if possible, also to send a photograph of the Prince with his new full beard. The Chief, who gave me a very friendly reception to-day, had a particularly bright colour in his face. He asked : "Now, then, what is it you want me to tell you for the article ? All the principal facts are known." I replied that I had come less on that account than for the photograph. They had written to me that thousands of Germans in America would be much interested in seeing his

portrait with the new beard. "Yes," he observed, "they now show their interest in the old country by overloading me with contributions for those who have suffered by the inundations on the Rhine. I have not the least idea what I am to do with them. I have talked over the matter with the people in the Reichstag, they must distribute the money. As to the photograph, however, the man suggested in your letter (Brasch, in the Wilhelmstrasse) cannot do it, as I have promised Löscher and Petsch, with whom I have always been satisfied. But I cannot go to them at present as I should catch cold in this weather, and also because I do not go to the Emperor, and he would be surprised if I were to be seen going to the photographer. But I should myself like to see a portrait with the beard, as I do not know how long I shall keep it." I suggested that he should let Brasch take two photographs only, as he lived close by and would bring his camera here, one of them being for *Harper* and one for me. He could be forbidden to sell any copies. But the Chief considered that that would be a breach of his word, and showed a disposition to lose his temper, so I let the matter drop.

He spoke of the way in which they "hated him in Parliament," although "he had done them no harm." "I cannot understand it," he continued. "It is not so with other Ministers, even with those who have done nothing but commit blunder after blunder, while I, at least, have maintained peace for them. Surely the present Ministry in France is a wretched concern, English policy has been an unbroken series of blunders for the last three years, and Gortschakoff, with his vanity, also makes all sorts of mistakes; yet no one in their own countries worries and hampers them in every direction. Nor in other respects have I ever given them ground for dissatisfaction. Other Ministers speculate on the Stock Exchange, and take advantage of their office and information to make money. It is asserted that several French Ministers do so, and such cases also occur in Austria, and particularly in Hungary, where the Zichys have made millions in railway shares. Mantouffell and Schleinitz took advantage of their position in the same way. No one can say anything of the kind against me. The Diest-Daber statements were slanders. I have never held speculative securities, but only regular dividend-bearing stock. It is only the national grants that have given me my competency. I have made nothing, but was, on the contrary, much better off

formerly than I am now, in consequence of the low prices of corn and timber and unwise purchases of land. . . . Nor have I led a loose life, but have, on the contrary, been always a respectable father of a family. And nothing of the kind can be said of my sons either. (Really?) No charge can be brought against me, and nevertheless I am hated. But I am tired. I have lost my old passion for shooting and riding, and I fear I shall soon lose my liking for politics. I am sacrificing my health. I ought to live in the country, and the doctors say that if I were free from business, and could spend three or four hours a day in the open air, I should be well again. But I do not like to desert the Emperor, who will soon be eighty-seven, when he begs me with tears in his eyes to remain. Nor can I expect him to accustom himself to others."

I inquired how he now stood with the Crown Prince, and he replied, "Latterly he has been very amiable to me, particularly at the various festivities." Then returning, without any transition, to the subject of Parliament and its opposition to himself, he said: "I have maintained peace for them with a great deal of trouble. After 1870 everybody expected war in a couple of years; but so far it has not come, and perhaps, indeed, it may never come again. We are now on a better footing with Russia than we have ever been before, and with Austria we have concluded an alliance." I asked him if he was still negotiating for an improvement of the treaty in a commercial direction. He rejoined: "I will not tell you that, as you have been indiscreet enough to let it be known that it was only concluded for a period of five years. The *Kölnische Zeitung* has reproduced that from the *Grenzboten*."

I: "I beg your pardon, Serene Highness, but the converse was the case. I could not have said it before the *Kölnische Zeitung*, because I was not aware of the fact until I read it in that paper." He maintained his opinion until I offered to prove to him that he was in error, by sending him the *Grenzboten* article. He then went on to relate: "They (the Austrians) thought they might satisfy their greed in that way. I imagine that I am doing them a good turn and making them a present, and then they come with their conditions. I have rejected them. A commercial treaty is possible in which we might grant them more favourable terms than to the others, and in which the tariff would not be raised, indeed perhaps reduced. The high duties which we have imposed

upon Russia and America need not be applied to Austrian maize and barley. The importation of cattle may also be allowed, although that is scarcely feasible in view of the certificates given in Galicia and Hungary, where everything can be bought and everybody can be bribed. But commercial union and a common customs frontier are out of the question, for Germany takes plenty of imported goods, and superior foreign wines are consumed here in Germany, while even a groschen would be too much for an Austrian Slovak who uses nothing of the kind. Even here there is a great difference between the Elbe Duchies or the Rhenish provinces and East Prussia or Upper Silesia."

He then came once more to speak of the peaceful times in which we are now living, and said: "You have only to look at the newspapers and see how empty they are, and how they fish out the ancient sea-serpent in order to have something to fill their columns. The feuilleton is spreading more and more, and if anything sensational occurs they rush at it furiously and write it to death for whole weeks. This low water in political affairs, this distress in the journalistic world, is the highest testimonial for a Minister of Foreign Affairs."

After a moment's silence he went on: "Then you propose to return to Leipzig?"

"Yes," I replied; "since the death of my son, my wife requires amusement and society, which are not to be had here, but which she may find in her own native town."

He: "Well, but surely any one who writes on politics ought to live in Berlin, where politics are now made."

I: "But Leipzig is only three hours from here, and during the months when you are in town I can easily reside here."

He: "That is not necessary, but you might come every fortnight, or when anything occurs, and ask me."

He again complained of the neuralgic pains, at the same time dipping his finger, as he had already done frequently, in a wine glass containing some strong-smelling yellow liquid, with which he rubbed his right cheek bone. "That relieves me for a short time," he said. He then continued: "But I am very tired. I have now been engaged in politics practically since 1847, nearly forty years, and that is exhausting. At first in Parliament, then at Frankfurt, where I was very busy, having work thrown upon me from Berlin also."

I: "That can be seen from Poschinger's book, which I am now reading and making extracts from."

He: "Yes, but he does not say that I also wrote numerous letters to the King from Frankfurt, and that I came no less than thirteen times in one year to Berlin to see him."

I: "It looks almost as if already at Frankfurt you had been his Minister for Foreign Affairs—at least, Manteuffel drew his inspiration from you in the principal questions."

He: "Yes, the late King discussed all great questions with me, and Manteuffel put up with it."

I mentioned that the extracts which I was making from the documents contained in Poschinger's book were intended in the main for the chapter on "Bismarck and Austria," in which I proposed to embody what I had personally gathered in 1870, as, for instance, Prince Luitpold's abortive letter to the Emperor Francis Joseph.

He: "Certainly! But as long ago as 1866 I made an attempt to come to an understanding with them. I suppose I have already told you the Gablentz story?"

I: "No, but you have told me others from that period, as, for instance, how the King wanted to annex portions of Saxony, Bavaria and Bohemia, and how you persuaded him not to do so."

He: "Well, it occurred in this way. Just after the first shot had been fired (in reality it must have been about a fortnight before) I sent Gablentz, the brother of the general, to the Emperor at Vienna with proposals for peace on a dualistic basis. I instructed him to point out that we had seven or eight hundred thousand men under arms, while they also had a great number. It would therefore be better for us both to come to an agreement, and making a change of front towards the West, unite our forces in attacking France, recapture Alsace, and turn Strassburg into a federal fortress. The French were weak as compared with us. There might be no just cause for war, but we could plead with the other powers that France had also acted unjustly in taking Alsace and Strassburg, whence she had continually menaced South Germany ever since. If we were to bring these as a gift to the Germans they would accept our dualism. They, the Austrians, should rule in the South and have command of the seventh and eighth army corps, while we should have command of the ninth and tenth and the federal command in chief in the North. . . .

Dualism is a very ancient institution, as old as the Ingævones and Istævones, Guelphs and Ghibellines."

"Well," he continued, "Gablentz submitted his proposal to the Emperor, who seemed not disinclined to entertain it, but declared he must first hear the views of the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mensdorff, you know. He, however, was a weak-minded mediocrity, unequal to ideas of that calibre, and he said he must first take counsel with the Ministers. They were in favour of war with us. The Minister of Finance said he believed they would beat us—and he must first of all get a war indemnity of five hundred millions out of us, or a good opportunity for declaring the insolvency of the State. The Minister of War was not displeased with my suggestion, but in his opinion we ought to have our own fight out first, and then we could come to an understanding and fall upon the French together. So Gablentz returned without having effected his purpose, and a day or two afterwards the King and myself started for the seat of war."

I thanked him warmly for this important and startling communication, and asked him if I might use it in my book. He replied: "Yes, it is for that purpose that I have related it to you. But not in detail, merely the main features. Proposal for peace on the dualistic basis, united attack upon France, and the reconquest of Alsace."

I then asked once more whether he wished to read the book before it went to press, and he said: "Yes, in order that you may not include anything false in my epitaph."

I: "That would certainly not be done intentionally. You know that I worship you, and would let myself be cut into a thousand pieces for you."

He: "Ah, no: not into so many! It is not necessary."

I: "Well then, only into two pieces, so that one might see half a Büschlein (little Busch) fall to the right and half to the left!"

He reached me his hand, and said, "Auf Wiedersehen!" I had been with him fully three-quarters of an hour, and all this time good old Möller had to wait in the antechamber.

On returning home on the evening of the 3rd of February, I found lying on my table a letter from Count Bill, in which, at his father's request, he enclosed a new photograph of the latter with full white beard.

On the 24th of February I wrote to the Chancellor begging to be allowed to take leave of him personally, as I proposed to start for Leipzig on the following Thursday, and promptly received an invitation to call upon him at 3 o'clock. He was in the room behind his study, which opens on the garden. He was in an armchair, half sitting, half lying, and had beside him a small table covered with documents. After he had asked me how I was, he complained that he still felt very poorly. When one trouble left him another set in. The neuralgic faceache often prevented him from sleeping. If he could only go to the country, away from business, things might improve; but the King would not grant him leave, and "pestered him with all sorts of unimportant orders," &c., as, for instance, with the question as to who should go to St. Petersburg to attend the coronation. "He thinks," he continued, "that if I can manage to keep on my legs I shall live to be old,—and if not, why then I must die in the fulfilment of my duty. . . . And here in the Foreign Office I have no proper assistance. Look at that pile of documents which I must read through myself! The Crown Prince is also inconsiderate, and torments me with matters of no importance; and, in addition to that, the people in the Diet are committing all sorts of blunders. How abusive they have been during the past few days! But it is the same everywhere with Parliaments and Ministers." I remarked: "Quite so, for instance in France." "It is no better in England," he rejoined. "The European is no longer making progress. There is nothing more to be done with him." He repeated that he was sick of politics, and wanted quiet. He then spoke of the *Culturkampf*, observing: "The Pope is really well disposed, but he is not so powerful and independent as one may think; he is dependent upon people who will have no peace. For some time it appeared as if a *modus vivendi* could be arrived at, but now that is at an end. On the signs of approaching fine weather Windthorst threatened to strike and resign the leadership of the Centre party. He wants a stormy sky for other purposes, for stirring up discontent and strife, and they on the other hand need him, or think they do. They accordingly became frightened in Rome, and now they are once more making themselves unpleasant." I said: "Catholicism has always been a secondary consideration for Windthorst. He is, above everything else, the well-paid advocate of the Guelphs."

He rejoined: "Ah, he believes in nothing whatever. He has absolutely no religion."

He caught sight of an envelope which I had brought with me and laid on the table beside us. He asked: "What have you there?" I answered: "It usually happens that granting one request brings on another, and that is the case now. I have had your last portrait enlarged and mounted, and I would now beg your Serene Highness to write your name under it as a souvenir. Of course it can be done in pencil." "No," he said, "in ink," and then wrote under the photograph: "v. Bismarck, Berlin, 24 February, 1883."

I thanked him and said: "It is then arranged, Serene Highness, that I may come here and address myself to you occasionally when anything of importance arises, particularly when there would seem to be anything on foot in which you might wish to have some one near you in whom you could repose special confidence? And as to the book, I may send you the proofs in a few months? We shall probably not begin printing before August." He agreed to all this, and then said: "Well, good-bye, Busch. Auf Wiedersehen! Enjoy yourself in Leipzig 'an der Pleisse.'" He pronounced these words with a true Saxon accent.

On the 13th of May I came from Leipzig to Berlin, and reported myself to the Chancellor by letter. On the 15th I received word that the Chancellor expected me at 3 o'clock, and I was with him for nearly an hour. He was in plain clothes, and sat at his ordinary double writing-table. He did not look ill, but complained as usual of his neuralgia. He said: "It now extends over the whole body, the chest and abdomen, and I can no longer exert myself to think or work for any length of time—two hours at the outside; then I must give up, or drink champagne or something of that kind to keep myself going for a while longer. I ought to get out of harness altogether, but the Emperor will not consent to this, and even when I go to the country, business and worry now follow at my heels." I asked: "Worry with the gentlemen in Parliament?" "Ah, no," he replied; "I no longer read their speeches and brawling. It is the Ministers. Scholz is all right, as also Bötticher and Maybach, although the latter is somewhat blunt,—but the others, and particularly those in the Foreign Office!" I said: "But surely Bucher and Busch

are able and diligent." "That is so," he rejoined; "but Bucher is cross-tempered and soured, and Busch is sinking under his load of work. I was mistaken in Hatzfeldt. He is very good for negotiating with the King and the Crown Prince, but he thinks only of his own interest, and would like to be my successor; but he has no sense of duty and no love of work." I added: "One or at most two hours' work in the day, as formerly—and then to play a game of croquet or lawn tennis with Mrs. or Madame So-and-so." "Yes," he said, "that's his way. Like Lucca. *Unser Paulchen ist sehr faulchen* (Our little Paul is very lazy)." "His Excellency Herr von Keudell also wanted to become Imperial Chancellor one day, and absurd as the notion was, he worked it through his friends in the press, who had to praise him up to the skies and represent him as your intimate adviser."

He: "Yes, and he also knew how to get himself a rich wife, and to take advantage of the position which he acquired through the friendship of my wife and his own musical talent. Moreover, he knew how to impress people with his importance—through his silence. But there was nothing behind it. He is stupid, empty and incapable. He was unable even to manage the Pay Department properly."

The Chief then spoke of Hohenlohe, and appeared to think more highly of him than he did of Hatzfeldt. He also referred to Radowitz and afterwards to Radowitz's father, alleging that the "Jesuitical attitude of the latter was responsible for Olmütz." "You know what sort of a man the late King was," he continued. "For years, during which something might have been done, Radowitz kept him occupied with all sorts of tailoring and ornamental matters, with mediæval questions of costumes, uniforms and coats of arms. He acted as Keeper of the Wardrobe to his fancies: whether such and such Counts were or were not received, and the Knights of St. John, and the Wetterau bench of Counts, and the absurd question whether Saxony and Hanover should retain the right to appoint envoys,—as if a barber could not have intrigued successfully against our policy so long as they had the power. He amused the King with such trifles as these until it was too late."

He then came to speak of Lady Bloomfield's Memoirs, the Tauchnitz edition of which he brought in from the next room, and asked me to review it in the *Grenzboten*. He said I should find "the genuine English arrogance in the lady," who was

"much pleased at the opposition of the Crown Princess (the present Empress Augusta); and full of the profoundest aversion to everything Prussian and German." In 1866 she "had been anti-Prussian to the backbone," and had "libelled our officers as the French did in 1870 with their story of the clock." This led him to speak of the Crown Princess and her "English self-conceit." On my remarking that the Queen, her mother, was also unfriendly to us Germans, and had always sided with the Belgian-Coburg clique, &c., he denied that this was the case, and said that, on the contrary, she had "on the whole been favourable to us."

He then continued: "I wish you would some time or other refute the charge that I have acted inconsistently in the struggle with the Curia, and that I have changed my opinions and aims in the ecclesiastical question, and in others. That is the sort of criticism which can only proceed from some one who has never occupied the position of a leading Minister. Whoever has held such a post for any considerable time can never absolutely unalterably maintain and carry out his original opinions. He finds himself in presence of situations that are not always the same—of life and growth—in connection with which he must take one course one day, and then perhaps on the next another, I could not always run straight ahead like a cannon ball. Had I done so I should have knocked my head against a wall. When the situation changed I was obliged to alter my plans. Such changes in the situation were, moreover, chiefly due to the fickleness of parties, and, therefore, if any one is to blame they are. Their action, on the other hand, was in great part influenced by their envy. That is the national vice of the Germans. They cannot bear to see any one hold a high and leading position for any length of time. One of the most important changes was produced by the formation of the Catholic party, the founders of which might at the beginning have been expected to support the Government. Savigny, you know. It, however, weakened my position. The entire struggle with the Centre party would have taken another form, and have had a different issue, if I could have fought it out at the head of the Conservatives. I had risen from their ranks, but if I was to do justice to the requirements of the time it was impossible for me to continue in agreement with them on all points. This, and the long-suppressed hatred and

envy of old comrades of my own class and faith, which very soon broke out, drove me over to the Liberal side. An understanding had to be come to with the latter if the Empire was to strike firm root, and so I was obliged to come to an agreement with the strongest party, a thing which I had tried in vain to do in 1866, when it was also desirable. It was particularly necessary in those years when Germany was threatened with a Triple Alliance like that of the Kaunitz period. The latest achievement of German diplomacy is to have prevented the formation of such a coalition against us for thirteen years. The Government was forced to appear at the head of the Liberals, at the head of the majority, in order to avert this coalition. The Conservatives fell away from me on that account. I would remind you of the Inspection of Schools Bill, and of the attitude of the *Kreuz Zeitung*, and of the libels published in the *Reichsglocke*. And just as the situation was thus altered at that time, so it was again changed in 1878, through the defection of the Liberals. Here, too, it was envy and self-importance, and the desire to rule. I was no longer supported, or only in a lukewarm fashion. They were not sorry to see me weakened by the opposition of the Centre party, so that I should be forced to negotiate with them. The Progressists combined with the Centre against me. The Secessionists acted in very much the same way. From this time forward the National Liberals were silent in the struggle with Rome. They were pleased at the embarrassments to which it gave rise, and wished to have a weaker Government in order that they might appear stronger. When the Government had to strike the Liberals out of its reckoning, it naturally followed that I had to slacken my opposition to Rome. I cannot speak any longer now, or the faceache will return."

He then rose, but continued to speak of his illness for a while as he walked up and down, describing it as very painful, "like shingles." I further asked if I might in a few months send him the proofs of my book. "What book?" he said. I answered: "That which your Serene Highness has already twice promised me to read through." He then thought for a moment, and promised once more to do so, whereupon I took my leave, with wishes for his speedy recovery. He said he had no longer any hope, and only expected to grow worse.

On the 11th of July, after the Chancellor had left Berlin for

Friedrichsruh, -Grunow sent him the first sheets of my book, *Unser Reichskanzler*, to read through before they were sent to press. On the 16th of July, Count Bill returned me these proofs saying that all that had been struck out was a passage in a private conversation. "It would be better," he added, "to omit altogether expressions of a similar character made in conversations of a confidential nature. (Of course, here and in what follows it is not the writer, but the Chancellor who speaks.) Many things may be said that are not suitable for publication; among these are animadversions upon Imperial institutions, such as the Constitution, for example."

On the 18th, Count Bill returned more proofs which were accompanied with a letter that "although my father cannot act as collaborator but must confine himself to a more negative part, suggesting to you the suppression of incorrect or unsuitable passages, he nevertheless requests you to replace the portion within brackets on page 6, by the enclosed, as the latter is more in harmony with the facts." On the 20th of July further proofs, up to the end of the first chapter, arrived from Friedrichsruh. These again included alterations that had been dictated to Count Bill by his father.

When the Prince shortly afterwards proceeded to Kissingen, Grunow continued to send him the proofs, as he had received no orders to the contrary. They were not returned, and the printers had therefore to stop work. I, however, received the following long letter from the Chancellor, which was written by an amanuensis on official foolscap, like a State document, the two sheets being tied together with silk thread in the Imperial colours.

"KISSINGEN, *August 3rd*, 1883.

"DEAR SIR,

"You probably have no adequate conception of the state of my health and of my need of rest or you would doubtless not be the only person who begrudges me the latter, while the Emperor and the Empire and all their officials respect it. Possibly you have also no notion of the difficulties of the work which you expect me to do. On former occasions of a similar kind I have corrected all errors of fact which had arisen through mistakes on your part or on that of others. Now, however, you wish to submit to the public with regard to my way of thinking

and my inner man inferences drawn from observations made by yourself and others, which in great part are actually incorrect. (He had then in his hands Chapters II. and III., and a considerable portion of Chapter IV.) It is, therefore, not surprising that your conclusions do not correspond with the facts, so that if you were to publish them I should be forced to controvert and refute them. There are a number of gross errors of fact, and confusions of jest and earnest, in the expressions and incidents upon which you base your view of my supposed way of thinking. You assume that in everything that I have ever said in your presence for the entertainment of my guests at table, or in my own home, or in what you have gathered from the unreliable accounts of third persons, I have invariably given serious expression to my inmost feelings with the conscientiousness of a witness giving evidence on oath before a Court.

"In view of the pedantry with which you utilise scattered fragments of conversation, a man in my position would be obliged never to depart for a moment from a formal mode of expressing himself or step down from his official stilts. Everything you say in particular respecting my attitude towards Christianity and the question of the Jews is not only monstrously indiscreet, but thoroughly false. (Everything?) The jokes about my superstition have already appeared in print, and in so far as there is any truth in them are just mere jokes or consideration for the feelings of other people. I will make one of a dinner party of thirteen as often as you like, and am ready to undertake the most important and delicate business on a Friday.

"At the present moment I am particularly interested in setting public opinion right as to my share in the Catholic question. What you give on the subject is incomplete and superficial, and as soon as my health has improved I should like to supply you with better material. For that purpose it would be necessary that I should see you personally as soon as I have finished my cure. If I were to correct this and other points by correspondence I should have to myself rewrite your book. But I must be left absolutely in peace for the duration of my Kissingen cure, and cannot occupy myself editorially with such difficult and delicate questions as those you touch upon.

"I would suggest to you to recast your book altogether, as in its present form I do not believe it will be favourably received.

The work is far too lengthy, and, in particular, it contains too much material published long since by yourself and others. What is new in it is in part of little interest, while other portions are incorrect, so that I should be obliged publicly to dispute their accuracy.

"I shall be very pleased to read the further proofs in order to form an idea of the whole. When I have done that, I can afterwards give you my opinion in Berlin or Friedrichsruh, but while I remain here I must decline every description of critical or editorial work.

"(Signed) V. BISMARCK."

In reply to this communication, I excused myself for having sent the proofs, through my ignorance of his absolute need of rest, and by recalling the fact that, in 1878, I had been permitted to send him such proofs to Kissingen and Gastein. The printing was then postponed for about eight weeks, until the beginning of October. On the 5th of that month I wrote to Friedrichsruh to ask whether it was now agreeable to him to receive me for the purpose of the interview which he had mentioned as desirable in his letter of the 3rd of August. On the 6th Count Herbert wrote that his father would be glad to see me as soon as he had read the proofs sent to him in the summer. Owing to his journey and the state of his health he had not been able to do so up to the present.

The work remained at a standstill for four weeks more. This was very disagreeable to Grunow, who repeatedly requested me to press the matter at Friedrichsruh. I declined to do so, as I could wait. He then wished to write to the Prince himself, describing his embarrassment. I tried to dissuade him, but as he nevertheless repeated the suggestion, I told him he might do so at his own risk, and also gave him a few ideas for his letter. Next day he told me that he had written. On the 9th of November I received the following letter from Friedrichsruh :—

"FRIEDRICHSRUH, *November 8th*, 1883.

"DEAR SIR,

"The Imperial Chancellor has received a letter dated the 5th instant from Johannes Grunow, publisher, of Leipzig, in which he urges despatch in the supervision of the proofs of your work. The letter contains the following sentence :—

"The manuscript was ready and in my hands eight weeks ago, and I do not know what excuses to make without prejudice to the truth unless I can communicate to those who are pressing me the real cause of the delay. This has not been done up to the present, but if the delay should continue for any length of time it will, to my great regret, be scarcely possible to avoid it, unless I receive some other explanation."

"It is obvious that the Imperial Chancellor cannot continue a correspondence with a person who even now threatens him with disclosures. On the contrary, he is disposed to leave this gentleman to publish your work, if he should think proper so to do, reserving to himself the right of criticising it afterwards. Before he comes to any decision on this point, however, he desires to discuss the matter with you verbally, and requests you to visit him at Friedrichsruh, bringing with you your copy of the proofs of your work."

"I beg of you to be good enough to let me know shortly beforehand the day and hour of your arrival."

"I am, honoured Sir, with profound esteem,

"Your most obedient,

"F. RANTZAU."

I thereupon announced that I should arrive at Friedrichsruh on the 12th of November. I was met at the station by a servant, who accompanied me to the Prince's house and showed me to my room. Shortly afterwards I was called down stairs, where I had a friendly reception from the Chancellor and his wife. We then took lunch, Rantzau being also present, and immediately afterwards the Prince went with me into his study in order to discuss the matter that had brought me hither. He first gave expression to his indignation at Grunow's letter, in which connection I also came in for my share. Among other things which he said was: "You have turned me into a bookseller's hack; I am to be exploited like a Christmas speculation, and harnessed to his cart, the impudent fellow! He should have known nothing whatever of my assistance!" I explained to him that I had to inform Grunow owing to the possibility of a considerable delay in the return of my proofs, that I had previously mentioned this to him, the Chancellor, and that he had agreed, and that the same course had been adopted in the case of the first book. In his excitement he appeared to have overlooked what I had said, as he went on as

follows: "That must remain between ourselves. I can trust you. You may write to me. But he! What right has a bookseller got to correspond with me, to warn and threaten me?" I tried in vain to appease him, endeavouring to show that the passage quoted by Rantzau when read in connection with the remainder of the letter was perhaps not a threat, but only a strong and not particularly felicitous expression of Grunow's difficulty and embarrassment. The latter was a man of straightforward character, who knew how to keep his own counsel, and who was incapable of wishing to bring pressure of a threatening character to bear upon the Chancellor, for whom he entertained the highest regard. He then rang for Rantzau, and asked him to bring Grunow's letter, which he handed to me to read. I could not see that it contained anything more than a cry of distress on the part of the publisher, who had promised the booksellers that a certain book would appear at a fixed date, and who feared he could not keep his word nor find any sufficient excuse to give them. I was as little affected by this embarrassment as I was by any loss which Grunow might suffer in case the book was not published at Christmas. I could have waited for a long time, and even if that were not the case it would never have occurred to me to press him. He said: "You acted in a perfectly proper way when the matter was postponed, and I had not expected anything different from you. But all the same that remains a threat on his part, and a piece of presumption, and I hesitated whether I should not decline to have anything further to do with the book, and afterwards publicly contradict erroneous passages in it. But then I thought of you, although I altogether object to having books written about me and to people trading with me and my affairs. Poschinger has done so, and sold my despatches and letters, forgetting even to send me any remuneration." (Sometimes his humour does not desert him even in his anger.) "Besides, this new book is not so good as the preceding one. It does not contain much that is new, and what it does is false. You are not such a good observer as you were; you have grown older; and you want to divine and picture my inner man from fragmentary observations, which were mainly misconceptions. You draw conclusions from occasional utterances which you jotted down under the table-cloth. According to you I am always in deadly earnest, as if I were on oath," &c.

I abstained from urging what could be said on the other side, and his excitement gradually subsided. Taking some of the proofs he sat down at his writing-table and invited me to take a place opposite, in order that I might note down his corrections and additions. He was rather impatient over it, said my hearing was not so good as formerly, and complained that I did not take down dictation as rapidly as his sons, and so on. On this occasion we went through the greater part of the third chapter, and he had very much less to object to and alter than I had apprehended from his letter of the 3rd of August. By far the greater part of these pages he turned over without any remarks. With respect to the others he made observations that had no reference to the book, as for instance: "Thadden, a narrow-minded fellow, who has no brains." After about three-quarters of an hour he stood up and said: "I must now get some fresh air." He strode up and down the room, however, for a while, as before, and began again to vent his anger at the presumption and threats of "this bookseller who wanted to harness me to his Christmas cart." Ultimately, however, he quieted down, grew more friendly, and showed me over the apartments, including his bedroom. In one of the first of these was hung a portrait in oils of a Roman prelate of high rank. In reply to my inquiry he informed me that it was Cardinal Hohenlohe.

He then went out for a walk or drive, while I proceeded to my room and wrote out his observations and the corrections which he had dictated to me.

At a quarter past six I was called to dinner. Among those present, in addition to the Prince and Princess, were the Rantzaus, Dr. Schweninger, of Munich, who was in attendance on the Chancellor, and Herr von Ohlen, another of the doctor's patients. The Prince, as I now observed for the first time, suffered from a slight attack of jaundice. While taking our coffee, which was served in the Princess's room, the conversation was at first of little significance, but gradually grew more lively and interesting; and the Chancellor, who had remarked in the *tête-à-tête* with me at midday that he would henceforth be careful of what he said in my presence, had probably forgotten his intention. On my stating, among other things, that the war of 1870 appeared to have had an excellent effect upon the national feeling in Saxony, he added, "and still more so in Bavaria. I once said jestingly to Fabrice¹ that we should live to see order

¹ The Saxon General and Minister of War.

restored in Saxony one day by Bavarian troops." Speaking of Court circles in Berlin, he complained: "Whenever I performed on the political tight-rope they hit me on the shins, and, if I had only fallen, how delighted they would have been! Particularly the eternal feminine (*das ewig Weibliche*)."

It was only after lunch on Tuesday, the 13th, and again before dinner, that the work with the Prince was resumed, when Chapter II., the remainder of Chapter III., and about half of Chapter IV. were weeded out, the weeds again proving much less abundant than I had anticipated. He maintained that in the second chapter I made him out to be a "hypocrite" in religious matters, an idea which he had no difficulty in entirely disproving inasmuch as he justified his belief in God among other things by a reference to facts which could only be accounted for by the existence of a Deity.

In the second section he began to dictate to me an account of his attitude towards the *Kulturkampf*, which he broke off on our being called to dinner. Before that he again suddenly renewed his grumbling at Grunow, I, too, coming in for a small share. He was also displeased with my long full beard. "My wife asked me," he said, "if you were older than I. 'No,' I said, 'I thought you were four or five years younger.' But she was right. It's your beard. It should be cut shorter. As it is it makes you look fearfully ancient."

On Wednesday, the 14th, the Chief set to work on the proofs with me after breakfast. At Chapter IV. he exclaimed: "Look here, you must have a thoroughly wicked heart. You are delighted every time you hear and can jot down a disagreeable remark about somebody." I rejoined: "I cannot trust myself to give any opinion upon my own heart. But one thing I do know, it has always been devoted to you. I only hate your enemies." He afterwards reflected for a moment, looked at the clock, and said: "I must now go out to receive Giers, who is coming from Berlin to discuss important matters with me. We shall introduce you and Schweninger to him as doctors of medicine, for if he ascertained that Dr. Busch belonged to another variety he would be afraid that he was being watched and that it would get into the newspapers. By the way, you have included him among the Jews in your diplomatic chapter, and that must be struck out. (I had referred to his name, Giers, as a russified form of Hirsch.) He

may be a Jew, although he asserts that he is the son of a Finnish officer. But we must not write that, as he is well disposed, desires peace, and does what he can to secure it. He is quite indispensable to us."

The Russian Minister arrived between 2 and 3 P.M. The Chancellor received him at the station, drove with him to the house, and then conferred with him until nearly 6 o'clock, when Giers dined with us, the company remaining together over their coffee until about 9 P.M. Giers is a man of medium height, and would seem to be well advanced in the fifties. He has somewhat of a stoop as he walks. His features are of a slightly Jewish cast, a characteristic which is also evident in his gestures and movements, there being something in the hands in particular which recalled our Semites. On this occasion he spoke only in French.

On Thursday, the 15th, as I was returning from a walk, I saw the Chief coming towards me in a carriage. When he recognised me he reached out both hands towards me from a distance, left the carriage, and walked back with me to the mill. (I therefore fancy that he cannot have been so very angry with me.) He described to me a pretty pathway through the woods on the other side of the streamlet, saying: "I know you are also a lover of lonely country walks." Yesterday evening over our coffee, after Giers had left, he also said: "I always feel happiest in my top-boots striding through the heart of the forest, where I hear nothing but the knocking and hammering of the woodpecker, far away from your civilisation."

Again at work with the Chancellor from 4 o'clock onwards. He told me his wife had said: "The doctor may be very clever and amiable, but all the same you should be on your guard at table when he is present. He always sits there with his ears cocked, writes everything down, and then spreads it abroad." She herself, however, in her simple way, forgot to keep on her guard to-day. While seated on her right at dinner my napkin accidentally dropped, and, lo and behold! her Serene Highness, the lady of the house, bent down for it before I could prevent her! I felt that I had been fearfully awkward.

On Friday, the 16th, the Chief dictated to me the conclusion of the long passage respecting his attitude towards the ecclesiastical struggle. He then gave me, for insertion in the fourth chapter, the following statement with regard to Bunsen:—"During the

Crimean War, when he was Minister in London, he reported to Berlin that England offered us Schleswig-Holstein in return for our joining in the war against Russia, whilst he stated in London that Prussia would join if she received the Duchies. Both statements were false, and when the affair became known, he was dismissed. I had something to say in the matter. The King exclaimed: 'Why, he has been my friend for twenty years, and now he acts in this way!' Old General Rauch observed: 'Yes, he has also lied and betrayed your Majesty for twenty years.' 'One cannot allow that to be said of a friend,' rejoined the King." He then proceeded to other matters, and on my asking whether there was any subject which I could deal with in the press, he at first replied in the negative, but then said: "Giers found the Emperor very frail, and perhaps he will not last much longer. Well, when he dies, I shall go too. He is a gallant old gentleman, who has always meant well, and whom I must not desert. But I will make no experiments with the Crown Prince. I am too old and weak for that. Things will not go on particularly well, and on the whole I am convinced that what we have built up since 1866 has no stability." In the course of his further remarks he mentioned the Crown Princess, "a Liberal English-woman," "a follower of Gladstone," and maintained that she "has more influence upon her consort than is desirable." He then spoke once more of his need of repose and a country life, referring to Berlin in very disparaging terms, and scarcely allowing it even to be a handsome city. He insisted that owing to the drainage there was already a bad smell in every house, and that in a short time the place would become utterly intolerable. He said in conclusion: "I have always longed to get away from large cities and the stink of civilisation. Every time I return I feel that more and more, and I have earned my leisure." I remarked that I could fully understand that feeling, and also his reluctance to serve the coming King, on account of his opinions; but surely he would not abandon a work which was so entirely his own, and retire altogether from the political stage. He would at least take his seat in the Upper Chamber and be elected to the Reichstag, where he could offer advice and admonition. He replied: "Yes, but not like the others in perpetual and uncompromising opposition." I said, "Then please remember this little fellow when you want anything done in the press. I shall always be at your

service." "All right," he replied, and reached me his hand. "You can then come to me and arrange my papers. (With a significant smile.) There is still a great deal of good stuff there." I begged leave to remain the following day, as it was such a pleasure to me to be near him. "Oh, certainly!" he said; "but you must not ask me to play cards with you or otherwise entertain you."

I remained over the 17th, and started for Berlin at noon on the 18th, returning to Leipzig on the 19th. There I received in instalments from Rantzau the bulk of the remaining proofs. The Chief sent two more to Bucher in Berlin, whence I had to fetch them.

I immediately noted down the following particulars of the conversation I had with Bucher on this occasion. I praised the Countess Rantzau as being good-natured and unaffected. "Well," he rejoined, "she is cleverer and more prudent than her mother. The Princess, for instance, is not fortunate in the selection of her acquaintances. First she had the little hunchback Obernitz. Then Babette Meyer was her friend and confidant—an intelligent body, but She was often with her in Berlin and elsewhere, and as the Princess heard a great deal about political affairs and spoke of them to others, Babette, while she was with her, certainly overheard many things and then repeated them to others. . . . It was afterwards Frau von Wallenberg's turn. She was the worst, and she it was who had most opportunity for eavesdropping and keeping other people informed. You know that the Prince generally goes through his official papers at lunch time, and gives instruction to his sons or to Rantzau as to the answers to be returned. She could hear all that, and take note of it for Holstein, who has recently developed, owing to his ambition, into a very dangerous intriguer. He is accustomed to communicate to Paulchen (Hatzfeldt, the Secretary of State), everything he ascertains in this and other ways."

I turned the conversation on Bucher's share in the negotiations respecting the candidature of the Prince of Hohenzollern for the Spanish throne. He gave me a detailed account of this. The first time he was in Madrid in connection with that affair was in Easter and then in June, 1870. He gave the following particulars of his second journey: "It was a rush hither and thither in zigzag, accident playing a large part in delaying and hindering as

well as in promoting my purpose. Salazar came to me on the Saturday, and wanted to have the final decision of the Prince by Monday. I replied that that would not be possible in such a short time, particularly as I did not know where the Prince was staying at the moment, and of course he would have to be consulted first. Nor was it an easy matter for me to get away at the time. He said he knew the Prince was in Reichenhall, and added, '*Selon ce que vous me dites je renonce.*' I replied: 'I assume that you will write a statement of what has passed between us, which will find its way into the Spanish archives; and as they will some day be open to historians, I should not wish to take this responsibility upon myself. I will travel with you, first to Madrid, (improbable, but so I heard it,) and then to the Prince of Hohenzollern. He said he would take one of his liegemen with him, a man who would fling himself out of the window without hesitation if he told him to do so. A curious condition of things still prevails there, the obedience of feudal vassals, the devotion of the age of chivalry. Well, we started for Reichenhall, travelling first in separate compartments so as to avoid notice in Paris, and afterwards together, as he did not understand German and his companion spoke only Spanish. On my making inquiries at the office of the baths, I found that the director was at a neighbouring village, and the others could give me no information respecting the Prince. They believed he was not there. I drove out to the village they mentioned, and found that the director had left. On returning to Reichenhall I proceeded to the police station. As I was going up the steps I was met by a rather shabbily-dressed man, who stopped and said he supposed I wanted to go to the police office, but it was now closed. He, however, belonged to it, and would go back with me. I told him I was looking for the Prince of Hohenzollern, to whom I had a communication to make. He replied that the Prince was here, and lived at such-and-such a place, but under another name. I therefore proceeded thither with Salazar, but only found the Princess, who told us that her consort was now with his father at Sigmaringen. We packed up once more and made off for Sigmaringen, where we found them, and they agreed. They could, however, decide nothing without the consent of the King, who was at Ems. We then started for that place, and were received by the old gentleman, who was very gracious to me and

agreed to what I submitted to him. I then went to Varzin to report to the Chief. It was a regular zigzag journey with obstacles." Bucher added that he had taken shorthand notes of his conversation with Salazar, which he "still possessed." At least, so I understood him.

On the whole the Prince in his collaboration with me struck out a little over seventeen pages out of a total of nearly 900, while he contributed some twenty-two pages to the two volumes. The first edition of 10,000 copies was issued at the end of February, 1884, and by the autumn of 1885, 6,500 copies had been disposed of, although the Liberal press did its worst to run the book down. An English translation was published by Macmillan in April, and some months later arrangements were made for an Italian edition.

On the 14th of March, 1884, I again took up my residence in Berlin; and on the 16th I called upon Bucher, to present him with a handsomely bound copy. According to him the Chancellor had returned this time from Friedrichsruh in excellent condition, had already been twice out riding in the Thiergarten, and once for a walk there. He had drawn up a memorandum for the Emperor, showing that the home policy of Gladstone, the extension of the franchise, must lower the position of the English aristocracy and with it that of the Crown, which was of course only its head. The Emperor's minute said that he was much struck with this statement, and suggested that it should be laid before the Crown Prince—a suggestion to which the Chief agreed. In Bucher's opinion the Chancellor would on certain conditions consent to remain in office when the Crown Prince came to the throne, but the latter would not keep his promises, and then Bismarck would retire. A further communication of Bucher's was also interesting, namely, that the "refutation of the absurd attack of the *National Zeitung*" (on my account of Gablentz's mission), which was contained in the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* was written by the Prince himself.

On the 23rd September I called upon Bucher, who again complained of the "shocking way in which business was conducted in the Foreign Office"; and in particular of Hatzfeldt and Holstein. For a long time past he had given up saluting the latter. He would "like best of all to leave the place, if that were only possible." He praised Count Herbert as "very diligent and

not unskilful," and was of opinion that the Prince intended to make him Secretary of State at some future time. Münster, "who is more English than German, and does very little," having allowed some question to hang fire, the Chief sent Herbert to London, where he at once took it into his own hands, pressed it through, and finally settled it satisfactorily. "Another person placed in the position of the Ambassador would have resigned in such circumstances." I suggested: "Angra Pequena, and the long delay in answering the Chancellor's inquiries?" Bucher replied in the affirmative. He then said: "It will not be pleasant to work under the young man, but work will be done, and things will not be allowed to drag on in such a slow and slovenly way. Herbert has also a good memory, and has been a great deal with his father. He was often present at interviews with important personages, at which matters of great moment were discussed that do not appear in the official documents, and in that way he has had splendid opportunities for learning." Bucher agreed with me regarding the meeting at Skiernevice as a "spectacle intended to show Europe the good understanding which exists between the three Emperors." He added, however, that "the relations between Austria and Russia leave much to be desired in many respects." He furthermore confirmed the fact that the Chief, "in view of the cool and repellant attitude of Gladstone, has for a long time past been working towards a better understanding with France, and not without success." After speaking of the Balkan Peninsula, and hinting at an understanding respecting it, Bucher said he had a mind to write something on the despatch of an English Commission to Sarakhs for the purpose of settling the question of the frontier between Afghanistan and Russia, but he had not yet been able to collect the geographical materials. These remarks showed that he had been busy with this question recently. I offered to publish something of the kind in the *Grenzboten*, and he promised the necessary materials from the library of the Foreign Office, and in particular the account of O'Donovan's travels. He saw the Prince (who has now returned to Friedrichsruh) a short time ago; he thinks that the journey to Skiernevice has done him good, as he is much less stout, feels thoroughly well and also works hard.

Bucher called at my house on the following morning with a collection of newspaper extracts on various subjects for my use.

I had, however, gone out. On my returning the bundle of papers given to me on the 28th of September he gave me some further particulars of the way in which Herbert had dealt with the English. On Lord Granville asking him in the course of the negotiations respecting Angra Pequena whether we were not contemplating an ultimate expansion of territory towards the interior (Query, towards the East, in the direction of Bechuanaland and the Boer Republic), he retorted, not over politely, that that was "a question of mere curiosity," and indeed finally, "a matter that does not concern you." The Chief showed him the letter in which that was reported, and was pleased with his son's sturdiness. The English have now so far yielded in the matter that the Ministry has not confirmed the resolution of the Cape Government to annex the country around Angra Pequena. "Münster," he said, "must leave London, but I doubt whether there is any truth in the report that Herbert has been selected as his successor." He afterwards said: "When the Germans, a short time before the conclusion of the Preliminary Peace at Versailles, sank some English coalships on the Lower Seine and the English made a row on the subject, the Chief asked me, 'What can we say in reply?' Well, I had brought with me some old fogies on the Law of Nations and such matters. I hunted up what the old writers called the *jus angariae*, that is to say, the right to destroy the property of neutrals on payment of full compensation, and showed it to the Chief. He sent me with it to Russell, who allowed himself to be convinced by this 'good authority.' Shortly afterwards the whole affair with the *jus angariae* appeared in *The Times*. We wrote in the same sense to London, and the matter was settled. A short time ago, when I had to look up something in the documents of the war period, I found that the two papers which I had written in this matter were gone. They had been removed by our mutual friend Abeken through jealousy of me." I reminded him of O'Donovan's work, but he said that just now the *Grenzboten* article would be premature. In this connection he gave me a short survey of the relations of the English and the Russians in Afghanistan, which showed that he was fully informed on that subject. I finally suggested that I should now give a description in the *Grenzboten* of the scandalous treatment of Ireland by England, based upon Lecky's book, which he promised to get for me from the Foreign Office library,

but which I already had. I wrote the article which appeared shortly afterwards.

Bucher frequently mentioned to me that South African affairs were also of importance to us. On my expressing my readiness to deal with the subject in the *Grenzboten*, he promised me material for the purpose. and twice I reminded him of his promise.

On the 3rd of November, 1884, he wrote me: "I cannot yet spare the documents on South Africa, as they may be required for use any day. You will doubtless have noticed this from the articles in the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*. Besides, this is not the right moment. You must first know what the Boers have to say in reply to the accusations of the English.

"In the meantime another article would be desirable on the debate in *The Times* of the 1st instant. I have done some of the preparatory work for you in this matter, and send you herewith for perusal a bundle of papers in which you will find a variety of material. The subject of Protection in England must, it is true, be dealt with very cautiously, as it is in our interest that England should maintain her present tariff, and we must bear that in mind.

"It is absurd to believe that the tariff question is governed by any absolute principle which applies to all peoples and all times. Every nation must know or must learn from experience what is best for itself. We therefore do not dream of teaching the English, although they are so generously anxious to teach us, and although the change from the system of natural forces (by which, since 1815, the preceding generation of Prussian statesmen raised the country to prosperity) to the free-trade doctrines that have been accepted by the official world and the majority of the legislative bodies since 1850, must be ascribed in great part to English writers, and German journalists paid by England. Now of the complaints that are being raised in England, one has an obvious application to the condition of affairs in Germany, namely, that which relates to foreign competition in agricultural produce and cattle breeding. Then you can deal with the arguments of the other side that a return to Protection is impossible in England, recognising at the same time that there are sound reasons for this contention. Conclusion: we also can suggest no remedy; probably this extraordinary state of affairs must be a consequence

of the peculiar development of England—on the Continent the Thirty Years' War, the Spanish War of Succession and the Napoleonic Wars (1870 was also a 'wonderful year for England' in consequence of our war). The peoples of the Continent rend each other to pieces in wars and revolutions. England, which, with the exception of the unimportant French landing in Ireland, has seen no enemy on her soil since 1066, is 'making money' and helping herself to the best colonies. If, as there is every reason to believe, we are now on the eve of a long era of peace in Europe, those conditions will no longer exist under which the wealth of England has, as Gladstone says, increased by leaps and bounds." I wrote this article immediately, on the lines laid down by Bucher, and basing it on his material.

On the 16th of November Bucher again sent me material for an attack upon England. This I worked up into an article entitled "England and the Cholera," which was published in No. 49 of the *Grenzboten*. This article argued that England had destroyed hand weaving in the East Indies by its customs legislation of 1817, thus depriving large numbers of people of their livelihood. This, together with the bad harvests, resulted in famine, which in turn weakened the population and made it less capable of resisting the cholera, which arose through malaria, heat and overcrowding at the places of pilgrimage, and which accordingly assumed an epidemic form! England was also responsible for the extension of the scourge to West Africa and Europe, as, in order not to disturb her trade and shipping, she exercised no proper supervision.

On the 24th of November I again called upon Bucher to remind him of the promised documents from the Foreign Office respecting the struggle between the English and the Boers. He said that just now in particular it was impossible to spare them, or at least those of a later date than 1879, as the Chief and Hatzfeldt might want them for reference any day. He would, however, send me the earlier papers, though he really ought not to let any of them leave his hands. He is of opinion that England is afraid of a war with the Dutch element in South Africa, and that Warren would certainly not be able to recruit his volunteers except among the English settlers there. He then said: "Just keep a sharp look out on the news from Afghanistan. Something will happen there soon." I said: "I suppose the

English expedition which left Quetta to take part in the settlement of the frontier has arrived?" He replied: "No, it has only got as far as Herat. But General Lumsden, who has gone by way of Teheran, is already on the frontier, and has discovered that an important point, Puli Khatun (the women's bridge—the men ride through the stream beside it), a place as to which a decision had yet to be arrived at, was already in the possession of the Russians. The *Daily News*, the organ of the Government, is surprised at this, and complains of the action of the Russians. The Chief will probably have something on the subject written for the *Grenzboten*. Of course it cannot go into the *Norddeutsche*."

I then asked if there was any truth in the report that Busch, who, by the way, is married to a Jewess, would shortly leave and be given a Legation. Bucher replied in the affirmative.

I: "Herbert will then be his successor?"

He: "Yes, certainly."

I: "In that case Hatzfeldt's position will be rather shaky."

He: "Certainly, he will then be superfluous, and that is doubtless the Chief's intention. Herbert will then read through the despatches with him at breakfast, and the Chief will explain what is to be done with them, so that Herbert will bring everything ready prepared for us to deal with."

On the 28th of November Bucher's servant brought me three thick bundles of Foreign Office documents on the Transvaal question. I made extracts from these, and returned them to him personally five days later. They consisted of English blue books, and of despatches from Münster, Count Herbert Bismarck, Alvensleben at the Hague, and the German Consul in Cape Town. They extended over the periods from the 16th July, 1881, to the 31st of March, 1882; from the 1st of April, 1882, to November of the same year; and from December, 1882, to the 15th of March, 1884. These I worked up into three articles, under the title of "England and the Boers," which appeared in the first three numbers of the *Grenzboten* for the year 1885. These were followed immediately afterwards by an article on "Santa Lucia Bay," in No. 4, which concluded with a statement by Bucher; and one on "England and Russia in Asia," which was also suggested by him, and for which he had sent me extracts from the English newspapers, together with O'Donovan's book on Merv. The latter article appeared in No. 6 of the *Grenzboten*. Together

with the documents there was also a very violent appeal (in English, and printed on red paper) to the nations of Europe to help the Boers, on which Bucher had written, "You may keep this."

I continued in regular communication with Bucher during the year 1885. Towards the middle of February we had a short talk on the Lucia Bay question; and again on the 25th I had a long conversation with him at his lodgings. At first we spoke about the Chief, whose health, he said, was now thoroughly restored. He was "quite young and rosy," and was "working fearfully hard." The conversation then turned on Hatzfeldt, who "got sick with fear at the thought that he might have to take part in the West African Conference, and that the Chief might appoint him to represent the Foreign Office in the Reichstag, and so took a holiday. There is really nothing the matter with him, but he has managed to obtain a long leave of absence. As Herbert is now there, it is a question whether he will return any more. And we shall not miss him, either. Business will be done as well, or better, in his absence. He would certainly have been removed from his post as Secretary of State before this if they only knew where to put him." I said: "Keudell is probably not disposed to give up his sinecure in Rome to him." Bucher replied: "Keudell really takes things too easy. We thought he would send in a report on the Italian expedition to the Red Sea, and he, in fact, promised one. But what was it when it came? A description of the ball recently given by him, how he danced a quadrille with the Queen, how the knights of the Order of the Annunziata danced *vis-à-vis* to him, and other fine and important matters of the kind, all in the fullest detail. The Princess is to blame for this. The other members of the family, including the Chief, have long since been convinced of his incapacity. At the beginning, during the first few months, I myself thought there was something in him. He played the part of the mysterious, reticent thinker, occasionally speaking very well, and with far-reaching and brilliant ideas. But one soon recognised that they were not his own, but were borrowed from the Chief."

The inhuman pair of us then rejoiced at England's misfortunes in the Soudan, and I expressed a hope that Wolseley's head would soon arrive in Cairo, nicely pickled and packed. This led the conversation to Central Asia. Bucher was of opinion that although

the Russians would not now occupy Herat, they would take up such a position that at the next opportunity they could annex it as they had done Merv. He then referred to the intention of the English to disband the native contingents of the Indian Princes, amounting in all to 300,000 men and 1,200 field guns, and to the "demonstrative review of the Rajah of Scinde." I then mentioned the rising of the blacks at Kitten against their English friends, and he said: "They are threatened by a conflict with the French in Burmah." In reply to my question: "Have we given up South Africa, or is the Lucia Bay affair still open?" he said that the matter was still under consideration.

On the morning of the 19th of April I paid Bucher another visit. He wished me to draw a comparison between the bellicose attitude of *The Times*, and that which it observed previous to the outbreak of the Crimean War, particulars of which were to be found in Kinglake's *Invasion of the Crimea*, Vol. III., p. 31. He believes that it is now inspired by Lord Dufferin. There can be no question of war, as England has not the necessary means at present, and Russia has for the moment no idea of seizing Herat, or even the mountain line beyond it. In the Afghan campaign of 1839 the English required for a force of 38,000 men no less than 100,000 camp followers and innumerable pack animals. Nothing of this kind is now ready. It was said that 20,000 men passed in review before Abdurrahman and Lord Dufferin at Rawul Pindi, but in reality they had only 11,000 men there altogether. The commissariat department was badly managed. Graham's troops at Suakim had only one pair of boots each, and when an Irish regiment knelt down at mass one could see that the soles were all torn and were patched with pieces of the tin cans which had contained their preserved meats. The soldiers they have at home are for the most part too young to be employed in the tropics. The English would require four months to get from Quetta to Herat. The Russians could reach it much sooner. The ideas as to the prospects of the two parties which Münster had been hoaxed into believing were mere nonsense. Bucher put all these facts together for the Prince, who submitted them to the Emperor in the shape of a direct report. "The Crown Prince's people," said Bucher, "are very cross and very angry with the Chief because he will not act as mediator in St. Petersburg and help England out of her embarrassment, and because he opposes her schemes at

Constantinople. The English have offered the Turks the occupation of Egypt in return for permission to pass through the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus. The Sultan was, however, informed from Berlin and Vienna that we too had a word to say in the matter, and our officers in Stamboul would take care that the passage was stopped by torpedoes."

On the 20th, Bucher sent me the third volume of Kinglake's book, and I wrote the article desired by him, which appeared in No. 18 of *Grenzboten*, under the title "Prospects of Peace and *The Times*."

On the 22nd of April I called upon Secretary of State von Thile, who gave me the following particulars of the agreement with Russia in 1863: "Bismarck risked a great deal thereby. We might have got ourselves into a war with France, who would have begun by attacking us. Napoleon was furious, because he had heard nothing beforehand. Goltz wrote that he might be pacified if the treaty were communicated to him. This was done. Bismarck sent the treaty to Goltz, with instructions to read it to the Emperor alone. Even the Ministers were to know nothing of it. Napoleon was astounded at its contents, and exclaimed: 'Why, this is worse than I had anticipated!' It had no further consequences, however."

On Sunday, the 31st of May, I found in the *Daily Telegraph* of the 29th a leading article on the Emperor's indisposition, in which the alteration in the policy of Prussia which would result from the approaching change in the occupation of the throne was regarded as full of hope for England. It was asserted among other things that Prince Bismarck would no longer exercise the influence which he now did upon the Sovereign. I immediately called upon Bucher with the paper, which I handed to him in order that he might communicate the article to the Chief. He cast a glance at the principal passages underlined by me, and promised to cut out the article and send it to the Chancellor without delay, mentioning at the same time that I had brought it. He would doubtless deal with it in some way—probably get me to write an article on the subject in the *Grenzboten*. But he was going to leave Berlin on Tuesday (the 2nd of June). Bucher went on to say that it would really seem as if the Emperor were not at all well just now. I asked him what was the meaning of Lord Rosebery's visit. He replied: "It is in the main as the newspapers represent it. He

has been instructed to find out what the Chief's views are on various questions. No negotiations have taken place. I was invited by the Prince to dine with them one day, and the conversation turned on indifferent matters, such as dogs, &c. Rosebery said nothing on the main question, namely, Afghanistan. It was the Chief who first turned the conversation on to it." I suggested: "But the present understanding will doubtless be merely provisional?" He: "I believe the matter will come up again in about five years, when the railways are finished. The Russians expect to have the line from Kisil-Arwat to Askabad ready by 1886, and it will then be carried on to Merv and to the Oxus in the direction of Samarcand. The English are building their line from the Indus to Candahar by a *détour* *via* Pishin, and not through the Bolan Pass, which is the shortest route, but where it would run for twelve (German) miles through defiles which the natives would be able to block by simply rolling rocks down. But on the Pishin route also they will meet with great difficulties, and will not be ready for a long time. . . . Rosebery's visit was brought about by Herbert, who, by the way, has not shown particular skill in the recent African negotiations. He can be very offensive at times, which is useful, but he has not sufficiently mastered these colonial questions. He does not understand, for instance, that colonies require a coast if they are to prosper, and so he made concessions which we are now trying to alter. He allows himself to be won over too easily. Rosebery has been particularly successful in that, and has quite mesmerised him."

Speaking of the Emperor once more, he said: "His death will be a bad thing for us. Rottenburg believes that the Chief will not retain office under the new Emperor, and in that case it is not impossible that Keudell may become Chancellor. He is in high favour at the Crown Prince's. They stay with him in Rome, and people believe him far more capable than he really is."

At 12 o'clock a servant from the Chancellor's palace came to inquire whether I could call upon the Prince at 3 o'clock. He received me in his study, dressed in black with a military stock, and, as usual, sat at his writing table. He first quieted Tiras, who sprang out and wanted to fly at me, shook hands with his accustomed friendliness, and after I had taken a seat opposite him, asked me how I was, observing: "You still look exactly the same, not a bit changed." He mentioned that during the time he had

not seen me he had been overloaded with work. "Even to-day I have been sitting here since 8 o'clock in the morning," he continued; "and it is the same from week's end to week's end. The only break is at lunch time, and, as you know, I also work then, reading despatches and telegrams, and giving instructions, &c. I must do almost everything myself. Hatzfeldt is an excellent ambassador, and he is also very good here at receiving the diplomats,—clever and intelligent, but ailing and incapable of serious continuous work, impatient of routine, and in addition to that he is frivolous and has a poor memory. Busch is no longer of any use either, and must get out of harness. Bojanowski is ruined, and his Councillors are intriguing against him. My son is not yet sufficiently trained, and has much to learn." I said: "But Busch was an excellent worker and knew the business!" "Yes," he replied, "but that is no longer the case. The clock will no longer work. Latterly he has been constantly unwell. . . . Herbert is getting on very well in many things, but he must yet, as the French say, *faire ses caravanes*, or, as it is better expressed in English, 'sow his wild oats.' *Faire ses caravanes*, you know, originally meant to join one of the campaigns against the infidels, in which one had to take part before becoming a knight of Malta. It therefore signifies to get through one's blundering as a beginner and to grow wise by experience."

He then took up the *Daily Telegraph* article. "You have sent me this. I thank you for it."

I: "I thought it would interest you, particularly one passage, as Bucher asked me a few weeks ago for a leader of the same kind for you, as he knows I receive the paper. I had not kept that number, but I afterwards came across it elsewhere, and the article was translated for the Emperor. I therefore thought you would be glad to see this one immediately."

He: "Yes, and it is of interest. But it would hardly do to write anything against or upon it just now. It would have to be done very cautiously, and at the present moment in particular it would not look at all well. The old gentleman is in a very critical state, and you know it seems to me almost like the case of a woman whose husband is dangerously ill, and who talks to people about what she will do afterwards; or, more correctly, as if my wife were dying and I were to say how I should act after her death, and whether I should marry again or not. We must wait

until the hour has come for a decision to be taken. It appears that the Crown Prince wishes to retain me, but I must carefully consider whether I ought to remain with him. There are many arguments against it, and many also in favour of it; but at present I am more disposed to go and have no share in his experiments. But I might look at it as Götz von Berlichingen did when he joined the peasants—it will not be so bad; and if I remain many things can be prevented or rendered less harmful. But what if I were then not to have a free hand?—to have colleagues like Forckenbeck and George Bunsen, and ceaseless worries with them; while latterly the old gentleman allowed me to do what I thought proper, and even to select Ministers and replace them by others? Besides, there is the co-regency of the Crown Princess, who influences and completely governs him. Yet what will the result be if I leave them to themselves? The entire position of the Empire depends upon the confidence which I have acquired abroad. In France, for instance, where their attitude is based exclusively upon the faith they place in my word. The King of the Belgians said recently that a written and signed contract would do less to put his mind at ease than a verbal assurance from me that such and such a course would be followed. It is the same with Russia, where the Emperor trusts entirely to me. I still remember at the Dantzic meeting how he conversed with me for a long time in his cabin and listened to my opinion. The Emperor (William) was not over pleased at his taking no notice of the parade and the various celebrations; but he left us alone all the same. And the Empress—the Danish Princess—said to me: ‘Our whole confidence rests upon you. We know that you tell the plain truth, and perform what you promise.’ . . . Of course I could retire and see how they got on without me, and then when they called me back after their experiment had failed. I could bring things back into the old course. It would then have been proved that affairs could not be conducted in that way. He doubtless would not venture upon such experiments if he had not got me in reserve. It was just the same with the new era when the King gave Liberalism a trial, because he had me to turn to eventually. But I am an old man, over seventy, and for twenty-nine years I have exhausted my strength in the service of the State, and can no longer do what I once did. I can no longer accompany the King wherever he goes—on journeys, shooting

parties and to watering places. I can no longer ride to manoeuvres and parades, so as to prevent his being alone with others, and to take immediate measures against the intrigues and influence of opponents. If I were to persist in that sort of work my illness would return, and I should soon be dead."

He drew out from among the books on his right a letter from Dr. Schweninger, who had written to him that he had escaped a dangerous illness through regular diet and the greatest possible abstinence from mental exertion; but that if a recurrence of it were to be averted he must continue to follow the same course. He then said: "The Crown Princess is an Englishwoman. That is always the case with us. When our Princesses marry abroad they doff the Prussian, and identify themselves with their new country,—as, for example, the Queen of Bavaria, who ultimately went so far as to become a Catholic; and the lady in Darmstadt (it is obvious that this was a slip of the tongue, and that he meant Karlsruhe), as well as the consort of the Emperor Nicholas. Here, however, they bring their nationality with them, and retain it, preserving their foreign interests. . . . Our policy must not necessarily be anti-English, but if it were to be English it might prove to be very much against our interest, as we have always to reckon with the Continental Powers." He further observed that the Crown Prince would be influenced in his liking for England by consideration for Queen Victoria, and (here he mimicked the act of counting money) her generosity." He has but a slight knowledge of State affairs, and little interest in them, and he lacks courage. I reminded the Chief that he, too, had had to infuse courage into his father on the railway journey from Jueterbogk to Berlin during the period of conflict. He then related that incident once more, and added: "He said that I should first come to the scaffold—at that time I was called the Prussian Strafford; but I replied: 'What finer death could a man have than to die for his King and his right?'"

He then came to speak of the Emperor's illness, for which—as he asserted—"the women were to blame, with their desire to give themselves importance. He was already ill, hoarse, when they talked him over into driving with them to church. And then the Grand Duchess wants to play the loving daughter before people, and so she accompanies him when he, like every one who works a great deal, would prefer to drive out alone; and at the same

time she argues with him, even when the wind is in their faces, so that he catches cold if he answers her. It was only his daughter's persuasion that induced him to go to Hatzfeldt's dinner. He ought not to have done that. (Probably according to Lauer's opinion.) As he sits at work, Augusta sticks her head into the room and asks in a caressing voice, 'Do I disturb you?' When he, always gallant in his treatment of ladies, and particularly of Princesses, replies, 'No,' she comes in and pours out all sorts of insignificant gossip to him, and scarcely has she at last gone away than she is back again knocking at the door with her, 'I am again disturbing you'; and so she again wastes his time chattering. Now that he is ill—you know what his complaint is—she is a real embarrassment and plague to him. She sits there with him, and when he wants to be left alone he does not venture to tell her, so that in the end he gets quite red from pain and restraint; and she notices it. That is not love, however, but pure play-acting, conventional care and affection. There is nothing natural about her—everything is artificial, inwardly as well as outwardly."

The conversation then turned upon Brunswick, and I said: "Surely we shall soon have that now? It will shortly be Prussian?" He replied in the negative, saying: "It must remain independent, because without the two votes of the Duchy the Federal Council would no longer be of the slightest importance—Prussia would always have a safe majority. The Brunswickers, too, are anxious to retain their independence. In order to maintain the present balance of voting power in the Federal Council, I have always rejected the overtures of the small fry such as Waldeck, &c., that wanted to be absorbed in Prussia. Things can be managed as they are, and we must give the larger States no reason to mistrust us. *Their* confidence also is part of my policy, and during recent years they have always trusted me."

He was silent for a while and looked at me. I rose to go, and thanked him for this day's invitation and the confidence in me which it manifested, adding that I was all the more pleased as I had been under the impression that he had been angry with me for my last book, and that I should not see him again. He clapped me on the shoulder in a friendly way and said: "No, Büschchen, everything remains as of old between us two. It is true that you contributed to my illness with your book, as it gave me a great

deal of work." I replied that nothing of the kind should occur again, and gave him my hand upon it.

On Tuesday, the 2nd of June, I went to Bucher to tell him that I had been with the Chief, and to read him my notes of the interview. He already knew that I had been called to see him. In connection with what I told him respecting the Chancellor's resignation or retention of office under the future Sovereign, he said: "He has also given the French to understand that possibly the next Emperor may not continue his policy, so that in future it would be well for them in Egyptian affairs to keep their demands and actions within such limits as they thought they could, if left to themselves alone, assert and maintain against the English."

Bucher smiled at the apprehension which I now expressed that the Chief had been offended at my book. That, he said, was a mistake. With regard to the Prince's remark that it had given him a great deal of work (he doubtless alluded chiefly to the revising of the proofs) Bucher observed: "Yes, I have had a good deal to write on the subject to Reuss, for Andrassy complained of various passages. But what he imagined he had read was not in the book at all; he had read it superficially, and we convinced him of that fact."

I called upon Bucher a fortnight later to ask him, in the first place, what attitude should be adopted in the press towards the new Ministry in England. I observed that Gladstone had defended English interests, although in an unskilful and feeble way, and that Salisbury would not suit our purposes any better, indeed, perhaps less, because they would be more energetic. He replied that Salisbury is blunt in manner, as he had himself experienced when he was in Berlin. He might, however, for the moment be more welcome to the Chief than Gladstone, who had been seeking a *rapprochement* with Russia in favour of which there seemed to be a party in that country. Salisbury, on the other hand, had spoken too strongly against Russia to leave much prospect of an understanding at the present time between the Tories and St. Petersburg. True, one could not say what might happen in this respect later on, and the new English Ministry would also seek an understanding with France.

He then mentioned Count Herbert's second mission to London, which had not turned out so well as the first one respecting Angra

Pequena and the Fiji Islands, in which he had taken up a very strong position with good results. The second mission should have appeared, as far as the public was concerned, merely a visit to Rosebery, with whom Herbert stayed. Its object, however, was to negotiate respecting Lucia Bay and the Benue district; and Herbert, who was not sufficiently well acquainted with the maps, &c., conceded too much to Rosebery, who was very sharp, so that the result was disadvantageous to us. We lost Lucia Bay. The English Minister argued that they could not abandon it to us, as it was impossible to allow the Cape Colony to be hemmed in on both sides. On the Benue, however, they have annexed a large piece of land, well situated for their purposes.

Bucher then complained of the "gross ineptitude" displayed by Gerhard Rohlfs in his mission to Zanzibar. "He got it," he said, "through the 'padiocracy,' as Busch calls it,—through the influence of the Chancellor's sons upon their father, and he has spoilt everything. Contrary to the regulations, which require an examination to be passed first, he was appointed Consul-General without any examination, although he is not particularly well informed. . . . The trap had been very cleverly prepared for Sultan Burgasch. He has a sister who is married to a German, a Hamburg merchant named Reute, and lives now in Germany. Burgasch had robbed her of her inheritance, and this was to be the starting point of the scheme. She was to go out to Zanzibar and press her claim, and an accident might possibly occur to the lady,—her brother might have her strangled. In the meantime Rohlfs was also to go out, quite quietly, by way of the Red Sea, and not on board a man-of-war. He, however, induced the Chief to let him travel *via* London and the Cape; and at Cape Town he talked imprudently about his mission and position to some officers of Warren's expedition (to Bechuanaland), so that the English got wind of the matter, and were able to take their measures accordingly (this was under Gladstone's Government, through their Consul, Kirk). And in Zanzibar itself he committed one blunder after another. When this came to the knowledge of the Chief he said in his own family circle that he would recall him. Paul Lindau, who constantly haunts the Chancellerie, got it into the newspapers, whereupon a *démenti* was issued. Later on, however, the Prince returned to his former intention, as Rohlfs proved quite useless." . . . Bucher further related that Herbert had provided himself with a deputy Under

Secretary of State in the person of Darenthall, who was to act for himself when he was absent. Darenthall is an admirer of Keudell, with whom he spent nine years in Rome, where there is nothing to do, as everything is sent there ready prepared. He cannot have gained much experience of the world there, while others sent to various posts became acquainted with different countries and conditions of life. He did not, however, turn out badly as Consul-General in Egypt. When he comes to the office I shall take a long leave of absence in order not to lose the last trace of my self-respect." . . . Bill, who will shortly get married and who is going to Hanau, has also "picked out a successor, von Rheinbaben. It is true that he belongs to the old nobility, but he is quite incapable,—a statement in support of which Bucher produced sundry evidence. Finally we rejoiced that the Emperor was quite well again, and Bucher added: "Yes, and in very good humour, as may be seen from the remarks which he makes on the matters submitted to him."

CHAPTER XIX

The Chancellor on Bulgaria and Servia, Austria and Russia, the Battenberger and the Tsar—His View of the Treatment of the Russian Baltic Provinces—A Comparison between English Parties and our own—Germany and England in Africa—The Chancellor on the Military Question, and the Threatened Conflict in the Reichstag—What he said there was addressed to Russia—The Tsar's Confidence in the Chancellor—The Crown Prince and his Consort—Bismarck and his Work—What is Greatness?—The Chief on his own Death—Interview with the Chief on the Marriage of the Battenberger, and Instructions for the *Grenzboten* Article, "Foreign Influences in the Empire"—Beware of the Press Laws—Not too Venomous—A Survey of British Policy—The Catalogue of England's Sins—Two Empresses against the Chancellor—Queen Victoria at Charlottenburg—Death of the 'Incubus.'

AT 11 A.M., on the morning of the 5th of January, 1886, I handed in at the Imperial Chancellor's residence in the Wilhelmstrasse a letter offering, as usual, my services and requesting an interview. Having received a favourable reply, I was at the palace punctually at 3 P.M., and was at once shown in to the Prince. He shook hands saying: "How do you do, Büschlein?" I sat down at the writing table opposite to him. On my remarking that he looked exceptionally well, he complained of the continuance of his faceache, for which Schweninger could do nothing. His cure had only prevented him from getting stouter and relieved his biliousness. He then said: "There is nothing going on in politics just now."

I: "One sees that from the newspapers. You take care that they shall have nothing of importance to write about. You have again preserved the peace for us."

He: "In Bulgaria, where the Austrian policy was inconceivably

bad. It was as if they had no agents whatever there, no one to observe and report. They were of opinion that the Rumanian business was instigated by the Russians and in their interest, and so they thought, 'If you let your Bulgarians loose we will march out our Servians.' They obviously promised the latter more than they could perform, and when the war went against Milan made enemies of both sides. Khevenhüller acted too roughly. He threatened Prince Alexander that if he did not call a halt within twenty-four hours the Austrians would march against him. And the Servians were also obliged to stop and their action crippled. Now the Bulgarians complain, 'If you had not crossed our path we should be in Belgrade by this time,' and the Servians, on the other hand, assert that if they had not been ordered to keep the peace they would have renewed the struggle with fresh forces, and wiped out their defeat. The policy which they are carrying on in Vienna is that of the father confessor and the banker. The *Länderbank*, which advanced the Servians the money for the war, is acting like the *Caisse d'Escompte* in Paris, and exercises similar influence. It is as if Cohn, the banker at Dresden, wanted to influence our policy. They ought to know in Vienna that the events in Rumania are the result of English wire-pulling, and that it is England who supports the Prince. He has been on bad terms with the Emperor Alexander for years past. He is a man of intelligence, but false and untrustworthy, and that is known in St. Petersburg. At the present moment the Battenberger is the main hindrance in the way of a satisfactory settlement of the Bulgarian question. The Emperor does not trust him even after his recent praise of the Russian officers. Order must be re-established from the outside, through an occupation by foreign troops—but who is to supply them? It would not do for the Russians to undertake the job, and just as little for the Austrians."

I: "Might I ask what is your opinion of the character of the Emperor Alexander?"

He: "He is better than his reputation in our newspapers, more sensible, a simpler nature, and above all more honourable. Quite different to his father, more manly, and neither imaginative nor sentimental. He is a respectable father of a family, has no *liaisons* and makes no debts. Having nothing to conceal, it is not necessary for him to trouble his head with vain

imaginings and tricky deceptions. But he is subject to ecclesiastical influences."

I: "Pobedonoszeff?"

He: "Yes, and others." He then related: "He was in Copenhagen during the complications with the English respecting Afghanistan, and Giers telegraphed to him repeatedly begging him to return. He remained, however, saying, 'Giers has his hands full (hat die Hosen voll), but he must see for himself how he is going to put the matter straight.'"

I: "He has been described to me as stupid, exceedingly stupid; but that was from a Baltic source."

He: "In a general way that is saying too much, but of course allowance must be made for the inhabitants of the Baltic Provinces. Poor people! But we cannot help them. History furnishes many instances in which Divine Providence has permitted such nobler communities and peoples to be swallowed up by a larger but less noble nation. In this case it is unwise on the part of the Government, and it does more harm to Russia than to us, when they allow such a breeding establishment for good generals, like Todtleben, and for capable diplomatists as they possess in the nobility of the Baltic Provinces to be ruined. They have in view the unity of the Empire and not without reason, as is shown in the case of the Poles, but that they should carry it so far and go to work in such a crude way, and in particular that they should incite the populace against the upper classes! I have often wondered why more of them do not sell out and emigrate. But this oppression is more damaging to the Russians than to us, and, moreover, the Baltic Germans never formed part of the German Empire, although they have always been closely associated with the popular life of Germany."

I asked: "Might I inquire on what footing your Serene Highness now stands with the Crown Prince? You have recently been dining with him."

He: "Oh, quite satisfactory, and for several months past, as also with *her*. When the Emperor seemed to be drawing near his latter end, he approached me, as he saw that the time was at hand when he must plunge into the water and swim on his own account. Ever since we have been on good terms. He wishes to retain me, and when he commands as King I must remain, although I am ill

and require rest—but we must come to an understanding first. The main point for him is to get some one to conduct the foreign policy. Domestic affairs would go on all right under Bötticher, who manages them quite well, except that he is rather too vehement, so that water must sometimes be poured into his wine.” He then spoke against the “collegial system”¹ and in favour of a homogeneous administration.

I mentioned the Emperor and the jubilee of his reign, observing that a good text for a sermon on that occasion would be found in Ecclesiasticus, where it is said, “The work praiseth the master, and his hands do honour to a wise prince;” and in particular the further passage, “The prosperity of a ruler resteth with God; he giveth him a worthy Chancellor;” and again, “A wise servant shall be ministered unto by his master, and a master that hath understanding murmureth not thereat.” He smiled; after remarking that the Emperor had acted conscientiously in State affairs and knew how to subordinate his *amour propre* to the interests of the country, he said: “He always gave me to a great extent a free hand, although he had been accustomed previously to command, while his brother, on the other hand, could never have got on with any independent Minister.”

I then referred to the Irish crisis and the English parties, observing that there one saw plainly what Parliamentarism resulted in, and whither it led a State. Our Liberals would have had a similar experience in Posen and in Polish affairs generally, but, happily, they had not the same influence here as they have in England. He said: “Parliamentarism only works where there are merely two rival parties that come to power alternately, and where the members of the Legislature are well off and unselfish, and do not find it necessary to struggle for their personal advancement. I am no advocate of absolutism. Parliamentarism is good even here, as a veto upon the resolutions of unwise Governments and bad monarchs—for purposes of criticism. In England, up to the present, there have been two great parties, whose principles have latterly not differed very widely, and both desired the welfare of the country and nothing for themselves. They were the representatives of a few hundred families who were well enough off not to want more, and who could therefore study exclusively the

¹ In this system the Ministers are on a footing of equality with each other.

welfare of the whole community—a remark which at bottom also applies to Kings, who should be under no necessity to think of their own interests. The Irish are now coming in as a third party, together with the Radicals, who are still more dangerous. It is worse here in Germany. We have eight or ten parties and the leaders are place hunters, who want to improve their own positions and become Ministers, and who also put themselves at the service of the capitalists—not without a consideration."

He then spoke about the Kulturkampf, and mentioned that the Pope was now thoroughly well disposed. I said: "Of course you have done him a great pleasure in asking for his mediation in the difference with Spain, and given him an importance for which he has every reason to be grateful." He smiled and said: "Well, he has invested me with his highest Order, and has at the same time written me a very flattering letter."

"Why have we not been able to secure the Santa Lucia Bay?" I asked. "Ah!" he replied, "it is not so valuable as it seemed to be at first. People who were pursuing their own interests on the spot represented it to be of greater importance than it really was. And then the Boers were not disposed to take any proper action in the matter. The bay would have been valuable to us if the distance from the Transvaal were not so great. And the English attached so much importance to it that they declared it was impossible for them to give it up, and they ultimately conceded a great deal to us in New Guinea and Zanzibar. In colonial matters we must not take too much in hand at a time, and we already have enough for a beginning. We must now hold rather with the English, while, as you know, we were formerly more on the French side. But, as the last elections in France show, every one of any importance there had to make a show of hostility to us."

I inquired as to the spirit monopoly, and he replied: "They will scarcely pass it, but we shall introduce it. They will look upon us as people who have evil intentions against the country, and in particular against themselves, their rights and powers, and who must, therefore, be kept in check and taught to entertain proper respect towards the representatives of the people, to which category, of course, we do not belong. But after all we are only fulfilling the duties of our office, part of which is to promote the interests of the State to the best of our ability."

On my saying, "Well, Münster is now in Paris," he observed: "A change has taken place in him. He is now less phlegmatic, more diligent, and sends fuller reports, which, moreover, have something in them."

"Bucher is also away," I observed, "on a long leave of absence, for the present."

He: "Yes, because he has begged me, I should say ten times, to allow him to retire on account of his health. I have at length given him leave for six months on full pay. He was an excellent book of reference for all occasions, as his good memory had enabled him to read and collect a great deal of information. In addition to that he is a good and worthy man"—a statement in which I heartily concurred.

By this time it was nearly 4 o'clock, and on his pausing for a moment I rose to go, begging him again to let me know when he thought I could be of any active use in the press.

May 29th.—I called on Bucher who told me he had received the Emperor's order placing him on the retired list, together with the Chancellor's thanks for his long service, and "hearty" good wishes for his future. I visited him repeatedly in the autumn and winter of 1886. On the 13th of January, 1887, I took him the payment for an article which he had written for the *Grenzboten* on "Two Diminishers of the Realm." (These were Gladstone and Windthorst, the comparison having been drawn at the suggestion of Bismarck.) On this occasion Bucher told me that he prepared the draft of the Constitution of the North German Confederation. At that time (after the return from Nikolsburg in the autumn of 1866) Bismarck lay seriously ill at Putbus. Savigny, who as Secretary of State should have attended to the matter, took Keudell into his counsels and they thought the thing could be done by introducing a few alterations into the old Constitution of the German Bund. Bucher had to draft the preamble for it. On his return he was summoned to the Chief, who declared Savigny's performance to be worthless, and dictated to him, Bucher, with the assistance of "a little book," probably Pölit's work on the various Constitutions, the main lines of a Constitution for the new Federal State, which he then wrote out with the help of a clerk, and—when the latter was unable to write any longer—in his own hand. He began work in the afternoon and went on with it all night through and until next morning. After the Chief had made a few altera-

tions he immediately had twelve copies of the Constitution written out in the Foreign Office.

On the 15th I wrote to the Prince asking for an appointment, and in accordance with the reply, called at the palace in the Wilhelmstrasse on the 27th. The Prince came towards me, reached out his hand and asked how I was. I replied: "Well; and as one sees from the newspapers it is the same with yourself."

He: "Not during the last few days. I have an oppression and pains here (he passed his hand over his chest), I fancy something like inflammation of the lungs"—a statement which was open to grave doubt, as he looked quite healthy and rosy.

When Tiras had been driven away and I had taken a seat opposite him at the writing table, he asked: "Now then, what have you been doing in the press recently?"

I replied: "A variety of things in the *Grenzboten* on the situation. But you yourself have said the last word on the subject in the Reichstag, fully and convincingly—for sensible people. But I fear it will not last long. The stupid people will not die out in the land, and no sooner have you enlightened them, than somebody will take pains to put the light out again. The clerical press continues to pile up misrepresentations and lies, and the large and small sheets of the Progressist party do the same to the best of their ability; while the judicial luminaries of the provinces help to stir up discontent."

He: "Yes, and all the pettifogging attorneys. I fancy, too, from the credulity of the public there is little improvement to be hoped for from the new elections."

I: "It is a pity that the representatives of the people, as they call themselves—the representatives of the cliques—were not excluded by the Constitution from all interference in military and foreign affairs. It should only have been allowed in exceptional cases, and on the special invitation of the Government. Such a provision had been unfortunately omitted from the North German Constitution." He said that was not quite the case, but it was true that at that time mistakes had been made, as he was ill at the beginning, and the "Ministry of War," which was jealous of the "Military Cabinet," introduced various unpractical provisions. He then explained to me the present legal position, much as he had already done in the Reichstag, reading and

commenting upon the paragraphs in the Constitution which affected this question, beginning with § 60. He concluded with the words: "Things may again develop into a conflict, if the three Powers which have equal authority cannot come to an understanding in the hour of danger. Our first and greatest necessity is a strong and steadfast army, as that secures our external freedom, our existence, our possessions against the foes that threaten us from without. Of course we could defend these without the present Constitution, and could certainly do so more successfully without a Reichstag like the last one, which was much less an expression of our unity than of our divisions and Particularism and which was little else than a hindrance in the defence of our most important interests. I could immediately secure the sanction of the Emperor to a change in this respect, and that of the Federal Governments also. But that must wait yet awhile—until we see how these and perhaps the next elections turn out. If no better Reichstag is elected, when the compromise, *i.e.*, the septennate, has run out, the first thing will be to put into force the provision which allows the Emperor to call out contingents proportionate to the population, the only restriction arising from financial considerations. He has always the right to raise as many soldiers as he considers necessary, and of course the expense thus incurred must be voted.—But what I wanted to say to you is this. I have used reassuring language in the Reichstag with regard to the present attitude of Russia towards us. But many considerations had to be passed over in silence to which it would not have served my purpose to give utterance, but which may be indicated in the press—cautiously. There, I was speaking not only to the members of the Reichstag and the German public, but also to foreign countries, and to a particular quarter where I wished to let it be seen that I trusted to their insight, good will and love of peace, and where such confidence is appreciated—the Emperor Alexander—especially when it comes from a quarter in which he himself may and really does repose unlimited confidence. That is quite true. The Emperor and Giers now anticipate no danger for Russia from Germany, and consequently do not think of attacking us; and so far as the immediate future is concerned they will in all probability not adopt a hostile attitude towards us, if things remain as they now are in Germany and Russia. At the same time a change may occur in the situation. There is, in

addition to the Emperor, a kind of public opinion, parties that must be reckoned with even now, and which in a war between Germany and France would exercise all the greater influence on the decisions of the Crown, in that their views and demands would appear to coincide with the real interests of Russia. There you have the Panславists, with their hatred of the Germans and their leaning towards France. And then there are the Poles and the Liberal Russians, who desire a war with us in the hope that it would result in the defeat of Russia and secure their ultimate aim, namely, independence for the Poles and a Constitution for the others. In case of a conflict between Germany and France, these parties would exert a stronger pressure in exalted regions than they have ever been able to do up to the present, through their newspapers, and their allies in the army, in the Ministries, and in Court circles. Even the possibility of their efforts ultimately affecting the judgment and love of peace prevailing there—as did actually occur under the late Emperor, before the last Russo-Turkish war—would force us to send an army of observation of at least 100,000 men to our eastern frontier to watch the 200,000 soldiers stationed by Russia in her western provinces, thus considerably weakening our available forces against France. Moreover, supposing that, in spite of this, we were victorious, public opinion in St. Petersburg and Moscow, and ultimately the Government under its pressure, would scarcely suffer us to turn our victory to sufficiently good account in order to thoroughly weaken France for the next thirty or forty years, as that would be a strengthening of the German Empire which might arouse serious apprehension in Russia. Finally, it may be regarded as well-nigh certain that while we were engaged in the west the Russians would attack Austria, as her armaments, even more than ours, require strengthening—a duty which she has hitherto with culpable levity neglected—and in the long run we should doubtless be obliged to come to her assistance. Of course I could not say all that, and even in the press it must be very cautiously dealt with."

I observed: "I do not know whether I am right, but I fear a war with Russia less from any apprehension of defeat, than because, in case of victory, I do not see what we could take to compensate us for the great sacrifices incurred."

He: "Certainly, and for the great number of troops we should

lose. That keeps me from a war with France also. In that case, too, it is a question of 'Was kannst Du, armer Teufel, geben?' (Thou, poor devil, what canst thou give?)"

I: "In the long run the milliards were also no blessing, at least not for our manufacturers, as they led to over-production. It was merely the bankers who benefited, and of these only the big ones." From this we came to speak of the Stock Exchange and the present fall of prices, whereupon he remarked: "Bleichröder told me recently that he too has mobilised his forces, and at the right moment, some time ago."

I mentioned having read in the *Boersenzeitung* that, according to a small South German newspaper, the Emperor had been much incensed at the rejection of the Army Bill, and had spoken in the presence of Bismarck and the Crown Prince of a step which, if carried into effect, would have aroused the deepest regret. People thought that this referred to his abdication. He said: "The only element of truth in the story is that he was very angry with the Opposition. There was no question of abdicating. But he might very well be induced to agree to a step which would put an end to all the difficulties that the Reichstag can raise in military matters." He then spoke once more of the Opposition parties, and their mendacity and fictions; as that he (Bismarck) wants to abolish or to restrict universal suffrage, and with the assistance of an accommodating Parliament, to introduce tobacco and spirit monopolies, and what not besides, even to the revival of serfdom. "That is only credited by the stupid voters. They themselves, Richter and his apostles, do not for a moment imagine that anything of the kind is intended. It is a mere electioneering dodge of a gross and audacious description, according to Goethe's recipe: '*Willst Du sie betrügen, so mach es nur nicht fein.*' And it is the same with that lying rascal Windthorst, and his priestly followers. At one moment liberty is threatened, and then the Church, and all this merely to hide the fact that he will not let the Empire have peace, and wants to pave the way for the return of the Guelphs to Hanover. The whole crowd are hypocrites, and wear masks, and in all this Parliamentary mummary I am the only one who shows his face. They are Particularists one and all, in spite of their professions. The German Liberals are Particularists for their party, and the others are territorial Particularists. They are all striving for disintegration and dissolution. But when all is said and done,

a Prussian King of to-day can, if they don't want him, renounce the Empire and exist for himself alone."

I asked: "How do you stand with the old gentleman at present?"

He: "With the Pope? Excellently, and in this question, too. He also trusts me and has reason to believe in my fair play. I told him I was prepared to go still further, meaning that I should even be pleased to see a Papal Nuncio in Berlin. But the King will not have it. He thinks in that case he would have to become a Catholic in his old age. The Ministers are also against it, but without reason. I am not afraid of it. On the contrary, things would go better. At present, Windthorst is the Nuncio, the Father of Lies. We know now exactly how he carries on with Rome. We have letters of his in our hands. A real Nuncio could not lie in that fashion to us and to the Pope, who is well disposed and reasonable. He would be an ecclesiastical diplomatist, whose aims would be purely ecclesiastical, and who would not wish to lose credit with the Government and render himself impossible. He would have to carry out the instructions of his superiors in Rome—not at Gmunden—and those instructions would be imbued with a peace-loving spirit and would be favourable to the maintenance of the Empire—as may now be seen from the desire expressed by the Pope that the Centre party should vote for the Army Bill."

I: "What I was really thinking of was the Emperor and your relations to him."

He: "I have also been on the best of terms with him for a long time past. Apart from the question of the Nunciature we are in perfect agreement upon all points. The Crown Prince, too, is at present everything I could wish him to be, *she* is likewise thoroughly well-disposed towards me."

I: "Mr. Gladstone's admirer? Why, that is most satisfactory."

He: "They are now quite reasonable. They have no intention of introducing any change when the old gentleman goes, and they have repeatedly told me so. They are still afraid that I may not remain. And really I often wish it were otherwise, as I would rather go and spend my last days at Friedrichsruh, as a mere spectator."

I: "And have Dr. Busch to arrange your papers, as your Serene Highness suggested three years ago."

He : "Yes, that too. But I must remain as long as a Prussian King wants my services and wishes to retain me. People, moreover, deceive themselves greatly if they imagine there will be any considerable difference under the new King. But my position is difficult enough now that I no longer have the strength to work continuously at all manner of things, although there is always so much to be done. All the Ministers come to consult me upon subjects which, properly speaking, do not concern me, and make me responsible for them. That is the case even with the Ministry of the Household, where Schleinitz, the lazy fellow, neglected everything, and Stolberg is often away. But one must do his duty. As to what you say about my work, it looks great, but after all it is of the earth and transient. Besides, what is the meaning of 'great?' Germany is great, but the earth is greater, and how small the earth is in comparison with the solar system, to say nothing of the whole universe. And how long will it last?"

I : "Hegel maintained that the earth was the sole planet with intellectual life, thought and history."

He : "Yes, because it was upon the earth he philosophised. Certainly there are worlds where things of much greater importance are thought and done. But that is the way of these professors (he mentioned Virchow, Du Bois Reymond, and then asked what was the name of the third natural philosopher—I suggested 'Helmholtz'), they speak as if they knew everything; while they undoubtedly know a great deal in their own science, even there they are ignorant of the real root of things, to say nothing of other matters. They go as far as the cell, but what causes the cell?"

I rose to take leave. He gave me his hand and said : "I am glad to see you look so well and not in the least changed. And such a lot of hair still. Let me see." I bent down in order that he might see the crown of my head, and he said : "Yes, it's your own. I thought you wore a wig. But the beard is growing white. You should get it cut off and have your moustache dyed. Then you would be quite young."

The most important part of this interview was worked up into the article, "War Clouds in the West," which appeared in the *Grenzboten*, and was forwarded to the Prince.

April 28th.—The Prince, who sent for me in the afternoon, again complained a great deal about his ailments and insomnia, as well as

of being overburdened with work by all the Ministries. "Nevertheless," I remarked, "on your last birthday you outlived the year in which you prophesied you were to die," and I reminded him of what he had said at Versailles and at Varzin, adding that I now took the liberty for the first time of congratulating him on his birthday, because the last one marked an important division of his life. He smiled and said: "Yes, a division. I had observed that there were certain divisions in my life, with changes and alterations physical and mental, a certain recurrent cycle of years (I believe he said eleven) and from that and some cabalistic figures I had reckoned that I should reach the age of seventy-one years and die in 1886. As that has not happened I shall now probably live to the age of eighty-three or eighty-four." He then came to speak of the subject which had led him to send for me, viz., it appeared that he was not thinking so much of the embarrassment of the Ultramontanes in dealing with their "priestocracy," the demagogues of the middle and lower clergy, whom they had summoned to their assistance against the Government, and who had now cast off discipline and were disinclined to follow the Pope's instructions. He compared their embarrassment to that of the wizard's apprentice in Goethe, and spoke of the "Anti-Papal Catholics." He concluded: "I should not like to have that said in one of our papers. We still want the Centre party for the sugar and spirit taxes."

I then mentioned the League of Patriots, and afterwards turned the conversation on to Alsace-Lorraine. On my observing that it might, perhaps, be possible to annex it to Prussia, or divide it between Bavaria and Baden, he replied: "To unite it to Prussia would strengthen by thirty votes the Opposition in the Lower House of the Prussian Diet, where things are now very tolerable. The Bavarians will not hear of it either, and still less the people in Baden, who are in absolute terror of such a change. If we were only living in the time of Charlemagne we could remove the Alsacians to Posen, and place the inhabitants of the latter country between the Rhine and the Vosges, or form an uninhabited desert between ourselves and the French. As it is, however, we must try some other method." We then spoke about the Crown Prince who, he said, was understood to have a polypus in the throat. It would be no wonder if he did not recover, as "she" never allowed him to have more than eleven degrees (Réaumur) of

warmth in his room, and obliged him at Ems to go into the cold and windy mountain districts, and to cross the Rhine in storm and rain, &c.

I said: "It appears that Diest-Daber wishes to proceed with his action once more."

He: "But how can he do that?" He then gave me an account of the affair, which originated in an action against Diest for libel. This was afterwards transformed by Klotz into a prosecution against him, Bismarck, which resulted in his vindication. He concluded: "Diest is suffering from the mania of persecution, that is to say, in its active form—he must persecute somebody. It would now seem to have turned into megalomania." On our coming to speak of his fortune, I said: "To show what superstitions prevail on this subject, a tradesman, who is otherwise a sensible man, told me recently that you possess a fortune of at least a hundred millions." He thereupon gave me a detailed account of his circumstances, and spoke of the value of his various estates, adding that he was not thinking—"as his sons wished him to do"—of increasing his capital, but rather of rounding off and improving his property. He mentioned Chorow and Sedlitz, and the purchases of land in the Sachsenwald, and similar matters. "I cannot help it," he said. "When a neighbour's property wedges itself into mine, and I see a fine clump of trees on it that are going to be cut down, I must buy that piece of ground." In making such purchases he often paid too much, and frequently the estates were not well managed by those to whom they were entrusted. Thus, although in good years, when high prices were to be had for timber, &c., his profits might amount to about 100,000 thalers, he had, on several occasions, had no surplus whatever over his expenses. "Moreover," he continued, "it costs me more to live in the country than in Berlin; and in Varzin my horses, with their fodder, cost me more than here. If I could sell my estates at what is probably their real value, I might doubtless get four millions for them." He referred me to Rottenburg for the material for the articles. The latter gave me various official reports and documents which I worked up into two articles for the *Grenzboten* under the title of "The League of Patriots," and "The Embarrassments of the Centre Party."

During May and June Bucher met Hehn and myself regularly every Wednesday evening, sometimes at Huth's and sometimes at

Trarbach's. He wrote for me the *Grenzboten* article on "Maharajah Dhuleep Singh." He also promised a further article for that paper, drawing a comparison between the reigns of Queen Victoria and Queen Bess, of course not to the advantage or credit of the former, as, according to him, the Chief, with whom he had recently dined, and who had invited him to pay him shortly a visit at Friedrichsruh, wished to see something of the kind done in connection with the Queen's jubilee. The Chief was not, however, later on disposed to let him fire off the articles on the two English Queens. He would think over the matter, but in any case it should not appear in the *Grenzboten*, as that paper's connection with him was suspected.

On the evening of the 28th of March, 1888, Bucher related the following particulars to myself and Hehn. (Casually foreseeing what was generally known a few days later, or informed of and prepared for it.)

"Princess Victoria, the daughter of our new Emperor and Empress, now about twenty-two years of age, was to have been married some time since to the Battenberger, who at that time was still Prince of Bulgaria, but already a tool of English policy. He made the acquaintance of the Queen of England's granddaughter during his European tour. The thought of a marriage was probably suggested by the grandmother in London, who wished to see the position of her servant secured against Russia by an alliance with our Court. The scheme leaked out, and came to the ears of the Chief. Of course he was anything but pleased, and did not conceal his objections from the Emperor, but on the contrary expressed them both verbally and in a statement which I had to prepare. It would show us in a bad light at St. Petersburg, and it was not right to subject a Prussian Princess to the eventuality of a compulsory departure from Sofia. The Emperor recognised this and issued his veto, which must have been very unpleasant for the Crown Princess.

April 6th.—On the Chief's birthday Prince William, now the Crown Prince, while offering his congratulations in person, invited himself to dine with the Chancellor. During dinner, according to the newspapers, he proposed a toast to the following effect: "The Empire is like an army corps that has lost its commander-in-chief in the field, while the officer who stands next to him in rank lies severely wounded. At this critical moment forty-six million

loyal German hearts turn with solicitude and hope towards the standard and the standard bearer in whom all their expectations are centred. The standard bearer is our illustrious Prince, our great Chancellor. Let him lead us. We will follow him. Long may he live!" Coming from a member of the reigning house such language should mean a great deal. "Our great Chancellor"—words already used a short time ago by his Imperial and Royal Highness—"let him lead us; we will follow him!" What high appreciation and what modest self-suppression and honourable subordination on the part of the future Emperor! May God reward him for it, and grant him victory under that standard! But what does his mother think of it? Yesterday a Vienna telegram in the *Kölnische Zeitung*, which was greeted with scarcely concealed satisfaction by the Progressist newspapers, reported that Bismarck intended to retire. This leads one to think of the "Englishwoman" on the throne of the Hohenzollerns, and of "Friedrich der Britte" (Frederick the Briton) who is to govern according to her views. Has the toast of the 1st instant given offence to Guelphish self-conceit? Or has the Chief again advised against the suitor with the Bulgarian kalpak, who may have pressed his suit again and with a better prospect of success after the death of the Emperor William? At 10.45 A.M. this morning I handed the following letter to the porter at the palace to be immediately forwarded to the Chief: "In presence of the extraordinary report of the *Kölnische Zeitung*, which is now being circulated in the newspapers, I would beg your Serene Highness kindly to remember that in the future as in the past I hold myself absolutely and unconditionally at your disposal, and shall always continue to do so."

April 7th.—At 11 A.M. a Chancery attendant brought me a letter from the Imperial Chancellerie, with an appointment to call upon the Prince at two o'clock. He was in undress uniform, and looked quite well, although after he had shaken hands and asked how I was, he complained of his nervous excitement and insomnia. "I can only get a little sleep with the help of opium and morphia. I am over-worked, and, in addition to that, as you have read in the newspapers, I have latterly been worried by the people at Charlottenburg—by the women. The doctors insist that I should go to the country. Schweninger prophesies that otherwise I shall suffer from all possible forms of nervous diseases, together with

typhoid. Besides, I ought to go to Varzin, to see after the damage done by the inundations. The Wipper has carried away all my mills, and to rebuild them may cost hundreds of thousands; but I cannot leave, for who knows what they would do when my back is turned—the women who want to have a share in the government—the Englishwomen? You have seen in the papers that I am thinking of retiring on account of conflicts and Court influence—not with the Emperor, who is much more reasonable and shares my views. The question now is as to the marriage of the Battenberger to Princess Victoria, which the Queen of England has in view. Three years and more ago, under the old master, it was actively promoted by her daughter, the present Empress, at first in secret. As soon as I then heard of it, I made representations to the Emperor, verbally and in writing. He allowed himself to be convinced by the reasons I adduced, and refused to give his consent, although she said the Princess loved him. Of course, he is a handsome man, with a fine presence; but I believe her nature is such that she would accept any other suitor, providing he were manly. Moreover, that is entirely beside the question. We must look at the political objections and dangers. The old Queen is fond of match-making, like all old women, and she may have selected Prince Alexander for her granddaughter, because he is a brother of her son-in-law, the husband of her favourite daughter, Beatrice. But obviously her main objects are political—a permanent estrangement between ourselves and Russia—and if she were to come here for the Princess's birthday, there would be the greatest danger that she would get her way. In family matters she is not accustomed to contradiction, and would immediately bring the parson with her in her travelling bag and the bridegroom in her trunk, and the marriage would come off at once. Probably the Battenberger, too, would have been here by this time if I had not stepped in, for they are in a mighty hurry over there in London."

I asked: "What is the actual condition of his Majesty at Charlottenburg? Is it really cancer, and how long is it likely to last?" He: "Cancer, and Bergmann has already given his opinion, some time ago: it is a question of three weeks or three months. Externally it is not very noticeable. He holds himself upright, and walks with a quick step. But his face (he pointed with his fingers between the cheekbones and the nose) has during the last

few days become thinner, and he looks tired and depressed from the excitement. They actually ill-treated, abused and martyred him when he declined. He is glad that I have come to his assistance, as she is too much for him in argument. It is true that so far only a postponement has been secured. If the marriage nevertheless takes place, I can no longer remain in office, for I should then have lost all confidence in the future. That young and impetuous woman's will would prevail more or less in other things too, while I should lose at St. Petersburg that reliance on my straightforwardness which I have so laborously regained with the Emperor Alexander in spite of all sorts of incitements against me. It is true that in Charlottenburg they are most anxious to retain me—she also. They wrap me up in cotton wool and velvet. That also found expression in the rescript; but as the recognition was of too generous a character it aroused in my mind less pleasure and hope than doubt as to its sincerity, and as to whether something was not concealed behind it. If I can merely postpone and not entirely prevent these English influences upon our policy, if my remonstrances are no longer successful, and my voice not listened to, why should I continue to torment and overwork myself? I will not be a mere cloak for the follies of other people. If it were still the old Emperor with whom I was called upon to blunder along in this way—but to allow myself to be made use of by this Englishwoman, for her whims, for foreign interests, with danger and detriment to ourselves!"

I said: "The Emperor was after all a splendid old gentleman, a real King with a high sense of duty and well-intentioned, and who knew how to appreciate you."

He: "A trustworthy comrade, who would not leave one in the lurch."

I: "It is true that he sometimes made your life a burden, and did not always treat you well."

He: "Yes, but that was not done through ill-will, but through misunderstandings and insufficient knowledge of the matter in hand. When anything of importance was going on he usually began by taking the wrong road, but in the end he always allowed himself to be put straight again. Thus during the period of conflict when he could no longer get any Ministers, he wished to abdicate. When I was summoned to him at Babelsberg he had the act of abdication ready signed. He said: 'If I

cannot find any Ministers who will govern as I think right then my son had better try his hand.' I assured him that I was prepared to be the Minister he wanted. 'Even against the majority?' he asked. 'Yes, even against the majority,' I replied. 'Well then, that's all right,' he said, and tore up the document, and with it a whole sheet of concessions to the Liberals, which he had previously read to me."

I: "Then afterwards when you travelled to Jüterbogk to meet him. The ladies at Baden had filled him with apprehensions as to an impending revolution, and he already saw the scaffold awaiting him, and you—you infused courage into him by appealing to his honour and grasping his sword knot, as you once expressed it to me?"

He: "Yes, and on other occasions he had too much courage, and wished to move too rapidly and take too much. Thus in 1864 he wished to march into Jutland without Austria, and at Nikolsburg to continue the war as far as Vienna." I recalled the attack of hysterical weeping there. "Then at first he wanted to have half of Saxony, half of Hanover, Ansbach and Bayreuth, and a piece of Bohemia from Austria, until I persuaded him how unpractical that was."

"And in 1870 the military conspiracy at Mayence before the march into France, and afterwards at Versailles his attitude towards the claims of the Bavarians?" I added.

He: "Certainly, when they actually proposed to proceed to violence against Bavaria and afterwards intended to deny her rights which she was entitled to claim."

I said: "The expression 'cloak' reminds me of its converse. Monarchs are often adorned with other people's feathers. If a battle is won at which one of them happens to be present as a spectator, he is said to have won it, although of course the staff has really won it; and so it is in your case in the field of politics."

"Why, yes," he replied; "but if the work is done and succeeds that is the main point. It is a matter of indifference who did it."

He reflected for a moment, and then continued: "The new Empress has always been an Englishwoman, a channel for English influence here, an instrument for the furtherance of English interests. In her present position she is more than ever so, and the Battenberger is to be another tool of the same kind. In England they do not tolerate any foreign influence—you know

how Palmerston and the others accused, opposed and persecuted the Prince Consort for his alleged or real influence over the Queen. We however are expected to submit to that sort of thing, and regard it as a matter of course. We are an inferior race, ordained to serve them. So the Queen thinks too, and her daughter is of exactly the same opinion. They are working in partnership. I would suggest to you to take the present opportunity of treating this subject fully, dealing with it from a diplomatic and historical standpoint, showing how England has at all times sought and still seeks to influence us for her own ends, and often against our interest, to use us for promoting her own security and the extension of her power, lately through women, daughters and friends of Queen Victoria. In doing so, please to make use of a small work that was published a few years ago in Switzerland under the title of *Co-Regents and Foreign Influence in Germany (Mitregenten und fremde Hände in Deutschland)*. The anonymous author is not unknown to me. It is Duke Ernst of Coburg, and his account is on the whole correct."

I said: "Doubtless it must be, since he belongs to the clique: Leopold of Belgium, Victoria in London, Victoria in Berlin, Stockmar, and also Josias Bunsen in the heyday of his career."

He: "Yes, but that is no longer the case, as you will see when you read the pamphlet. You can go further back, however. Give a survey of English policy during the last couple of centuries."

I: "Something of the kind must have existed even previously. An Englishman was once even German Emperor, Richard of Cornwall, before Rudolf of Hapsburg."

He: "Yes, but confine yourself to modern history, going back as far as the beginning of the last century. Throughout that period the policy of England has constantly been to sow dissensions between the Continental Powers or to maintain existing discord, on the principle of *Duobus litigantibus tertius gaudens*, and to use the one against the other so that they should be weakened and damaged for the benefit of England. These efforts were first directed against France, then against Russia. First it was the Emperor in Vienna who had to wage war on their behalf, and then we were to take up the cudgels for them. Remember the Spanish War of Succession and the Battle of Dettingen. At

that time it is true every State in Europe was threatened in its liberty and existence by the universal monarchy which was then in course of development in France, but none so much as England herself. And then think of the Seven Years' War in which the English took the lion's share of the booty, although they had ventured and accomplished comparatively little, while we conquered the French colonies for them. Latterly they have tried to play us off against the Russians who have become a danger for them on the Bosphorus, and still more on their Indian frontier. We are expected to make good the deficiencies of their military forces, threaten the Russian flank, and hold them back when they propose to march. First, during the Crimean War, in which by the way the French had little reason to join, we were urged, quite against our own interests, to co-operate with the Western Powers in opposing the Emperor Nicholas. I assisted in preventing that. Later on, in 1863, England wanted to see the Polish insurrection supported, as a means of weakening Russia, a course whereby we should have forfeited an old friend who might prove a still better friend to us in the future, and have gained no trustworthy friendship in the West by way of compensation; while in the Poles we should have strengthened an ancient foe, and created a natural ally for France. In 1877, when it was seen that a Russo-Turkish war was imminent, we were expected to exert our influence at St. Petersburg to prevent it—in the interest of humanity—as *The Times* demonstrated. Queen Victoria urged us to do so in a letter to the Emperor, which was handed to him by Augusta, who added her own intercession, and in two letters to myself. Humanity, peace and liberty,—those are always their pretexts when they cannot by way of a change invoke Christianity and the extension of the blessings of civilisation to savage and semi-barbarous peoples. In reality, however, *The Times* and the Queen wrote in the interests of England, which had nothing in common with ours. It is in the interests of England that the German Empire should be on bad terms with Russia. Our interest is that we should be on as good terms with Russia as the situation allows. Latterly I have directed my endeavours towards this end, and I have succeeded, in spite of various opposing influences;—and now the Battenberger is to be called in to nullify my success, to inspire the Emperor Alexander with fresh suspicions, and to supply the Moscow press with

plausible grounds, which would have at least appearances in their favour, for asserting that we entertain secret designs. Prince Alexander, who has been selected as bridegroom for the daughter of the German Emperor, would, if that marriage were to take place, not only appear but actually be a permanent channel for English influence with us—that is the essence of the scheme—emphasise and repeat that—so far as this influence is directed against Russia. He is really a Pole, through his mother, who married, as a *Fräulein Hauke*, a member of a family which is neither old nor illustrious. (. . .) Such a relationship is decidedly not suitable for the Prussian Royal House and a daughter of the German Emperor. The Emperor Frederick sees and feels that too, perhaps even more than we do, for he has a very high opinion of his family and its dignity. But apart from that the more important point is that the Emperor Alexander hates the Battenberger with his whole heart, indeed there is perhaps no one else whom he knows and hates so thoroughly.”

I said: “The unheard of rudeness of the letter striking his name off the Army List, a communication well nigh unparalleled in the intercourse of Princes.”

He rejoined: “Yes, and other things too. But he richly deserved it through his falsehood and treachery. As a nephew of the deceased Empress he was regarded in St. Petersburg as a fitting instrument for advancing Russian interests as Prince of Bulgaria; and that was quite legitimate in view of the gratitude which the Bulgarians owed to Russia for their liberation, while it was also the ultimate and real object of the war of 1877. At first he governed in this sense, but he afterwards took up with the English, who wished to create a Greater Bulgaria to serve their purposes, and like Rumania be under obligations to them. It was to be developed into a new kingdom, which should stand in the way of Russia. That had been planned long beforehand, and the way had been prepared by various measures; but the Prince always tried to dispel any uneasiness by beautifully reassuring speeches and categorical promises. Finally he pledged himself to Giers not to make any kind of change in Eastern Rumelia; and yet shortly afterwards the revolution broke out in Philippopolis, with his previous knowledge and co-operation. It would be a miracle, and utterly opposed to human nature, if the Emperor Alexander did not hate him with a deadly hatred for this dis-

honourable conduct, this breach of faith. He will never forgive him, and will always look upon him as a sworn enemy, embittered moreover by having been driven out. If he were accepted as a member of the German Imperial House, it would fill the Emperor with a suspicion which nothing could dissipate. It would be a permanent threat to peace. He would not on that account declare war upon us immediately and without more ado, as Napoleon did in similar circumstances in 1870; but he would hold it to be a confirmation of all the old doubts as to our sincerity which we had proved to be unfounded, and the Russian press would renew its agitation with the same violence and malice as formerly, and with more success. It is not yet certain that Russia would take up arms against us if we were to be again attacked by the French; but if the Russians were to declare war upon us the French would certainly join them immediately. And after all in such a war we should not be so very certain to win, while it would be a great misfortune even if we were victorious, as in any case we should lose a great deal of blood and treasure, and also suffer considerable indirect damage through the interruption of work and trade, and we should never be able to take anything from the French or Russians that would compensate us for our losses. It is only the English who would benefit by it. It would be an English war if the Battenberg marriage led Russia to join the French attack on us. We are well armed, but at all events large masses of troops would be put into the field against us, and Austria has not yet developed her defensive forces as she could and should do; and no real confidence could be placed in Italy. It is possible that the French may regain their footing there and win back the Italian friendship, if other parties came into power. Indeed even a Republic is possible, and Italy may resume her irredentist schemes and claims against Austria."

I said: "I shall keep all that in mind, and write the article as well as I can. Perhaps I may be allowed to mention the influence brought to bear by the English ladies against the bombardment of Paris. You remember: 'Schurze und Schürzen'" (aprons and petticoats; that is to say, freemasons and women).

"Yes, do that," he replied; "but at the same time remember the press laws. Be very cautious, diplomatic, and not too venomous; and always emphasise the fact that it is foreign influences that are working against me; not the Emperor, but the reigning lady and

her mother." . . . "But," I said, "will it not throw an unfavourable light on the Emperor, making him appear weak and pitiable, if one says that he is opposed to the Battenberg project, but may be brought to give in to the demands of the ladies?" He replied: "It is not necessary to say that in so many words; but it is nevertheless a fact—and it was much the same with the late Emperor, who had also to struggle against feminine influence, and was thankful to me when I stiffened him against it. In these cases he used to say to me: 'Do it in such a manner that they may fancy they have had their way, while we really manage as it should be.' On the whole, I got on well with him."

I proceeded direct to Bucher's in order to repeat to him as literally as possible my conversation with the Chief, and thus to impress it more firmly on my mind. He had the Duke of Coburg's pamphlet, which he lent me. He also gave me the following example of the manner in which the feminine half of the present Imperial family have been anglicised. "Princess Victoria, the Battenbergerin *in spe*, had a difference with her brother on one occasion respecting some household arrangement. 'After all, that is much better managed at home,' she said. 'At home? What do you mean?' he asked. 'Why, at home in England,' she replied. The particular epithet which Prince William applied to her is not known for certain, but it was either 'goose' or 'sheep.'"

On my return home I found a note, from Rottenburg, saying that the Prince wished me to introduce the article discussed to-day by a reference to certain statements of *The Times*, in order that it should not appear to be written without any immediate occasion.

On the following day I was again summoned to the Chief. He was reclining in a *chaise longue* near the window, and reading the *Kölnische Zeitung*. "Here," he said, "is the *Kölnische Zeitung* writing against *The Times*, and also the *Frankfurter Zeitung*. You might also mention this in the article of which we were speaking yesterday, and correct them where necessary. The main point is that the Emperor is on my side. A syllable must be added here" (he pointed to the word "Kaiser," which was underlined in red)—"Kaiserin. It is a struggle between the Emperor and Empress. She, as an Englishwoman, is in favour of the Battenberger; he will not have him, first for political reasons, like myself, and then because he actually hates him, for he dislikes the idea of a

misalliance, as he is very proud of his dynasty and position. Two Empresses are fighting against his opinion and mine,—those of India and Germany; and Victoria the daughter simply talks him down. She can make much better use of her tongue than he can. It has always been so, and now more than ever, owing to his illness and the way in which worry affects him. Besides, he is deeply devoted to his family. I was present on one occasion when she set at him so violently with her feminine logic and volubility that at last he sat there quite silent and depressed. He is delighted every time that I come to his assistance against his combative wife." I related Bucher's story about Victoria No. 3 and her brother. "Yes," he said, "that is quite credible. At home with her daughters, she, the German Empress, only speaks English, the language of the Chosen People, and the Princesses write English letters to their father."

He continued: "Look here! There they talk of my attachment to the dynasty. Well, that is quite correct, but it was more so under the father, the old master. I had all along wanted to retire at his death, and if I remain, it may be taken as certain that I do so only on an understanding that I continue the old policy I have followed hitherto, and am protected from foreign influence and from the interference and misgovernment of women, which was never carried to such lengths as it is at present. I would therefore beg of you to call attention to the Progressist journals, to these Court Jacobins—use that word—who receive their orders from Charlottenburg, through the women whose names figure at the head of the Address, Frau Helmholtz, Schrader, and Stockmar, whose late husband was Secretary to the Englishwoman when she was Crown Princess. These Byzantine hypocrites, these democrats who wag their tails and crawl more abjectly than the most extravagant absolutist, would like to degrade me from being a servant of the State and of its head into a Court menial, although of course it is both my right and my duty to form my own opinion and maintain it like anybody else, all the more as I bear the responsibility for the mistakes, or, as in the present instance, the obvious follies that are committed in important matters." He continued to dilate on this theme for a few minutes; and then again suggested that I should make use of the pamphlet of Duke Ernst of Coburg. He sent or Rottenburg, and told him that in using it elsewhere the passages which

I should quote were not to be employed. When Rottenburg had gone I asked: "Are you quite sure that it was he who wrote it? It is very strong for him, although from the style, which is rather vulgar and careless, it might well be his work, besides which he is acquainted with the facts through being closely connected with the Queen." He replied smiling: "He himself told me so" (in English). I then spoke of his autobiography, which I described as badly arranged and prolix. "Yes," he said, "he has somewhat the same failing as Beust. He can suppress nothing—not the most trifling circumstance respecting what he has done or tried to do, and collected." I inquired as to the instructions respecting Beust's book. He replied: "That must wait. We have now more important matters to deal with. Later on, perhaps. For the present you might get them to give you the book. I have underlined a few things which appear to me to be incorrect. But now I must try to get some sleep. At present my pulse goes on an average fifteen beats in the minute faster than it did during the preceding reign." I took my leave, with good wishes for his speedy improvement. I had been with him about twenty minutes. In the following three days I wrote the desired article, and sent it to the *Grenzboten*, where it appeared in No. 17, under the title, "Foreign Influences in the Empire."

April 25th.—This evening at Knoop's, Bucher described the candidature of the Prince Hohenzollern, in which he himself had taken a part, as a "trap for Napoleon." He added that neither the Emperor William nor the Crown Prince had the least idea of this feature of Bismarck's manœuvre, of which he, Bucher, also gave particulars to the Crown Prince after his journey. They both regarded the candidature as a means of exalting the glory of their House.

April 28th.—This afternoon met Bucher in the Königin Augusta Strasse. . . . He said, smiling: "I have just heard a surprising piece of news. Grandmamma (Queen Victoria) behaved quite sensibly at Charlottenburg. She declared the attitude of the Chief in the Battenberg marriage scheme to be quite correct, and urged her daughter to change her ways. Of course it was very nice of her not to forget her own country and to wish to benefit it where it was possible for her to do so, but she needed the attachment of the Germans, and should endeavour to secure it; and finally she brought about a reconciliation between Prince

William and his mother." I asked, "Have you that on good authority?" "On very good authority," he replied. "Well," I said, "that is highly satisfactory, and we shall act accordingly in the immediate future, for, of course, we do not hate Victoria II. on account of her extraction, but because she feels as an English-woman and wishes to promote English interests at our expense, and because she despises us Germans. The question is whether in the long run she will heed this maternal admonition. It is not easy to rid one's self of a habit of thought of such long standing." He agreed with me in this.

April 29th.—I read this morning in the *Berliner Boersen Zeitung*: "We are in a position to state that the Imperial Chancellor, as was indeed to be expected, is most indignant at the notorious article in the *Grenzboten* slandering the Empress Victoria, and that he has given expression to his condemnation in very strong terms. In this connection exceptional importance is to be attached to the sympathetic article in the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* on the Queen of England's visit." Doubtless as that paper is in the Bleichröder's service, this utterance has been inspired by that firm, over which floats the flag of the British Consulate General. Well informed? Possibly, indeed probably. A disclaimer? Why not! Quite in order! *Tempora mutantur*? But I shall never change towards him, nor he doubtless towards me. He will once more call for his little archer when he again wants an arrow shot into the face of this or that sun, and "Büschlein's" bow shall never fail him.

After the death of the Emperor Frederick, I wrote to Bucher a few lines expressing the satisfaction I felt that we were relieved of that incubus, and that his place was now to be taken by a disciple and admirer of the Chief.

CHAPTER XX

The Emperor Frederick's Diary—The Chief on the Diary and its Author—The German Question during the War of 1870—The Emperor Frederick and his leaning towards England—The Chief praises the young Emperor—"Better too much than too little Fire!"—I am to arrange the Chief's Papers, and do so—Bismarck's Account of his Relations with the Emperor Frederick.

It has been whispered in the press for some time that the Emperor Frederick had left a diary which did not throw a very favourable light upon Bismarck, and that this was at present in the hands of the Queen of England, and on the 20th of September I received from Grunow the October number of the *Deutsche Rundschau*, containing the diary kept by the then Crown Prince during the war. I reviewed it in the *Grenzboten* without having any doubt as to its being in the main genuine. On the 24th the Imperial Chancellor requested me to come to Friedrichsruh, and to bring with me my notes taken during the war, as the diary of the Emperor Frederick appeared to contain inaccuracies.

September 26th.—About one o'clock I arrived at Friedrichsruh station, where Rottenburg was waiting with a carriage for Count Solms, our Ambassador in Rome—who travelled by the same train—and myself. I met the Prince at lunch, during which, as was his custom, he read through, signed and otherwise disposed of various documents. After lunch Rottenburg, on his instructions, handed me a memorandum on the diary published in the *Rundschau*. This was directed to the Emperor and was to appear next day in the *Reichsanzeiger*. While I was reading this through in his study, the Chief came in, asked me to give it to him, and made a few corrections and additions in it. I then read

it through in my own room upstairs, and presently the Chief sent word to say that he was going out for a drive, and would I like to come with him. Of course I would. We then drove for about two hours, first to Silt, afterwards to Schönau and finally to the Billenbrück, and then home through the beech wood on the right bank of the Aue. On the way, the Prince spoke to two gamekeepers about the scarcity of partridges and the fish poachers; while he discussed the state of the crops, and the condition of the cattle with a cowherd whose charges were feeding in a field of vetches. Further on, he entered into conversation with overseers who were looking after the potato digging and with labourers who were ploughing with oxen. In the intervals he had a long conversation with me on the manner in which the Crown Prince's diary should be dealt with. He introduced the subject by the remark (in English): "I am afraid you have forgotten your English." On my answering, "No, sir, by no means," he continued the conversation in that language on account of the coachman. He began: "As you will have seen from what you read, we must first treat it as a forgery, a point of view from which a great deal may be said. Then, when it is proved to be genuine by the production of the original it can be dealt with further in another way." I said that on the whole it appeared to me to be genuine, but incomplete, on the one hand, while, on the other, there were interpolations, probably by Victoria No. 2, in support of which opinion I quoted examples. I also told him that, in ignorance of his plans, I had already dealt with the matter in the *Grenzboten* a week before, according to my own views, and in certain flagrant instances condemned it cautiously. Another course was, however, still open to me. I then repeated to him, from memory, the commencement of the article in question. He rejoined: "You were quite right. I myself consider the diary even more genuine than you do. It is quite insignificant, superficial stuff, without any true conception of the situation, a medley of sentimental politics, self-conceit and phrase-mongering. He was far from being as clever as his father, and the latter was certainly not a first-rate politician. It is just that which proves its genuineness to me. But at first we must treat it as doubtful." The conversation then turned on the details of the diary. I asked if he had spoken to the Emperor on the subject, and he replied in the affirmative, saying: "He was quite in a rage and

wishes to have strong measures taken against the publication." He then came to speak of the demand for Imperial Ministers. We have them, of course, only without the title and name. The Imperial Chancellor is their permanent President,—permanent, because with us the power of the Emperor is greater under the Constitution than in other countries which are ruled by alternating Parliamentary majorities. I suggested that Gustav Freytag might perhaps at the instance of the Empress Victoria have edited the diary and arranged for its publication. I tried to show the probability of this suggestion by a reference to his political views, to the confidential position which he occupied towards the two Victorias, and in particular to an instruction to Brater's paper in Frankfurt in the summer of 1863, during the conflict between the King and the Crown Prince respecting the "Press Ordinances." He considered, however, that the trick would prove to have been done by Hengst, a writer who serves the Court, and particularly its ladies, in the press. He then repeated the main points of the memorandum which I had previously read. I now ascertained for certain that this was a report on the diary in the *Deutsche Rundschau* which the Chancellor, by the Emperor's command, had submitted to the sovereign a few days ago. He added various details: "In 1870 the Crown Prince was only partially initiated into the negotiations, as the King feared that he would write about them either to his consort, or direct to Queen Victoria and her Court, whose sympathies were with the French. In the second place, he might also have done harm, as his views with regard to the demands upon our German allies went too far, and he was thinking of coercive measures which were urged upon him by his good friends at Baden and Coburg—as, for instance, Roggenbach, who always was a fool. He had therefore only a superficial knowledge of the course of affairs. It is, nevertheless, surprising that these notes, which are supposed to have been written down day by day, contain so many misconceptions, confusions and chronological errors. A great deal of it cannot possibly have been written by the Crown Prince, and must have come from his *entourage* or the publisher. Here it is said that, in the middle of July, I wanted to return to Varzin because peace was no longer in danger, while he, of course, knew that I considered war to be inevitable, and had declared my intention to retire when the King showed a disposition to yield. It is also

inconceivable that the Crown Prince endeavoured at an early date to secure the Iron Cross for non-Prussians, in view of the fact that at Versailles he was opposed to it, and it was I who first suggested it. He represents this as the beginning of the struggle between him and me as to the future of Germany, although he must surely have remembered former differences of opinion between us, that led to some very lively discussions which one would not be likely to forget. It was before or immediately after Sedan, at Beaumont or Donchery, and the conversation took place in a long avenue through which we rode side by side. We came to high words over our respective views as to what was expedient and morally permissible, and when he spoke of force and of coercive measures against the Bavarians I reminded him of the Margrave Gero and the thirty Wendish Princes, and also of the Sendling massacre. When he held to his opinion, however, and suggested that I should carry it into execution, I said to him (scarcely in so blunt and plain a fashion) that there were things which a Prince, perhaps, might do, but no gentleman would attempt. Such conduct would be an act of perfidy, and an outrage upon allies who had fulfilled their obligations, quite apart from the folly of such an attempt at a time when we had further use for them. The statements in the alleged diary as to my position in the Emperor question in 1866, on my intentions in connection with the dogma of infallibility, my idea of an Upper House and the Imperial Ministries, can hardly have been written by the Crown Prince either. In 1870 he could no longer doubt that the Empire, in the form which he had in his mind in 1866, would have been neither useful nor feasible—in fact it would not have been an Empire at all. What he desired in 1866 was not an Emperor but a King of Germany—the other Kings and Grand Dukes being reduced to their former rank, merely Dukes—as if that were an easy matter to bring about. We had already put an end to the Upper House at Beaumont or Donchery, and had dealt with the Imperial Ministers in like fashion. He too, must have finally recognised that the dogma of infallibility was of slight importance for us, and that I regarded it as a blunder on the part of the Pope and advised the King to let it rest during the continuance of the war. Even a hasty thinker like the Crown Prince could scarcely have concluded from that that I intended to oppose it after the war, and therefore

this passage was doubtless not written by him. At least for the present we must continue to doubt the genuineness of this and other statements." He then spoke of Bray, who, as an Austrian sympathiser, delayed the mobilisation of the Bavarian troops in 1870; and of King Lewis, who—at that time of sound German principles—was "our sole influential friend in Bavaria." Returning to the Crown Prince's idea of 1866 and to his Upper Chamber, the Chancellor observed: "An Emperor or King of North Germany would have created a division between North and South Germany such as did not exist under the Customs Union; and an Upper House with Princes and elected members was impossible." I then reminded him of the importunity of Baden and Coburg, who at Versailles worried him with memorials and verbal counsels, questions, &c., to that effect, and of his indignation at the unexpected visit of the Grand Duke Frederick during dinner. I then mentioned to him what Bucher had told me about the sensible attitude adopted by the Queen of England at Charlottenburg, which he confirmed, adding that at the interview which he had had with her he had in part prompted the admonitions which she addressed to her daughter. In this connection I asked whether the statement in Bleichröder's *Boersenzeitung* as to his strong condemnation of my article, "Foreign Influences in the Empire," were true. I added that, *rebus mutatis*, I should have considered it quite conceivable, and had indeed said as much. He replied, smiling: "Nonsense! quite the contrary. I have several times expressed my high appreciation of it. The article was really quite first rate, and the Coburg pamphlet was also very aptly applied." Driving along in the dusk on the right bank of the Aue, we passed a boarding school, and were greeted with cheers three times repeated by a crowd of children (doubtless the pupils and their teacher). "They will," he said, "have taken the grey-bearded gentleman seated by me for a Rumanian or Bulgarian Minister on a visit." "Then I too have had a share in the ovation," I rejoined, "and shall take it with me to Berlin as a souvenir." He afterwards requested me to look through my diary to-morrow, to see if there were any further chronological or other mistakes in the publication of the *Deutsche Rundschau* and to report to him on the subject.

September 27th.—During the forenoon, in accordance with the Chief's desire, I went through my diary up to our stay at Ferrières.

In the evening, after dinner, the Prince, while looking through the newspapers, suddenly said: "Yes, since 1840 the Princes have begun to degenerate. I will give you an example or two (looking towards me). In 1858, before Prince William, afterwards Emperor, acted as Regent for his brother, there was a reactionary intrigue on foot with which Manteuffel was not unconnected, and in which they also wanted me to join. Its object was to induce the sick King to withdraw his authority, and to let Queen Elizabeth govern through the Ministers. I did not join in that scheme, but on the contrary started for Baden—or was it somewhere else in South Germany?—and told the whole story to him (the Prince of Prussia). He was not at all disconcerted by the plan, however, and declared himself ready to retire immediately. It was therefore a matter of perfect indifference to him. But I argued it out with him. What will be the result of such a move? It is surely your duty to hold on! Send for Manteuffel at once. And Manteuffel actually came, after having hesitated for some little time, excusing himself on the ground of illness, and so the affair went no further. Then at Babelsberg, when I was called thither in order to be made Minister. In his despair he had the act of abdication ready signed, and it was only when I offered to stand by him in spite of Parliament and in spite of the majority that he tore it up. This restored his courage and confidence and his sense of royal duty, which in his unfortunate position had, until then, been a matter of utter indifference to him. He afterwards held to it firmly enough." The Chancellor added that of late years the deceased monarch through this sense of duty had sometimes caused him considerable difficulties, as his knowledge of affairs was limited and he was slow in comprehending anything new. Of the present Emperor he said: "He has more understanding, more courage and greater independence of Court influences, but in his leaning towards me he goes far. How considerate he was the last time he came here! He was surprised that I had waited for him till 11 o'clock, a thing which his grandfather was incapable of saying. And in the morning he waited for me, and although he is accustomed to rise much earlier he did not get up until 9 o'clock, thinking that I slept till that hour. I was just washing and only half dressed when he put his hand on my shoulder, and I hurriedly pulled on my dressing gown in order to be to some extent in a proper condition to receive him." I said: "Yes, Serene Highness, you now appear to

have everything one could wish for you. A docile and grateful pupil and warm admirer stands by your side as ruler and chief authority in the State, and we, your people, rejoice with all our hearts, and hope that it may long remain so."

"It is only in trifles and matters of secondary importance that one had occasionally some little reason to find fault with him, as for instance in the form of his pronouncements. After all, that was a little too much of a good thing when he said: 'Forty-two millions and eighteen army corps on the field.' 'If at last the whole nation lies hushed in the silence of death.' If every German soldier and civilian is dead, what significance can the independence and inviolability of Germany still have?" "And new-fangled words from the newspapers, such as '*unentwegt*,' '*voll und ganz*,' to say nothing of '*diesbezüglich*,' do not look well in his proclamation." The Prince rejoined: "In his reference to the battlefield it would certainly have been enough had he said: 'And if I were to be the last man upon the field of battle nothing that we have conquered shall be lost!' But that is youthful vivacity, which time will correct. Better too much than too little fire!"

September 28th.—Up to lunch time I read through my diary, and came upon a number of passages that seemed likely to be of use to the Chief. At lunch the conversation turned on the Crown Prince, and the shallowness and poverty of thought which characterised his diary. From this the Chief again concluded that the publication in the *Deutsche Rundschau*, or at least a great part of it, might be genuine. He again spoke in English on account of the servants. I took the liberty to remark that according to page 138 of my diary it appeared after all that he had had a conversation on the German question with his Royal Highness at Versailles on the 16th. He rejoined: "Yes, but then he has mixed it up with a former one, and moreover I cannot have advised him to propose to the King that the Bavarians should be disarmed." I added that that must have been said ironically—a suggestion of such a monstrous description that no one could take it seriously.

On his rising from table to go to his study, I followed him outside in order to tell him privately that I had found some passages in my diary which might be of interest to him, mentioning in particular Fleming's despatch on Mohl's report. He said he would like to see them in the afternoon, and would send for me

for the purpose. "I must now answer Augusta, who has once more administered to me one of her gracious Model Letter-Writer epistles." Later on, when I brought him the diary with the passages of interest marked, he praised Mohl's description of the relations of parties in Bavaria as apt and accurate. On my saying that it would doubtless have been in the hands of the Grand Duke of Baden three months before the differences at Versailles, and that he would certainly have communicated its contents to the Crown Prince, he answered in a tone of contempt: "Ah, that is mere talk on his part. He never took anything seriously, or studied it thoroughly. Do you really think that they were seriously concerned, to read despatches, and to think over and note the contents of reports? They just met in order to smoke and exchange ill-natured gossip." He then related once more: "It was before the conference at Donchery when he spoke of using force against the Bavarians, and of eventually shooting down the two army corps if necessary. I said to him that would be an act of unheard-of treachery, which a Prince might decide upon, but which no gentleman could perform. That would be a course similar to Gero's, in his treatment of the thirty Wendish Princes, a perfidy which had such fatal consequences for the whole Ostmark." On this occasion he also repeated his plan of campaign with regard to the publication in the *Rundschau*: "First assert it to be a forgery, and express indignation at such a calumny upon the noble dead. Then, when they prove it to be genuine, refute the errors and foolish ideas which it contains, but cautiously, and bearing in mind that he was Emperor and father to the present Emperor." He then exclaimed suddenly: "Well, he is gone! Made off with himself, with the Public Prosecutor at his heels. Geffcken, I mean, who published it, and who for the matter of that is no Democrat, but a Particularist." I mentioned to him that, during the latter half of the fifties, Geffcken, under the *nom de plume* of "Victor," had, as a friend of Freytag's and a petty diplomat of the sniffing and spying order, supplied the *Grenzboten* with Opposition gossip inspired by the Crown Prince and the Coburg clique; that he was afterwards a diligent promoter of the Augustenburger's cause, but that in 1877, as pointed out in the "Friction" articles, his place-hunting propensities had been recognised at Karlsruhe. I then asked whether he had read *Hofrath*, Schneider's posthumous work on the Emperor William,

and added, "he did not appear to be well-disposed towards you." "Certainly not," he rejoined; "and he had good reason for it. He hated me because I had spoilt a fine business for him. A cousin of mine, a Bismarck-Bohlen, wanted to marry one of his daughters, his senior by eleven years, who had driven him crazy by her coquetry. I pulled him away from her by his coat-tails. She might have captured a big estate with him." I further expressed the opinion that the death of the Emperor Frederick had saved us from an evil future, and in particular from English influence on the foreign policy of Prussia and of the Empire, and from an estrangement with Russia. "Yes," he rejoined; "he was in favour of the Orleans, used his influence for a daughter of Nemours, was on the side of Poland, of Denmark, and against the war of 1866,—always in favour of what fell in with the views of the English."

September 29th.—Before lunch I begged Rottenburg to ask the Chief whether our business was now at an end, and I might consider myself at liberty to return home. I received no answer, however, although I reminded Rottenburg of the matter. I spent the day in my room, in a bad temper, having nothing to do and feeling bored, and could not go for a walk, as it rained up to dusk. After dinner reference was again made to the Crown Prince's incapacity, of which the Chief treated us to an exquisite example. He related: "We had at that time a secret treaty with the St. Petersburg people which now no longer exists. Under it we were to remain neutral in case of war breaking out between England and Russia. On my mentioning the treaty to the Crown Prince he remarked: 'Of course England has been informed and has agreed to it.'" Great laughter, in which the ladies also joined. The deceased sovereign evidently stood badly in need of a wax candle to light up his head—more so, indeed, than even a certain uncle in Thuringia.

September 30th.—Rottenburg came up to my room about noon, and said: "I have asked the Chief as to your going home, and he wishes you to stay at least for a few days longer, so that it may look like a visit, and not as if you had been specially summoned here for a purpose. How do you spell *Commercy*?" I replied: "With two 'm's' and a 'y.'" "He will probably question you about their stay there." I looked it up, and found that we had arrived at that place at 2 P.M. on the 23rd of August, 1870, and

left it at noon on the 24th; that the Chief had had a conference with the King there, and that Waldersee and Alvensleben dined with us. Mentioned that to the Chief at lunch, when by the way, as on the previous day, he returned my greeting with a "Guten Morgen, Büschlein"; and when, among the other good things provided, a basin of peasoup with bacon was served up to me by the Princess's orders. This is a favourite dish of mine, as I happened to let out on Friday in the course of conversation on various delicacies. The Prince spoke of the Crown Prince's inadequate acquaintance with modern history, as shown by his reference in his diary to the Emperor and Empire as new ideas emanating from himself and his party. "That was the aspiration of many a German long before he was born. The *Burschenschaft* sang and drank to it immediately after the War of Liberation, and when I went to Göttingen those were the ideals I carried with me, and if those students had not fought so shy of duelling and beer drinking I might have joined them and got myself involved with them in the subsequent inquiry." He then related as further evidence of his political views at that time his bet with Coffin, whom he, by the way, knew to be still alive. "As far back as 1848 the idea of an Emperor was well to the front, but it was unworkable, principally because people were thinking of other things at the same time. The beginning of the Empire already existed in the North German Confederation, only Bavaria did not want to come in yet, as was indeed the case in 1870 also, when I had a great deal of trouble to secure her adhesion. On the other hand, I had a hard fight with our Most Gracious Master, who for a long time would not hear of being Emperor. 'But does your Majesty wish to remain a neuter for ever?' I said to him one day. 'What do you mean by that?' he said. 'Why, that hitherto you have been the Presidency (*das Sie bis jetzt das Präsidium sind*).'" If I rightly understood the Chief at lunch the reason of his question as to Commerce was that it was there he recommended the King to confer the Iron Cross upon the South Germans. "Moltke," he said, "was entirely against it, asking whether he himself had any Bavarian Order."

October 1st.—I was longing for some work to do, and in my despair I plucked up courage and applied to the Chief himself, asking him if he could not give me something to do, if it were only ciphering, deciphering or copying, perhaps some matter of

no importance,—“for my part it may be making out lists or adding up accounts.” He smiled, and, after reflecting for a moment, said: “Perhaps I can find some more interesting occupation for you to-morrow. I will see.”

October 2nd.—At lunch I ascertained from Rottenburg that the Prince wished to give me a number of letters to look through. When the Chief got up from table he whispered something to Rottenburg at the door, whereupon the latter came back to me and said the Prince was now going upstairs to look out the papers. In about a quarter of an hour I was summoned to his study, where he had several large packets of documents lying before him.

He began: “I once promised you that you should arrange my papers. Here are some of them—letters and other things from the Frankfurt and St. Petersburg period. Here for instance is the Gerlach correspondence, and there are letters from Frederick William IV. to me.” He read over one of the latter to me, and then said: “I think you will find other matters of interest among them. I myself can no longer remember exactly all they contain. Take these upstairs with you, and settle how you are going to arrange them. I think the chronological order will be the best.” Was I not delighted? Such confidence! and such a prospect of fresh information! the fulfilment of a hope that had almost died. Pleased beyond measure I hurried off with my burden and immediately set to work on them, first glancing through the various papers at hazard. The sifting of this treasure was to commence next morning, and to be continued on the following days with as little interruption as possible.

October 8th.—At table the Prince related that formerly, and even since he became Minister, he was sometimes obliged to dance with Princesses at Court entertainments until the old gentleman (King William) expressed his displeasure. He excused himself by saying: “What is one to do, your Majesty, when Princesses command?” The Princesses were accordingly informed of the prohibition. Keudell was also passionately fond of dancing formerly, and Radowitz too, but the King also broke the latter of this habit.

The Chancellor once more returned to the subject of King William's anxiety in 1866 to utilise his victories in a different way to what he (Bismarck) advised. “His mind was set on Northern Bohemia, half of Saxony, half of Hanover, Ansbach and Bayreuth,

&c., and it was difficult to get the idea out of his head." At lunch to-day I told the Chief (in English on account of the servants) that I expected to finish my work in two or three days, and to return the papers to him in linen envelopes, arranged according to the years. He replied (also in English): "Then you have lost no time, seeing what a quantity of them there were. But I have also a number of others for you. The work is not yet over, as there is a lot more there, more recent and perhaps more interesting for you. Have you found anything of importance among the first batch?" I said I had. He called attention to the contrast between Gerlach and Manteuffel, the Minister, which was evident from their letters. He also mentioned Niebuhr, of whom he remarked: "It is with him as with many pious people of his sort: he has no tact, regards himself as the envoy of an anointed King, and as his representative considers himself to be also anointed."

On the 9th of October I had been a fortnight at Friedrichsruh, and on the 10th the last envelope would be filled, but other important work intervened unexpectedly. Two documents arrived from the Ministry of the Household, a short and a long war diary of the Crown Prince, afterwards Emperor Frederick, both written in his own hand, the first presumably an extract, or perhaps the original of the harmless part of the latter, the second obviously written for the most part after the war, and with many additions. Both are to be speedily examined, and, as Rottenburg informed me on bringing me the documents, I was to do part of the work, examining the latter portion of the first of the two manuscripts, while the Chief dealt with the earlier portion and he (Rottenburg) with the second. I also assisted Rottenburg afterwards, as the papers had to be sent back to Berlin in two days. The diary in the *Deutsche Rundschau* is not from the shorter version, but from the far more comprehensive one of the Ministry of the Household, the interpolations of which are in great part of a political nature, and are often highly characteristic, although deficient in real statesmanship. The writer is in every respect mediocre and superficial, no talent and no character, although he is thoroughly at home in fault-finding and abuse. We collected and noted down in our section some particularly fine specimens of his manner of thought, and of these a small selection may be here given. They do not include the finest of all, which I had to leave to Rottenburg or for

the Chief, who came into our bureau (at 11 o'clock at night) while we were making the extracts, and was pleased to find that I was so diligent in my efforts to be of use.—On the 4th of January the author of the interpolated diary had read "with great satisfaction" the reflections upon the new year published by the *Volkszeitung*, and was "horrified" that the Minister of War had forbidden the circulation of the paper.—On the 2nd of January an eulogy of the Queen of England, "who stands up for us Germans at every opportunity, knows very well what are the issues involved, and understands German affairs."—On the 8th of January he notes Odo Russell's satisfaction at Bismarck's having yielded in the matter of the English coal ships (a matter which H.R.H. had much at heart).—On the 11th of January Prince Luitpold's "unworthy" proposal respecting the military oath of allegiance of the Bavarians, had, like Bismarck's irritability, greatly worried his Majesty.—January 17th. Bismarck, speaking to Schleinitz in the antechamber, had "peevisly" exclaimed that he could not conceive why there should be a joint conference of the Chancellor of the Confederation and the Minister of the Household in presence of the King. Then a very detailed account of the interview respecting the Emperor and Empire at the Prefecture. On that occasion the King was very excited and vehement, and the Crown Prince was afterwards so unwell that he had to take medicine.—February 1st. Interesting addition respecting Frederick of Schleswig-Holstein, "who, like myself (the Crown Prince) regrets the manner in which the Empire has been brought into existence, &c."—February 14th. A somewhat lengthy account (an addition) of an interview between the Crown Prince and Bonnehose.—16th. Conversation with Russell on the consequences of English neutrality. (In another passage apprehensions for beloved England, owing to Bismarck's leaning towards Russia and the United States).—22nd. Doubtless an interpolation of a much later date. That "after the peace our next task must be the solution of the social question." It is certain that the good gentleman with his narrow views and small brain never thought of that subject until Bismarck found time to take the matter in hand, and discovered ways and means for dealing with the evil which would never have occurred to his Royal Highness and his *Volkszeitung*.—26th. Conversation with Père Hyacinthe on the Catholic Church (and also on Döllinger).

As was to be expected the Crown Prince has high praise for that superficial and sentimental individual, and feels that his words have actually given him a sense of exaltation and a feeling of deep peace.—March 10th. Lengthy statement of political views, of which extracts have appeared in the *Deutsche Rundschau*. The interpolated diary goes as far as the 17th of July, 1871, at Munich, and then a few pages follow respecting his stay in England and at Wilhelmshöhe.

After three days' absence in Berlin, I returned to Friedrichsruh on Wednesday, the 17th October.

I had previously been accustomed every evening after dinner to spend some time romping in the next room with the three little Rantzaus. When I asked their mother at lunch how the boys were, she asked me not to let them have their usual game to-day as a punishment, the two elder lads having been rude and insolent to their governess in the morning. The Prince said they must be whipped for that. The Countess replied that she had deprived them of their bath and slapped them on the cheek for it. He rejoined, however, "That is not enough for such naughtiness. They ought to be well whipped." He then related how he had chastised Herbert and Bill on one occasion, when they took some hazel nuts and then ran away from the ranger. "It was not on account of the nuts, but because they had obliged the old man to run after them through bush and briar until I caught them and gave them a good trouncing, at which the ranger seemed to be greatly surprised." I inquired of him whether governesses and other persons entrusted with the education of princes were at liberty to chastise them when they were naughty, or whether they had to tell the parents, who decided as to their punishment. He answered the first part of my question in the affirmative, and went on to say that the governess of the Emperor William II. said as she was administering physical chastisement to him on one occasion: "Believe me, Royal Highness, that it hurts me as much as it does you to do this." "Ah!" exclaimed the little Prince, "and does it hurt you in the same place?" Everybody laughed heartily at the queer form taken by the boy's curiosity. Later on in the evening I was summoned to the Prince's study, where the Chief handed me a large packet of letters. "These are from the old Emperor," he said, and then read me some passages from them. He wished to have

them arranged like the former papers. "And here," he added, "are others (pointing to a second packet), the correspondence with Andrassy, for instance, in the summer of 1879. You will find information enough there." He took up the third pile. "These are from the Emperor Frederick when he was Crown Prince, and also one from *her* from the villa Zivio." He was about to return them to the drawer of his writing table, but I begged him to let me have them also. He said smiling, "But, Büschlein, haven't you already enough?"—"It will be better for me to have everything there is at once, so that I may have a general idea of all the documents and arrange them more rapidly."—"But there are still plenty more, and that pile is already heavy enough to carry!" I took all he had by him, however, and carried them upstairs.

Early on the morning of Thursday, October 18th, I began to sort the papers. During lunch, I handed the Chief the Crown Prince's letter introducing Geffcken to him and his answer justifying his refusal by a description of Geffcken's character. I had found this among the papers. He was pleased at the discovery, and the letters were handed to Rottenburg to be copied and used.

On Saturday I spent the whole forenoon and two hours after lunch in arranging the papers in order of date. Bleichröder and his Jewish-looking Secretary took lunch with us. The banker related anecdotes of Amschel Rothschild and Saphir, and spoke of Lehdorff's businesses. At table I observed that since 1871 Bleichröder, whom I saw at dinner at Versailles, had hardly altered in the least. "Not in his person," rejoined the Chief, "but very considerably in his fortune."

On Monday, the 22nd of October, after we had had our coffee, I told the Chief that the sorting of the papers was now well advanced. There was a great deal more to do, however, than had appeared at first, and it might take eight or ten days more before I could hand them over to him in good order like the previous set. He replied: "Take plenty of time. But the Emperor will be here in a few days and you must not let yourself be seen then; or, better still, go to Hamburg while he is here, as otherwise he will ask who you are and what you are doing. I should then be obliged to tell him, and as he is curious he would eventually seize the whole lot, which would not suit me at all."

On Tuesday and Wednesday I was very busy sorting, numbering

and taking extracts. We were joined at dinner on Wednesday by the Hamburg merchant, Merik, and his wife. On Thursday I was again hard at work on the Chief's treasury of letters. At lunch the Chief said that formerly the rich and influential Hamburgers were strongly Austrian in their sympathies, and he referred to the millions advanced to the politicians of Vienna in 1857, and also condemned the unamiable and stupid policy of Prussia in those days. The Princess observed that even now these circles do not care much for Prussia, but are impressed, and indeed very strongly, by Bismarck. In reply to my question, the Chief informed me that the Emperor would arrive on Monday evening and leave after lunch on Tuesday. I must therefore make myself scarce for thirty hours.

On Friday at lunch the Chief asked me: "What is your opinion, Busch, of Goethe's tragedies, and of his dramas altogether?" I replied that he was less of a dramatist than a lyric poet, but that "Faust," setting aside the second part, was after all a most wonderful production. "Yes, certainly," he said, "and 'Götz' too, but 'Egmont,' the man in 'Stella,' Tasso, and the leading characters in the others, are all Weislingens—weak, soft, sentimental creatures—not men as in Shakespeare, always repetitions of himself, for he too had something feminine in him, and could only realise and portray the feelings of women."

I left for Hamburg on the 29th of October, shortly after the Emperor passed through that city, and returned to Friedrichsruh the following afternoon. At dinner, the Prince, who was in excellent spirits, said that the most gracious Master had in all taken up five hours of his time. Afterwards, over our coffee, he observed to me: "This afternoon he let me talk to him for three hours on end. I stood as if in the pulpit, and I am tired out." Everybody said that the Emperor was extremely unaffected and amiable, and the Princess noticed in particular that he could laugh most heartily.

On Thursday, November 1st, I told the Prince, at lunch, that I would now return him the papers, sorted and arranged. He replied, however, that he had found some more which belonged to the collection. He took me with him to his study, and handed them to me for arrangement, adding that there were very many more at Varzin, a whole box full, including private letters of historic significance.

On the following morning, I went through the new documents. There was nothing of importance among them.

At midday, before lunch, I personally handed over to the Chief the envelopes containing the papers. He appeared to have looked through them in the afternoon, as, when he was passing by in the evening, before dinner, as usual, with his two dogs, he gave me his hand and thanked me, expressing his surprise that I had been able to deal with such a mass of letters and papers in so short a time. I said if he wished to have those at Varzin also arranged, and could find no more suitable person to do it, I should be delighted to serve him and learn something for myself at the same time. After dinner, referring to the letters of the Crown Prince in 1863, which I had arranged, and to his own pencil notes, the Chancellor came to speak of the Crown Prince himself. I said: "Absalom! And from what you wrote on the back you doubtless wrote him in reply that you did not intend to be ever included among his Ministers." "Yes," he rejoined, and again quoted *Leicht fertig ist die Jugend mit dem Wort!* (Youth is hasty in its judgments). He then gave a survey of the various phases of the Crown Prince's attitude towards himself in the course of his life. "First, in 1848 or 1849. At that time he was still very thin and lanky. He showed great attachment to me, and, when they forbade him to do so at Potsdam, he used to try to meet me in the dusk of the evening and shake hands with me. Then the rude letter of 1863; afterwards, since 1864, in Flensburg, better. Then again Liberal counsels, Augustenburg sympathies, the Geffcken and Friedberg introductions, and his siding with Cumberland." I said: "The Englishwoman, the Guelph." We then spoke of the latter, also over our coffee, when the Princess said she could be very amiable when she liked, as she herself had experienced; a statement which the Chief also confirmed from his own experience.

On Saturday I took leave of the Prince and Princess, and the Chief said, as he was shaking hands: "Adieu, Büschlein, perhaps we shall resume our business soon at Varzin. But I must first return to Berlin."

On Sunday, the 10th of February, 1889, I received through a Chancery attendant an appointment to call upon the Chief at 3 P.M. He asked about my health, and I inquired as to his. He complained of insomnia, and said he could no longer get any sleep without artificial means. On his then asking me what I had been

doing in the interval, I mentioned the *Grenzboten* article on his attitude and that of the Crown Prince at the Versailles negotiations with the Bavarians, and he expressed a wish to see it, and said: "I should like you to add something to it, and to return to Geffcken's extracts from the diary of the Crown Prince, or more correctly from one of the three or four diaries of the war, and of later years. A diary is a series of daily notes in which one writes down immediately afterwards what he has ascertained and experienced, just as a tourist does; and that too is the character of the first original diary. It is short, and, as was natural enough in war time, it deals mainly with military affairs, and contains scarcely any political considerations. The others are interpolated later, from conversations which he had with good friends, or those whom he considered to be such—Geffcken, Roggenbach, &c. Thus he imagined that he had thought of all these things himself, as far back as 1870. English letters and influences will also have affected him. I say he imagined that and believed it, because he was a man who was very devoted to the truth. The good friends were malcontents, ambitious place hunters, and intriguers, people who felt that they had a vocation for great things, who knew more and could do better than the Government, and who would very willingly have lent a hand if they had only been allowed to do so. They were men of unappreciated talent, the wallflowers, the pettifogging attorneys and quacks of politics. He showed them the diary, and they made their observations upon it, which he then inserted. They found that in this shape it would come in usefully in the future. That accounts for the various transformations it underwent. The Crown Prince, like all mediocrities, liked copying, and other occupations of the same sort, such as sealing letters, &c. And he had time enough for it, as the King kept him apart from almost all political work, seldom or never spoke to him on such matters, and would not allow me to make any communication to him on subjects of the kind. From 1863 onward there was an uninterrupted struggle between the two, in the course of which there were several violent scenes when the Crown Prince was pulled up sharply, and he (imitating the gesture) cast up his eyes and raised his hands in despair. It was the same at Versailles in connection with the Emperor question, where the most gracious Master would not at first hear a word of our proposals, and got

so angry on one occasion that he brought down his fist violently upon the table and the inkstand nearly flew out of the window. And here you may supplement the report in the diary as to this incident. Fragmentary and incomplete in every respect, it leaves out the first act in the negotiations, in which I had to wean the Crown Prince of the notion, which doubtless originated at Baden, that the Emperor idea was un-German and would damage the country. He was thinking only of the mediæval emperors, the Roman expeditions, and Charles V. For that reason he wished to have only a King of Germany or of the Germans, while the other three kings were to resume the title of Dukes—Duke of Bavaria, of Suabia and of Saxony. And to this he added the idea of coercion—they should be invited to Versailles and once we had got him there it was to be a case of needs must when the devil drives (*jetzt friss Vogel oder stirb*). I replied to him that that would be treacherous, disloyal, and ungrateful, and that I would not lend myself to it, as, moreover, it would have no permanency. No friendly persuasion could possibly induce the Kings to submit to this degradation. I then pointed out to him the advantages of the Emperor idea, somewhat in the same way as I did afterwards in my letter to the King of Bavaria. The Kings would prefer to subordinate themselves to a fellow-countryman, who bore the title of German Emperor and to grant him certain rights in war and peace, rather than to a King of Prussia, who would only be a somewhat more powerful neighbour. Among the people, however, the Emperors had left a deeper impression than had the few princes, who, after the time of Charlemagne, called themselves, like Henry the Fowler, German Kings. In the restoration of the Empire they looked forward to the Emperor as the keystone of the arch. The Emperor still sits enthroned in Kyffhäuser in North Germany, and in the South German Unterberge. This idea should not be connected with that of a Roman Emperor, Roman expeditions or any pretensions to universal sovereignty would be against the true interests of the nation. It was, on the contrary, a purely national idea which the Emperor would represent and which we also had in view, the idea of unification after discord and decay, of new power and security through unity, of the concentration of the whole people upon the same objects. As far back as 1818 such ideas were held by the students' associations, and in 1848 they found expression in the

Paulskirche. In 1863 Austria had something similar in view with her draft constitution to be laid before the Congress of Princes, only her first thought was for her own interests." "Later, on the foundation of the North German Confederation there was some talk of an Emperor of the Confederation, and the idea was only dropped because it would have led to a division and because in such circumstances Bavaria and Württemberg would certainly not have joined us then, nor probably later on. For similar reasons I declined Lasker's suggestion, in February, 1870, to admit Baden into the Confederation, because that would have been an attempt to exercise pressure upon her South German neighbours. The excessive number of Kings gradually convinced him, and he was then in favour of the Emperor idea. In the diary he has forgotten this whole first act. He writes as if he had discovered the idea and had been the first to put it forward, while it had long been kept alive, as a hope among the people, and he himself at first would not hear of it. Then came the second act, when it is true we acted together at the Prefecture in order to win over the old Master to our view. He at first vehemently rejected our proposal, and fell into a rage when we insisted. I asked if he wished to remain a neuter for ever. 'What do you mean?' he said crossly, 'what sort of a neuter?' 'Why, the Presidency' (*Nun das Präsidium*), I replied. But that also was of no avail. Then he agreed to it up to a certain point, if he were allowed to bear the title of Emperor of Germany. I explained to him that this would be opposed to the treaties, and would express territorial sovereignty over all Germany. He said the Tsar called himself Emperor of Russia. I denied this, and stated that his title was Russian Emperor. (He quoted the Russian term.) He maintained his opinion, however, until he asked Schneider, who was obliged to acknowledge that I was right." On one occasion he mentioned in a report that Schleinitz had been present at these negotiations. I now asked: "What was he doing there? In what capacity was he present, as Minister of the Household, or as former chief of the Foreign Office, or in what other capacity?" He smiled and said: "As confidant of the Queen, who had sent him to oppose the bombardment and to persuade the King against it. He had nothing to do with the Emperor question. He had always been Augusta's favourite, and while he was still a poor man she had on

several occasions sent him money, 300 thalers, in order to enable him to visit her at Coblenz. It was solely through her favour that he became Minister."

We then spoke of Sybel's "Die deutsche Nation und das Kaiserreich" (The German Nation and the Empire), which he gave me; of Morier's rude letter to Count Herbert, which was quite uncalled for, as there had been no charge made against that gentleman of having given direct information to Bazaine respecting the movements of the German troops; then of the wretched attitude of the German Liberal press, which in this—as in the Mackenzie, Geffcken, and other questions—took the side of every enemy of Germany and of German interests, whose hand was against him too; and finally about Samoa, in which connection the Chief censured the arbitrary conduct of the German Consul there. The conversation had lasted for about half an hour, and the Chancellor said as I was leaving that he would now try to get a little sleep. The article desired by him was written in the course of the following week, and was to appear in the *Grenzboten* under the title "The Emperor Question and Geffcken's Diary Extracts." I, however, first submitted a proof to the Chancellor for revision, and he made a number of alterations which Rottenburg dictated to me, but a few hours later the latter came back with a message from the Chief. Even after it had been toned down it was, he thought, too dangerous for publication.

Next day, however, Rottenburg sent for me and told me that the Chief now wished to have the article printed, but with a further slight change. We then inserted the last alterations of the Chief, and the article was finally despatched for publication. *Per tot discrimina rerum.*

CHAPTER XXI

Signs of Friction between the Chancellor and the young Emperor—
With the Chief during the crisis—His Anxiety about his Papers—
How to get them away—His Retirement a fact—The Emperor
wants to be rid of him in order to govern alone with his own genius
—Court Flunkeyism—His Retirement is not due to his Health,
nor is it in any sense voluntary—The Chief talks of writing his
own Memoirs—Bureaucratic Ingratitude—Foreign Office apos-
tates—According to Bucher the Notes dictated for the Memoirs
are mere Fragments, sometimes erroneous—The Chief's life at
Friedrichsruh—Schweninger's Apprehensions.

IN February, 1890, a few days after the promulgation of the Imperial Rescript on the labour question, Bucher had already pointed out to me in conversation the difficulties in the way of an international settlement of the question, and said he imagined the Emperor was going further in this matter than the Chancellor could approve of.

Monday, February 24th, he said to me: "I have a commission for you which I must carry out before the Chancellor of State arrives. The 'dragon' sent for me to-day and asked if I still had any connection with English newspapers, as he wished to get them to insert an article on the elections. I was sorry that I had no longer any such connection, but I thought perhaps you might write to the *Daily Telegraph* and get it to publish the desired article. He said: 'Busch! Why, how is he getting on? I understand he has had an apoplectic attack.' I replied: 'Oh! no, he only caught a bad cold last Whitsuntide, but he is quite well again now.'" I answered: "As a matter of fact I have not written for that paper for years, but they still send it to me daily,

and Kingston, one of their editorial staff and a leader writer, has translated my book *Unser Reichskanzler* into English. I fancy, therefore, they would take an article from me on the subject suggested by the Prince." He then drew an envelope from his pocket and said: "I have here jotted down our conversation on the subject. They are for the main part his own words, pointing out the chief cause of the way in which the elections turned out, the result of which he attributes chiefly to the Rescript. Work them up into an article and see that you get it published in London. He attaches great importance to it, and would like to see a copy when it appears." I promised to write and send off the article next morning, and if it were accepted, to hand in a copy of it personally to the Chief, when I should ask him whether I could be of any further use in the matter. He then mentioned to me that the Prince was not at all satisfied with the Rescript, nor was he pleased in other respects with the intentions of the young Majesty, who had become very self-confident and arbitrary, and that he had only remained in office up to the present because he had hoped that the Emperor would appoint Herbert to be his successor. He knew already, however, that this desire would not be fulfilled, as the Emperor objects to Herbert on personal grounds. "By the way," he added, "when you next visit the Chief, you should speak in a loud clear voice, as his hearing is not so good as it was. You should also avoid contradicting him in any way, as, according to Rottenburg, he is now very short-tempered and irritable." Bucher's notes (the original of which I have retained) ran as follows: "Explain the influence of the Imperial Rescript on the elections. The old Social Democrats (Republicans) acted as if the Rescript were a victory for their efforts. Many malcontents—and who in this world is contented?—who were hitherto deterred from joining the Social Democracy by their monarchical sentiments (and at bottom the bulk of our people are monarchical), now believe that they can vote for them with an easy conscience. The Emperor has offended the bourgeoisie, and has actually embittered the large manufacturers who regard the Rescript as an incitement to their workmen. The lower middle classes, middlemen and shopkeepers, do not see that their own interests are directly threatened, as they know how to shift from their own shoulders any increase in the price of goods, but they see their

political position threatened by the fourth estate. Many of them have therefore fallen away from the *cartel* candidates who were in favour of the Government, and for whom they had formerly voted, and took up with the Progressists, whose leaders are double-faced. The experience obtained during the period of conflict showed the importance of the sentiments entertained by the bourgeoisie. At that time they wished to seize the reins of power, à la Louis Philippe. The masses did not care, or did not see, yet repeated elections always yielded the same results. The Emperor does not understand that, he has had no experience of it; and it is difficult to make him recognise it, as he is surrounded by too many servile flatterers (*Byzantinern*) who confirm his self-confidence. Among the 'Sunday' polling cards in the eastern provinces there were a great number with the name of the Emperor William. Conclusion: Had it not been for the Rescript the elections would have turned out much as they did three years ago." I worked this up into an article for the *Daily Telegraph*, and forwarded it to the office in Fleet Street on the 26th of February.

It was not accepted, however, probably because they considered themselves to be better informed by their regular correspondent, or did not think themselves justified in taking sides against the Emperor.

On reaching home on the evening of the 15th of March I found a summons from Prince Bismarck for the following morning at 11.30. The Chief, who was in undress uniform, was sitting in the front study. He shook hands with me: "Good morning, Büschlein," and added with a smile, "you still keep your fine beard." Proceeding to the large back room he called me in to him. There were several boxes and also a big trunk with papers, while a large cupboard containing documents was half emptied. He drew out one drawer of the writing table and took out a dark green portfolio in which the correspondence with Andrassy had been kept at Friedrichsruh, as also the envelopes containing the papers which I had sorted for him, and said: "I wish you would look through these for me, first glance through those from Friedrichsruh once more, and then those from Varzin and other new ones; there is still a great number of them. I said to you at the time that we would resume the business. Do you still care to do so?"

I: "Most certainly, Serene Highness; I am only too happy to have the opportunity. I thought several times of reminding you, but I did not like to appear importunate, and so preferred to wait for your invitation."

He: "Well, there are others (pointing to the trunk), and here in the green portfolio are more recent ones. You should look through these from Friedrichsruh once more and make a note of those that are of importance from an historical standpoint, then number all the rest in chronological order and add a list of the important ones. I now want to write my memoirs, and you can help me with them. That means I am going to retire. You see I am already packing. My papers are going to be sent off immediately, for if they remain here much longer, it will end in his seizing them." I expressed my amazement.

He: "Yes, I cannot remain here any longer, and the sooner I go the better."

I: "But surely not immediately, Serene Highness?"

He: "It is a question of three days, perhaps of three weeks, but I am going for certain. I cannot stand him any longer. He wants even to know whom I see, and has spies set to watch those who come in and go out. For that reason, too, I do not well see how I am to get the papers away. They might be sent to you, but how?" I replied: "I could not take the more important ones away with me, a few small packets at a time, carrying them in the first place to Hehn's, and then perhaps to Leipzig."

He: "Hehn? Who is he?"

I told him, and that he was perfectly trustworthy.

He: "I could also have sent them to Schönhausen, and you could go there from Friedrichsruh to fetch them. I want you to have the most important of them copied, and to keep the copies for the present."

I: "But if a stranger were to copy them he might betray the contents to others."

He: "Ah, I am not afraid of that. Of course he might, but I have no secrets among them—none whatever. Come to Friedrichsruh when I am there, and we will work together. But I should like you first to get a letter from Frederick William IV. into the press. I saw it at the end of a new book, of which I do not remember the title, but it was a fabricated version, inaccurate in form and full of impossibilities and absurdities. I have a correct

copy of the original, but I cannot find it in your envelopes. (Searched in that for 1852.) Ah, yes, here it is. Take it with you, copy it, and then return me the original."

I suggested that it should be printed in the *Grenzboten*.

He: "All right, but it must be given as coming from Vienna, and the publication of the false version must serve as a reason for publishing it."

While I was helping him to pack the papers in one of the boxes he came to speak about the Rescript, and said: "It comes of an over-estimate of himself, and of his inexperience of affairs, and that can lead to no good. He is much too conceited, however, to believe me that it will merely cause confusion and do harm."

I: "It is the disgusting — of the press and of the Court menials that are to blame for his self-deception." He laughed. I told him that the article on the influence exercised by the Rescript on the elections had been written and sent off, but was not published by the *Daily Telegraph*.

He: "It was quite correct, however, as reports reached us from all sides as to the bad effect which the Rescript produced on the electors." He then asked how old I was.

I: "Sixty-nine, but my father was eighty-six and my mother eighty-four."

He: "Well, I should not mind living till I am eighty, out in the country." He promised when I left to send me the latest papers (those in the green portfolio) to look through, arrange in chronological order, and copy. I thanked him for his great confidence in me, which was justified, for as I had already said to him on one occasion in 1870, he was my Master, and my Messiah.

He: "Blasphemy! But you have deserved my confidence."

At 11 A.M. on the 17th of March a Chancery attendant arrived in a cab with a message that the Prince requested me to come to him immediately. On my entering the ante-chamber, Bleichröder was with him, and afterwards Herbert, and so I had to wait. At length Rottenburg, who had already declared that he, too, would retire, told me that they had gone upstairs to lunch, but that he would immediately again announce my arrival to the Prince. He returned in a few minutes with an invitation from the Chief to take lunch with him. At table upstairs I met a nephew or cousin of the Prince, to whom I was introduced as "Büschlein," and who

remembered having seen me at dinner in Versailles. The Princess and Count Herbert came in later. The conversation first turned on a foreign diplomatist, who would have married Countess Marie if her father had not been warned against him as a spendthrift. "Besides, I am altogether against marriages with foreigners," said the Chief, "and particularly in the case of diplomatists." He then spoke of the alleged second visit of Windthorst. It had displeased the Emperor, but it was merely a newspaper invention and ought to be contradicted. "Such intercourse, however, is useful," he said. "It is well that I should in that way keep in touch with the parties, and for that reason I have always been accessible to them. Every member of Parliament could come to me at any time, day or night, and be received immediately. But they have taken little advantage of this. They do not want to be considered by their party as having Government sympathies, and prefer to be able to abuse me for having no relations with them. It is only the Ultramontanes who come sometimes, such as Windthorst, Schorlemer and Hüne, also Frankenstein, who is now dead. The *cartel* parties hardly ever put in an appearance." He recommended me to try the caviar. "It has been sent to me by the Minister of the Imperial Household at St. Petersburg, and I take it that it is the same as that which is served to the Emperor Alexander. It is the best I have ever had." When Herbert came in he laid before the Chief a portfolio connected with the negotiations in progress respecting a partition of East Africa, and the latter gave his opinion as to the frontiers. I accompanied him downstairs, and he handed me out of the green portfolio on the table in the large room nine or ten copies in his own handwriting of letters addressed by him to the Emperor William I., during the years 1872 to 1887. "Copy these and keep the copies by you, and bring me back the originals, as well as that of the letter of introduction of 1852."

He also gave me a large envelope containing more recent letters and reports to be arranged in chronological order, with dockets on the more important ones for the purpose of the memoirs. "Return me these to-morrow or the day after," he said: and I promised to bring them back on Thursday. We then went into the other study, and I said that even now I could not bring myself to realise that he was retiring; it seemed to me utterly impossible. He: "Impossible? It is now a fact. Things have gone more rapidly than I imagined they would. I thought he would be thankful if I were

to remain with him for a few years ; but I find that, on the contrary, he is simply longing with his whole heart to be rid of me in order that he may govern alone—with his own genius—and be able to cover himself with glory. He does not want the old mentor any longer, but only docile tools. But I cannot make genuflexions (*Ich aber kann nicht mit Proskynesis dienen*), nor crouch under the table like a dog. He wants to break with Russia, and yet he has not the courage to demand the increase of the army from the Liberals in the Reichstag. I have succeeded in winning their confidence at St. Petersburg, and obtain proofs of it every day. Their Emperor is guided by my wishes in what he does and in what he refrains from doing. What will they think there now? And also other expectations which I cannot fulfil, together with the intrigues of courtiers, rudeness and spying, watching with whom I hold intercourse! My retirement is certain. I cannot tack on as a tail to my career the failures of arbitrary and inexperienced self-conceit for which I should be responsible."

I: "When he falls into distress and difficulty he will himself come and fetch you back, Serene Highness! He will have to beg and implore you."

He: "No, he is too proud for that. But he would like to keep Herbert, only that would not do—that would be a sort of mixed goods train, and I should always have to bear part of the responsibility. Moreover, although Herbert would doubtless stand being lectured and censured by me, he would not stand it from Imperial Chancellor Bötticher." (He therefore seemed to think that the latter had been selected as his successor, and knew nothing as yet of the choice of Caprivi.) "Besides they have treated his father badly." I said: "The Emperor William seems to have the same notion as King Frederick William IV. had, according to Sybel, namely, that Kings in virtue of their office know everything better than their best servants." He: "Yes, obedient Ministers! He has altogether a great deal in common with him." . . . I proposed to publish the letters of William I., or at least a few of them, and mentioned the *Grenzboten* as a paper from which they would be largely quoted. He seemed to like the idea. "I will see about it when you bring me back the originals. If you do not then see me, report yourself at Friedrichsruh in a short time. I shall now go out riding for a while." As I was leaving the room he clapped me on the shoulder in a friendly way. In the ante-

chamber Rottenburg again said he would also retire. His nerves could no longer stand it. Very nice of him, but we shall see how the cat jumps.

On Thursday, March 20th, I took back to the Chief the originals of his letters to William I. He looked through them and sanctioned the publication in the *Grenzboten* of the first three, adding at the same time: "We shall first publish these which refer to family matters, and see what impression they make. Then we can let the others follow, and perhaps later on still more from the collection."

I: "Perhaps articles also?"

He (smiling): "Yes, perhaps. Hamburg newspapers would also accept something of the kind. I have recommended the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine*, which the company that owns it placed at my disposal, to the Conservatives (doubtless those belonging to the Free Conservative wing) as their organ."

On Saturday, March 22nd, I returned to him in an envelope the thirty-nine new papers chronologically arranged and numbered, the most important ones being specially docketed. The latter were: No. 14, letter written by William I. in 1884; on the Battenberger and his projected marriage, 16, 18, 21, 31, and 33; a letter to the Chief from the Crown Prince Frederick at Portofino, describing his eldest son as inexperienced, extremely boastful and self-conceited; a letter from Crown Prince William to Bismarck in 1888 on the "Battenberger" business and Albedyll's plan for "nailing down" Prince Alexander by a written declaration; a letter of the Battenberger from Sofia to the Queen of England, sent to the Chancellor with a letter from the Crown Princess Victoria; a report by Professor von Bergmann on the illness of the Emperor Frederick; a letter from the Grand Duke of Baden respecting an interview with the sick monarch, which had taken place according to arrangement with him alone (without the Englishwoman) when the Emperor listened with deep seriousness to the statement made to him by the Grand Duke: "You cannot govern without Prince Bismarck (Ohne Fürst Bismarck kannst Du nicht regieren)." The Chief looked through the particulars of the contents which I had written on the envelope, and observed: "Those are really important papers, but take them back with you and keep them at your house for the present." He then reflected, however, and said: "I am being watched, and you also, and if

you are seen coming and going with a large envelope—this will be better. Come here!” He then went into the back study to a large trunk standing in the middle of the room. I followed him, and he raised the cover of a green portfolio which was packed up in it under a round box. “Those are maps,” he said. “Lay these papers between them, and remember where they are in case I should forget it, when we proceed with the Memoirs at Friedrichsruh. I am sending about 300 cases and other things away, and 13,000 bottles of wine. That is a great deal, but it includes many presents. Besides, while I still had money I bought several lots of good sherry, which will come in for my children. Write to me a fortnight after I reach Friedrichsruh and ask when you can come on a long visit and help me with the Memoirs. I must have a private secretary, so that I may be able to dictate and dispose of minor affairs by letter. That is not for you, however, as I intend to employ you on something better. Keep yourself free for our business.” I replied that I would arrange for the present to remain with him for six months, and if necessary for a further period later on, after a short holiday. We then returned to the front room and sat down, when he said: “There is one thing I would ask you to do now if you still have any influence in the press, that is, to correct a mistake which I have repeatedly noticed in newspaper articles within the last few days, as also in communications from exalted places, as, for instance, from England—with suppositions and reproaches,—namely, that I had sent in my resignation owing to my apprehension of great crises, and left the Emperor in the lurch through fear of the increased Opposition in the new Reichstag. A glance at my past history and character ought to have discredited that notion, and a remembrance of the conflict of 1866, when the Opposition was much stronger, and more dangerous, and of my loyalty to my royal master, which I likewise showed and proved on later occasions. But, as a matter of fact, it is quite wrong. On the contrary, I did not want to retire until the summer, and, in the meantime, offered to defend the Imperial policy in the Reichstag, and to take up the struggle with the Opposition. I was not permitted to do so however. He wants to do everything himself, and he fancies that he can.” He then spoke once more of spying, and of the Emperor setting a watch upon him to see with whom he held intercourse. (Probably Windthorst’s visit.) “That is one of the final reasons that have induced me to tender

my resignation." He stood up, bent across the table, resting on his two hands, and smiling as he looked me straight in the face, said: "But, tell me, do you drink much wine?" I replied: "During the daytime no spirituous liquors whatever, not even at table. In the evening two pints of thin, sour Moselle." "So!" he rejoined. "You certainly gave me the impression of having stowed away a bottle of Burgundy, and yet a short time ago you had some little trouble. (Apoplectic attack?) Otherwise I do not in the least disapprove of it, as I myself drink my share. But take care of yourself, for I wish to keep you with us for a long time yet." It was then arranged once more that I should write to him a fortnight after his arrival at Friedrichsruh, but in the first place only to arrange for a shorter visit, during which we should talk over and settle about a longer stay later on.

On Monday, March 24th, the Chief again sent to fetch me in a cab. I had to wait in the ante-chamber from 11.45 to 1 P.M. as Caprivi was taking lunch upstairs with the Prince. I then saw the new Imperial Chancellor, as he was going away. On being called in I found the Chief seated in a *causense* before his writing table. I handed him to-day's *Post*, which Rottenburg had given me for him. He read out to me the short leader of the 23rd (which I have kept), and said: "They, too, want to curry favour. That comes from gentlemen at Court, who want to hush up things. Please say something against that! Could the Liberals themselves abuse me worse? Not the worst, but, on the contrary, the best service that could be done to me would be to give a correct answer to the question whether my retirement has been voluntary or involuntary; and that answer is: involuntary. It is a patriotic duty not to maintain the utmost reserve, but, on the contrary, to tell the truth. The young man would, however, like to have it hushed up. Indeed, he has gone so far as to summon Schweninger, and to try to make him believe that it was due to considerations of health. Yes, there is a great deal of flunkeyism (*Byzantinerthum*) here, and they all crawl on their bellies before him, in order to attract one gracious look upon themselves." I asked if he would stay on much longer. He said: "No, to-morrow or the next day."

I: "Then I am to write to your Serene Highness in fourteen or fifteen days about my visit?"

He: "You can write even earlier, and come very soon."

The desired article was despatched to the *Grenzboten* as an appendix to that recently ordered.

A few days after our last interview, the Chief left for Friedrichsruh. On the 11th of April I wrote him (respecting my proposed stay there). I received no answer for a week. The newspapers, however, published a report that the Prince had selected as his private secretary a Dr. Chrysander, who had hitherto been Professor Schweningen's assistant, and who would help him in preparing his memoirs. According to a second press notice, he was also to be assisted by a member of the editorial staff of the *Hamburger Nachrichten*. Bucher ultimately wrote me that he was going to Friedrichsruh, and hoped we "should be harnessed together."

I called upon him the same day to congratulate him, and mentioned to him my fear that nothing would now come of my proposed visit to Friedrichsruh. Perhaps my letter of the 11th had not reached the Chief's hands; or perhaps he had been turned against me by an article on his retirement published in the *Grenzboten*, which was, however, written by Kayser, and reached Grunow just before mine. Bucher reassured me as to this supposition, but said that Kayser, like Lindau and Holstein, had actually gone over into the other camp. Although he considered it quite impossible that the Prince could now give up the idea of employing me in connection with the papers, I did not feel sure of this, and so a few days afterwards I wrote again to the Prince, and registered my letter. Count Herbert replied that "the Prince intends to invite you here in order to sort some papers. In the meantime, however, he is too much occupied by visits and the arrangements rendered necessary by his removal to take these papers in hand immediately."

A fortnight later, after I had received a post card from Bucher informing me that he had started for Friedrichsruh, I wrote to him there (as to the proposed visit, and giving him an account of my future movements). This crossed the following letter, which Bucher sent to me under cover to Frau Hedwig Hämmerling:—

"FRIEDRICHSRUH, May 15, 1890.

"I have two reasons for sending you this letter under cover to another person; first, because you have not informed me of your whereabouts, and secondly, because there is some reason to

suspect the existence of a Dark Cabinet. Therefore be prudent when you write to me here. I have had a large bundle to sort and register, and in doing so have satisfied myself that you have exhausted the materials. What came into my hands was very unimportant,—congratulations, letters of thanks, telegrams, reports from aides-de-camp and such like. I am expected to remain until H. returns from England, probably towards the end of this month. He (the Chief) is physically well, and is gradually quieting down."

I immediately acknowledged the receipt of Bucher's note, and reminded him of the concluding request in my former letter. He replied on the 17th of May, 1890, again under cover to Hedwig Hämmerling: "To enable me to answer your questions I should be obliged to ask him, and up to the present I have had no opportunity of doing so. After your registered letter and the reply thereto, it seems to me not to be in your interest that I should also press the matter. Besides, he talks of presently starting on a lengthy tour to countries which he has not yet visited—certainly a very happy idea. I take it that he will not begin work before his return in the autumn; and then he will doubtless remember his arrangement with you. I will write you as soon as the departure is approximately settled."

On the 20th of May I had an attack of apoplexy combined with paralysis, from which it took me six months to make an almost complete recovery; that is to say, with the exception that my handwriting had changed and my voice remained hoarse.

On the 10th of July, Frau Hämmerling received a note from Friedrichsruh (from Bucher, inquiring as to my illness). On Frau Hämmerling informing him of the truth he wrote me as follows:—

"DEAR BUSCH,—I need not tell you how heartily I sympathise with you. I now write to put your mind at rest on one point, to tell you that you have missed nothing here, and will not miss anything during the next few weeks. I have had five or six thousand letters, extending from the fifties to the present day, to arrange in chronological order. They were all mixed up anyhow, both as regards dates and matter. They contain little on politics, and of that little again but a small portion refers to foreign affairs. He was not prepared to accept my suggestion that it would be well to put the begging letters, medical counsels, schemes for the improvement of the world at large, thundering hurrahs and

fiery 'salamanders' into the fire. Therefore, when the preliminary work begins you will have to wander through a desert from which I have only removed tradesmen's bills, &c. It is as yet impossible to say when that will be. He complains, with that humorous self-mocking air of desperation which you know, that he has now no time to set about anything. His excuse for the present is that of course the whole material must first be chronologically arranged, which will doubtless take a fortnight longer, although I am keeping hard at it. And then he will certainly be obliged to make some change in his way of living and in the apportionment of his time. The projected journeys will hardly come to anything; but even if he remains here he will not begin work before you are recovered—according to what F. H. (Frau Hämmerling) writes me. There is no idea of calling in Poschinger. He knows that the man is incapable of giving shape or form to anything of the kind.

"He himself and Herbert desire me to express their sympathy to you. With good wishes for your improvement,

"Truly yours (in English),

"BUCHER."

In the days immediately preceding and following this letter, the newspapers published many things from Friedrichsruh which were anything but pleasant reading to me, or were at least at variance with my conception of the greatness and distinguished character of the Prince, and also to some extent with the opinions which he had himself formerly expressed. He allowed it to be seen too often and too plainly, for the benefit of the Court and to the delight of the Radical Thersites, how mortified he felt at his base dismissal; he expressed himself, as I thought, too confidentially, and indeed it would appear sometimes with conscious untruth, in speaking to importunate Jew press spies and other eavesdroppers and talebearers from the newspaper factories.

I afterwards received from Bucher the following letter from Berlin:—

"I must send you another short contribution to your Memorabilia. When Count Herbert gave a farewell dinner to the officials, four of them—Holstein, Lindau, Kayser and Raschdau—declined the invitation. All four owed everything to the Prince. Not a word has been heard from Keudell since the 20th of March.

Lehndorff, Stirum, Krupp, Stumm and Kardorf have defied the royal displeasure by visiting Friedrichsruh. After Bötticher, who owes his promotion to the Prince, had told the Emperor that Bismarck was a slave to morphia, his Majesty sent for Schweningen, and questioned him on the subject. Schweningen answered: 'Your Majesty, that is a wretched calumny, and I know the curs with whom it originated.'

"As a contrast to this pretty set! Shortly before my departure from Friedrichsruh, Bismarck, while out driving, dropped into conversation with an old peasant on the bad weather. 'Yes,' the latter remarked, in Low German, 'the good God has forgotten us altogether. He gives us no summer, and takes away our Chancellor.'"

On the 5th of September I had a visit from Bucher, who had returned from Laubbach on the 3rd or 4th, and on the 6th I called upon him. Of his communications the most noteworthy is that at Friedrichsruh he found a letter from Hermann Wagener to the Prince, from which it appeared that, as far back as 1876, W. was instructed to draw up a memorandum on working class insurance. At that time, when Bismarck doubtless first seriously took up the labour question and thought of positive measures for opposing the Social Democracy, it was the old *Kreuzzeitung* man who was his assistant and counsellor, and not Bucher, who belonged to the school of Lassalle and Rodbertus, as alleged by Poschinger. Bucher expressly denied that the Chancellor had ever discussed this question with him. On the 20th of September Bucher wrote to me that he had received an invitation to visit Bismarck at Varzin.

Shortly afterwards Bucher wrote to me from Varzin (October 3rd) that "the condition of affairs is the same as at Friedrichsruh. Nothing is being done and much time is spent over the newspapers."

In another letter from Bucher of October 14th, the following passage occurs: "The Chief still occupies himself far too much with the press. In the meantime he has begun to dictate during the past few days, but without any real coherence, alternately from various years. It is, therefore, for the present, only raw material. Now and again news reaches here from the Foreign Office. Holstein, who for ten years was taken seriously by nobody, now does everything. He not only slanders the Prince, which he did

twelve months since, but also abuses Herbert, who, with inconceivable blindness, had supported him up to the last. Paul Hatzfeldt too, Sardanapalus as his cousin Landsberg christened him, has proclaimed his apostasy in London. But I will also mention a decent man, Count Arco, Minister at Washington, who is here on a visit for a few days. *Rara avis!*"

I sent him a long jocular epistle congratulating him on his birthday on the 25th of October. But I received no answer for over seven weeks, and was already worrying myself with all sorts of fancies, when on the morning of the 22nd of December he himself called upon me. He told me that physically the Prince was in excellent health, and, as it appeared, took exercise, had a good appetite, and at table drank rather too much than too little, and besides he no longer complained of insomnia. Mentally, however, and in particular so far as his memory is concerned, "he is falling to pieces." By this Bucher meant that he could no longer concentrate his thoughts sufficiently, had no longer a firm hold of the details in a narrative, and was easily turned aside from his subject. He also tells a story one way to-day, and quite differently to-morrow. "He wished me to go to Friedrichsruh for Christmas, but they gave me to understand—and indeed very plainly—that that would not be agreeable to them; and so I am my own master for a couple of weeks." "Urged by Schweningen he has at length decided to dictate his reminiscences to me for an hour daily, when I take them down in shorthand. But they are merely disconnected fragments, and contain many errors, particularly in the matter of dates. For instance, there were some very interesting particulars respecting 1848, but they must first be compared with Wolf's 'Chronik' and corrected. Chrysander is making himself very useful, also in his capacity of doctor, and has, for instance, done me good service with my gout. The Prince has ascertained on good authority that Lindau has been to the *Korrespondenten* (or the *Nachrichten*) in Hamburg, and the *Allgemeine Zeitung* in Munich, setting them against his old Chief and patron, and 'threatening' the latter paper with disciplinary measures if it continued to take the Chancellor's part. The Princess's 'dear Rüdchen,' who for other people is a shameless Judas! Kayser, his countryman from the East, who is indeed less of a stock jobber and less worthless for official purposes, was recommended to the Foreign Office by Herbert, while Rashdau, also one of the children of Israel,

who has married a millionairess of his tribe, was"—if I understood Bucher rightly—"introduced by Bill." I asked what the Prince thought of Caprivi. He only knew that the Chief had had an interview with his successor (doubtless while he was still in Berlin—at lunch), when Caprivi said that if the Emperor sent him with an army corps into a position where its destruction might be anticipated, he would remonstrate; if the order were then repeated, he would remain at his post and await events. Bucher feared that nothing would come of the projected autobiography. "He has indeed dictated quite a pile of notes, which of course include a great deal of new and valuable matter; but his account is not always reliable, and in particular he often believes that he said or did something which he ought to have said or done but omitted to do, or at least could not have said or done in the manner alleged by him. And in the most important matters he sometimes stops, like a well that runs dry, and does not return to the subject. In that way he recently began to speak of his relations with Napoleon previous to 1870, but then let the subject drop, and since then I have never been able to bring him to give a coherent account of it. There is yet another drawback. In these notes he might think of history, of a legacy for the future, and that would certainly be most praiseworthy and useful, as there are many things of which he alone has a complete and accurate knowledge. But he seems to be thinking rather of something else. His thoughts are still with the present, which he desires to influence. He wishes to warn and to teach, and for that reason he often selects a subject that has nothing whatever to do with his own life, and sometimes one of which he has not a thorough knowledge, but which seems to him to offer a suitable opportunity for introducing his own reflections. For instance, he is afraid that the Emperor will not be careful and thoughtful enough in tacking between Vienna and St. Petersburg, and may, perhaps, on some occasion forget himself and draw too near to the Austrians; all the more, as of course he is aware that the gentleman in Berlin cannot endure the other in St. Petersburg, because the latter had treated him somewhat *de haut en bas*. Now Bismarck does not want to say that straight out and give a plain warning, but tries to work it into a survey of the treaty of Reichenbach, as the relations were then somewhat similar, the people in Berlin not rightly knowing what they wanted or with whom they really had to deal. The idea was merely to show that

one was also a power—(in English) a mere show of power! I have now read it up in Ranke, however, and according to him the situation was not all as the Chief represented it. At that time, Herzberg still had charge of the conduct of affairs, and he knew exactly what he wanted, namely, Dantzic and other towns on the Vistula, in order to round off West Prussia."

Bucher continued: "What I have done up to the present could be done equally well by any shorthand writer, the only difference being that yet another stranger would have to be taken into his confidence. But I have no taste for criticising and editing, however much Schweningen may beg and urge me to do so. That would be too much trouble and responsibility. Besides, there are not the necessary books for reference and comparison. It is true that for twenty-five years hardly a historical or political book has been published of which a copy has not been sent to him, but she has acted as librarian and has divided them between the different rooms, putting some of them in the cellar, where they rot and fall to pieces, and others in the visitors' apartments, so that nothing can be found when it is wanted."

Bucher agreed with me that the Chief was not prudent in his dealings with the eavesdroppers of the press; that his attitude towards the Court was not sufficiently dignified, and that he let his anger be too easily seen. At the same time, Bucher, speaking of those who came to question the Prince, observed, not inaptly: "Whoever wants to know much learns a great deal, even though it be not always unadulterated truth, and that applies with particular force to the commercial travellers for newspaper firms, who, of course, do not deal in truth." As to the Prince's state of feeling, Bucher said: "He diligently reads the newspapers, but on the whole he is indifferent to politics. 'I am no longer so very much interested even in the management of my own estate.' There is no longer the old devil may-care spirit arising from that high sense of easy superiority and ready power of mastery—no longer the unconcerned glance cast down as from a great height, but only apathetic indifference, weary satiety."

January 2nd, 1891.—Called on Bucher this morning. Schweningen is trying to provide the Prince with occupation on hygienic grounds. He fears that otherwise he would become still more sulky, cross-grained, and peevish, and, indeed, might in the end become mentally affected.

Bucher believes he must soon return to Friedrichsruh, "although it will probably lead to nothing." "God grant that there may be an improvement!" he sighed on our parting at the door. I heartily joined in that prayer.

It was not until the 21st of February that I again received a sign of life from Bucher, and then in the form of an unsigned note enclosed in an envelope to Hedwig. It ran: "You will probably soon receive an invitation to the place from which I write. The enclosure is for publication, with an introduction or note to the effect that the letter was read to the guests on the 28/7/72, and that several of them took copies of it. Do not forget to write to G. to impress upon the sub-editorial ass and on the proof-readers that not a single letter is to be omitted, and that the abbreviations, &c., and the Latin characters in 'Borussia' and 'Material' are to be retained. The Chief will have it so. If you happen to write to me, remember the Dark Cabinet."

The "enclosure," a letter from the Emperor William I., ran as follows:—

"COBLENZ, *July 26, 1872.*

"On the 28th instant you will celebrate a beautiful family festival which God in His mercy has granted to you. I may not, and cannot, withhold my sympathy on this occasion, and therefore you and the Princess, your consort, will accept my heartiest and warmest congratulations on this elevating festival. That your domestic happiness should always have held the first place among the numerous blessings which Providence has elected to bestow upon you both—it is for this that your prayers of thanksgiving should rise to Heaven! But our and my prayers of thanksgiving go further, inasmuch as they include thanks to God for having placed you at my side at a decisive moment, and thereby opened up a path for my Government far beyond imagination and understanding. But you will return thanks to Heaven for this also—that God granted you to achieve such great things. And in and after all your labours you have constantly found recreation and peace in your home. It is that which sustains you in your difficult vocation. My constant anxiety for you is that you should preserve and strengthen yourself for this vocation, and I am pleased to learn from your letter, through Count Lehndorff, and personally from the

Count, that you now think more of *yourself* than of the documents.

"As a souvenir of your silver wedding you will receive a vase representing a grateful Borussia, of which—however fragile its material may be—every fragment will nevertheless express what Prussia owes to you for her elevation to the pinnacle on which she now stands.

"Your faithful, devoted and grateful King,

"WILLIAM."

CHAPTER XXII

I am invited to Friedrichsruh—Bucher and the proposed “Memoirs”—He doubts whether the latter will be completed—The Chief—“Büschlein” as before—The Anglo-German Agreement—The Emperor and Russia—Three Kings in their Nakedness—Büschlein will write the Secret History of our Times—The Prince gives me important Papers to examine in my Room: his Resignation in 1890—A Draft of a confidential Statement of the Motives of his Retirement and Notes on the Attitude of the individual Ministers on that occasion—Still another Book on Bismarck in view; Correspondence on the subject with Bucher and the Chief himself; the Plan dropped—Last Visit to Bucher in January, 1892—His Death—Last Stay at Friedrichsruh in May, 1893—Good-bye, dear Old Friend.

ON the 23rd of February I again received a letter from Bucher, also under cover to Frau Hedwig Hämmerling: “23/2/91. He says he would like to see you once more, and requests you to visit him. You may choose the time most convenient to yourself, but give two days’ notice in advance, so as to avoid clashing with an invitation to Hamburg. Be sure to bring your sleeping garments with you, if you are as little in favour with the lady of the house as I am.”

I arrived at Friedrichsruh at 3 P.M. on the 18th of March. The Prince had gone out for a drive. I immediately visited Bucher, whose room was opposite mine. He complained that the work of the “Memoirs” stood exactly where it did before. In dictating, the Prince wandered from one point to another, told many things several times, and almost always differently, &c. A huge pile of dictated notes had already been transcribed, he calculated some sixty printed sheets. It would, however, have to be sifted

and worked up, and the Chief had not as yet looked through a line of it. Hardly anything would come of it, and, in any case, he had not as yet decided whether it should be published during his lifetime or after his death. Bucher intends to leave again for a time at the end of the month, and is very dissatisfied with his occupation hitherto. He showed me in the pile on the chair a thick packet, endorsed, "Nikolsburg," and observed that it dealt less with the important events that took place there than with a variety of other matters. He had seen few of the papers arranged by me in 1888, none at all of those relating to the alliance with Austria, only two or three letters from the Gerlach correspondence, and he had also seen nothing of the correspondence with Manteuffel and Schleinitz. He believes that the Chief has sent all those that are missing to a bank in England for safety. But a few days later he modified this surmise, and said he thought the papers were in the keeping of some trusty friend.

The Chief, when he appeared before dinner, greeted me with the customary "Büschlein," was pleased to see from my appearance that I was well again, and said I must sit next to him at table on his right. He looked very well, was most good-humoured and talkative during dinner, was surprised that I still had so much hair, told amusing stories and expatiated with knowledge on various fine wines and judges thereof.

Dinner was followed by some more serious conversation in the coffee room. In reply to a question by Buhl the Prince disapproved of Caprivi's East African policy: "Zanzibar ought not to have been left to the English. It would have been better to maintain the old arrangement. We could then have had it at some later time when England required our good offices against France or Russia. In the meantime our merchants, who are cleverer, and, like the Jews, are satisfied with smaller profits, would have kept the upper hand in business. To regard Heligoland as an equivalent shows more imagination than sound calculation. In the event of war it would be better for us that it should be in the hands of a neutral Power. It is difficult and most expensive to fortify"—a point which he then explained in detail. "That does not make one an 'extender of the realm,' not even to the extent that I was in the old days when I travelled back to Berlin with the cession of a strip of land on the Jahde in my pocket, thinking not a little

of my achievement !” The Prince is also opposed to building any more large ships : rather two small vessels than one big one ; the North Sea and Baltic Canal doubles our naval strength.

On Friday, March 20th, after lunch, at which the Chief was again very bright and communicative, Bucher at my request allowed me to read the chapter on Nikolsburg from the material dictated for the “Memoirs,” in the first place that I should note the numerous digressions from the real subject. These excursions included, among other things, references to the anti-German Queen of Holland, intended annexations, Frederick the Great, an intrigue during the Regency, the indemnity, the impression made in Russia by the events of the summer of 1866, the Dantzic Pronunciamento, the German question in 1848, dynastic sentiments, a lost opportunity in 1848, factions, the *Wochenblatt* party, Augusta, the removal to St. Petersburg and the Italian war. In doing this I ran through the greater part of the manuscript, and found some new and interesting matter respecting the King’s desire for annexation, Bismarck’s reason for moderation, and a speedy conclusion of peace ; Moltke’s strategic plans ; a visit of the Crown Prince, who comes to Bismarck and promises to support him at a time when he was almost despairing of carrying through his scheme ; and the final consent of the King, who complains, however, that it is an “ignominious peace.” Further matters of interest are : Augusta’s influence on the Regent, Bismarck’s audience before his transfer to St. Petersburg, his condemnation of the Ministers of the new era, as for instance of Schwerin, and afterwards of Usedom and his English wife ; the remarkable allegation that Frederick the Great was also vain, supported by references to the King’s own judgment of a poem written by himself immediately after the battle (“*n’est pas trop mal apres une bataille*”), and to his flute playing. In conclusion, the views expressed as to our relations with Austria and Russia, and the policy which they impose upon us, well deserve to be taken to heart. Irritation against the Russians has arisen (this doubtless refers to the Emperor William) out of personal impressions (due to inadequate appreciation) ; yet we cannot be quite certain of Austria, as the possibility of a breach with her depends upon one person. Bucher says that the Chief would doubtless speak to me about Windthorst, as to whom there were still many things to be said, and suggested that I should start the subject when opportunity offered. This was done indirectly over our coffee after

dinner, but the Prince did not take it up. Later on, however, it was suggested that such excessive honours would never have been paid to the old Guelph advocate at his death if the Emperor had not set the example. To-day the Chief dictated to Bucher on "questions of State rights," but was unable to get properly under way and could not verify or complete what he had to say, as he had not got his books, "his tools."

At noon on Saturday, the 21st of March, the Chief sent Bucher, to whom he had again been dictating in the morning on questions of State rights, to ask if I would go for a walk with him.

I took an opportunity of inquiring how his "Memoirs" were getting on, mentioning that I knew he had begun to dictate his reminiscences and views. "That is so," he rejoined; "but it is probable that in the end it will come to nothing. I have no documents, and even if I remember the main points—quite clearly—one cannot after all carry in his head every detail of what has happened in the course of thirty years. Then as to the publication during my lifetime. Ever since 1847 I have constantly represented the monarchical principle, and held it aloft like a banner. Now I have seen three Kings in a state of nakedness, and frequently these three exalted gentlemen did not make altogether a very good show. Still it would not do to say that openly before the world—it would be inconsistent—opposed to principle. And yet I can just as little keep silent when once I come to deal with that point, to say nothing of asserting the contrary. And if it (the publication) takes place after my death, then they will say: 'There you have it! Even from his grave! What a detestable old wretch!'" I could only reply that one has duties towards himself, and his own honour,—duties towards that which one has created; that one ought as a man of experience and judgment to warn the country against wrong courses into which it may be led through the impetuosity or thoughtlessness and excessive self-confidence of new politicians; and furthermore that one has duties towards history, to dispel misunderstandings and chimeras, and the falsehoods of flattering courtiers; and that truth, which stands above all things, must have its rights—truth of which Jesus said that it will make us free. He listened in silence to this eager and audacious outburst; and I then spoke of another subject—namely, Kingston's report in the *Daily Telegraph* of an interview with

him, and in particular of the very favourable opinion of the Emperor Frederick, therein ascribed to him, which could not be reconciled with the views I had heard him express. He replied: "I know nothing of any Kingston, or of any interview in an English newspaper. The report must be an invention (*Schwindel*)."

He then mentioned the picture (in *Punch*), "Dropping the Pilot," and said: "The Emperor was delighted with it. He saw in it a recognition of his right to smash the pot—you know as in the witches' kitchen: '*Entzwei, entzwei, da liegt der Brei*.'"

At lunch among other things the Prince related the history of some excellent old Jamaica rum, of which a bottle stood on the table. The conversation then led to a few corrections. It was Kayser and not Rüdchen Lindau who had warned and threatened the *Allgemeine Zeitung* in Munich; and Bötticher had not told the lie about the morphiomania of the Chancellor direct to the Emperor, but to the Grand Duke of Baden, who then related it to his Majesty. The statement that the latter questioned Schweninger is true, as also the rough answer given by the doctor. "And as a matter of fact," said the Chief, "I have only taken morphia when in great pain, and it has never done me any harm; although Bötticher asserted that he found me quite deranged mentally and irresponsible for my actions."

After dinner while reading the papers the Chief remarked, I now forget in what connection: "One day, long after my death, Büschlein will write the secret history of our times from good sources." "Yes, Serene Highness," I replied, "but not a real history—I cannot do that—rather a compilation of good materials, conscientiously collected and placed in a proper light. Nor shall it be long after your death, which of course we pray may be as remote as possible, but immediately, without delay, as in these corrupt times one cannot too soon vindicate the rights of truth." He then came to speak of the newspaper reports to the effect that more friendly relations were gradually growing up between himself and the Emperor, a statement which he denied as something obviously impossible. He referred to the new communal regulations, which he disapproved of. He said they had offended the farmers, whom they put on a level with the small traders and artisans in communal affairs. He then spoke at some length of Minister Herrfurth, addressing himself for the most part to me,

much to the following effect : While the Emperor was still Prince and lived at Potsdam, he, Bismarck, desired to prepare him for the Government, and to provide him, so to say, with tuition in the various branches of the art of governing. Up to that time he knew little, and indeed did not trouble himself much about it, but preferred to enjoy himself in the society of young officers and such like. The plan was to get him to remove to Berlin, somewhere near Bellevue. But the financial authorities at Court were of opinion that that would be too expensive. The Prince was then to hear lectures at Potsdam, and Bismarck proposed Herrfurth, the Under Secretary of State,—who was reputed to be well informed, particularly in statistics—as his tutor on internal questions. The Prince agreed and invited Herrfurth to lunch with him, and then told the Chancellor he could not stand him, with his bristly beard, his dryness and tediousness, and asked whether the Prince could not suggest some one else. Yes, he would send him *Regierungsrath* von Brandenstein. The Prince had nothing to say against that, so Brandenstein was written to. But H.R.H., although it is true he lunched with him several times, paid so little attention to his explanations that Herr von Brandenstein lost patience, and begged to be given some other employment. In the meantime, shortly before the death of the Emperor Frederick, Minister Puttkammer was dismissed. When Prince William ascended the throne Bismarck spoke to him on the subject, and he said he would of course make Puttkammer Minister again, but a certain interval must be allowed to elapse—for appearance sake. Bismarck proposed that Herrfurth should hold the post in the interval, and told him that he must carry on the policy which Puttkammer had adopted, and resign his place to the latter after a certain time, receiving in return a post of Chief President. Would he agree to that ? Yes, he would ; he had always followed the course laid down by his superior, Puttkammer, and would willingly make way for him when the time came. But when Bismarck, after a few weeks or months, observed to his Majesty that the time had come to reinstate Puttkammer, the Emperor replied, no, he did not think of doing so any longer, as he had in the meantime grown accustomed to Herrfurth, and was now quite satisfied with him. The change had come about in this way. Herrfurth had, without previous consultation with the Prime Minister, put himself in direct communication with the Emperor, and taking advantage of the Sovereign's

wishes, recommended a liberal reform of the Communal Regulations, as a measure by which he could gain numerous friends and secure imperishable fame. "After a few days," concluded the Prince, "my Schönhausen people came to me and asked, 'What does this mean?' They had received papers, and were, it would seem, to report whether they desired to have all the old arrangements upset, and every one put on the same level. And this was done throughout the seven old provinces, much to the surprise and dissatisfaction of the peasantry. That too was one of the causes of my retirement." The Chief afterwards said that when I left he wished to give me some papers to take with me and keep for him. I was to make copies of them, which I could publish at a future day. I promised to remind him, and also offered my services for other purposes in the future; "I had always regarded myself as his little archer, who at his call would even shoot my bolt at the sun himself." He smiled, and said: "Many thanks; perhaps."

Sunday, March 22nd.—During the forenoon the Chief dictated to Bucher some notes on the question as to how the German Constitution might be altered in case it should no longer work. He also told him that he wished to give me certain important documents to take with me.

Monday, March 23rd.—(. . .) I had waited yesterday in vain to see the Chief on his return from lunch to his study, in order to remind him of the documents which I was to take with me. To-day, after lunch, I called upon him in his own room for this purpose. I apologised for disturbing him, but, as I intended to leave to-morrow, I thought it was of importance to him that I should take the papers with me. "So it is," he rejoined, "and it is well that you have reminded me of it while I am alone. But why are you going away so soon?" "I do not wish to be any longer a burden to you, Serene Highness." "But you are nothing of the kind. On the contrary, I am glad to see such a faithful old comrade of the war time; and, moreover, you are so quiet that you disturb no one." We then agreed that I should remain for a few days longer, and remind him of the papers once more later on.

During the day workmen were engaged unpacking large cases of silver plate—a valuable treasure which German manufacturers had presented to the Prince as a token of their esteem. At dinner the

old gentleman, who still remains the same lover of nature and of animals, had a great deal to tell about the starlings, for whom he had had a few dozen small wooden shelters put up in the trees behind the house. "They held a public meeting to-day," he said, "probably in connection with the approach of spring. As I was going for my walk I first saw seven of them sitting together in one place and making music. Shortly after their numbers increased, and finally there were thirty of them sitting together, wing to wing." He then cast a glance at the grey bull-dog waltzing round the room, and observed, "That reminds me of the funeral honours paid to Windthorst. I should never have thought of getting him (the dog), but the Emperor presented him to me. If it had not been for the Emperor's intervention at the beginning, they would never have made such a fuss about Windthorst." After dinner the conversation turned on newspaper tattle, as, for instance, that he had sent twelve cases full of important papers to an English bank to keep for him. "Twelve!" he exclaimed, smiling, "I wish I had even one such case full." The gossips of the press also reported that he had recently purchased a house in Berlin, such and such a number in the Königgrätzerstrasse—better informed authorities had it that it was two houses—at a very high price. From this he went on to say that they once assessed the rent of his palace (the Palais Radziwill) in the Wilhelmstrasse (for the inhabited house duty) at 50,000 marks. On his remonstrating, they replied that the English Ambassador had assessed his own house, which was not so large, at as high a figure.

In the forenoon of Tuesday, March 24th, the Chief sent upstairs for me and handed me, together with some other documents to be copied for future publication, his letter of resignation to the Emperor, accompanied by his statement of motives, as well as his answer to the Imperial acceptance thereof.

RESIGNATION.

"B(erlin) 18.3.90.—On the occasion of my respectful report of the 15th instant, your Majesty commanded me to submit the draft of an Order which should revoke the Royal Order of the 8th of September, 1852, by which the relations between the Minister President and his colleagues have hitherto been regulated.

"I take the liberty most humbly to submit the following state-

ment of the origin and significance of this Order. Under the absolute Monarchy the office of a President of the Ministry of State was not required; and it was in 1847, in the United Diet, that the Liberal members of that time (Mevisen) first pointed to the necessity of paving the way for constitutional arrangements by the appointment of a 'Prime Minister' ('Premier Minister'), whose task it should be to take charge of and provide for the maintenance of a uniform policy by the responsible Ministry, and to undertake responsibility for the entire results of the policy of the Cabinet. This constitutional arrangement came into force with us in 1848, and the 'President of the Ministry of State,'—in succession Count Arnim, Camphausen, Count Brandenburg, Baron von Manteuffel, and the Prince of Hohenzollern,—was responsible in the first place not for any single department, but for the entire policy of the Cabinet, and, therefore, for the departments, as a whole. Most of these gentlemen had no separate department but only the Presidency, as for instance, prior to my entrance into office, the Prince of Hohenzollern, Minister von Auerswald and Prince von Hohenlohe. It was their duty, however, to maintain that unity and continuity in the Ministry of State itself and in the relations between the latter and the monarchy without which Ministerial responsibility, such as arises under a constitutional system, would be an impossibility. The relations of the Ministry of State and its individual members to their newly instituted Minister President, however, soon required to be regulated in more strict accordance with the Constitution. This was done, in concurrence with the Ministry of State, in the Order of the 8th of September, 1852. Since that time this Order had governed the relations of the Minister President to the Ministry of State, and through it alone the Minister President was invested with the authority which enabled him to assume that degree of responsibility for the policy of the Cabinet as a whole which was attributed to him in the Diet and by public opinion. If each individual Minister can receive commands from the Sovereign without previous arrangement with his colleagues, a coherent policy in the Cabinet, for which some one is to be responsible, is an impossibility. It would be impossible for any of the Ministers, and especially for the Minister President, to bear the constitutional responsibility for the Cabinet as a whole. Such a provision as that contained in the Order of 1852 could be

dispensed with under the absolute monarchy, and could also be dispensed with to-day if we returned to absolutism without Ministerial responsibility. But according to the constitutional arrangements now legally in force, the control of the Cabinet by a President under the Order of 1852 is indispensable. All my colleagues agree with me upon this point, as is shown by yesterday's sitting of the Ministry of State, and also that no one who succeeds me as Minister President can assume responsibility for his office if he lacks the authority vested in him by the Order of 1852. This necessity will be felt even more strongly by any succeeding Minister than by me, as he will not be immediately sustained by that authority which I have hitherto enjoyed, owing to my long tenure of the Presidency and to the confidence reposed in me by the two late Emperors. Up to the present it has never been necessary for me, in dealing with my colleagues, to expressly appeal to the Order of 1852. Its existence and the certainty that I possessed the confidence of the two late Emperors, William and Frederick, was sufficient to secure my authority in the Cabinet. To-day, however, this certainty exists neither for my colleagues nor myself. I have therefore been obliged to fall back upon that Order for the purpose of securing the necessary unity in your Majesty's service. For the reasons stated above, I am not in a position to carry out your Majesty's command in accordance with which I should myself introduce and countersign the revocation of the Order of 1852 (to which I myself recently called attention), and nevertheless continue to hold the Presidency of the Ministry of State.

"According to the communications made to me yesterday by Lieutenant-General Hahnke and *Geheimer Kabinetsrath* von Lucanus, I can entertain no doubt that your Majesty knows and believes that it is not possible for me to revoke the Order and yet remain Minister President. Notwithstanding that fact your Majesty has maintained the command given on the 15th instant and indicated that my resignation, which is thereby rendered necessary, would be accepted. From previous conferences which I had with your Majesty on the question whether your Majesty desired my continuance in office, I gathered that it would be agreeable to your Majesty that I should resign my position in the service of Prussia, but continue in that of the Empire. After considering this matter more closely I took the liberty to call

attention to some critical consequences of such a division of my offices, particularly so far as the future action of the Chancellor in the Imperial Diet is concerned, and therefore refrain from repeating here all the consequences which would attend such a divorce between Prussia and the Imperial Chancellor. Thereupon your Majesty deigned to agree that for the present everything should remain as it was.

"As I have had the honour to explain, however, it is not possible for me to retain the post of Minister President after your Majesty had repeatedly ordered it to be subjected to the *capitis diminutio* involved in the revocation of the fundamental Order of 1852.

"On the occasion of my respectful report of the 15th instant your Majesty was pleased to confine me, as regards the extent of my official authority, within limits which do not allow me that degree of participation in the affairs of State, that supervision of the latter, and that freedom in my Ministerial decisions and in my intercourse with the Imperial Diet and its members, which I require if I am to accept constitutional responsibility for my official acts.

"But even if it were possible to carry on our foreign policy so independently of our home policy, and our Imperial policy so independently of Prussian policy, as would be the case if the Imperial Chancellor had as little share in the policy of Prussia as in that of Bavaria and Saxony, and had nothing to do in the Imperial Diet with the decision as to the Prussian vote in the Federal Council, it would nevertheless—after your Majesty's recent decisions on the direction of our foreign policy, as laid down in the confidential letter with which your Majesty yesterday accompanied the report of the Consul at Kieff—be impossible for me to undertake to carry out the instructions respecting foreign affairs contained therein. I should thereby endanger all the important results for the German Empire, which our foreign policy, in agreement with the views of your Majesty's two predecessors, has for decades past under difficult circumstances secured in our relations with Russia, results that have attained a significance beyond all expectations great for the present and for the future, a circumstance which was confirmed by Count Schuvaloff after his return from St. Petersburg.

"Attached as I am to the service of the Royal House and of

your Majesty, and accustomed for many years to conditions which I have hitherto regarded as permanent, it is very painful to me to sever my wonted relations with your Majesty, and to break off my connection with the entire policy of the Empire of Prussia. Nevertheless, after conscientiously weighing your Majesty's intentions, which I should have to be prepared to carry out if I were to remain in office, I have no alternative but most humbly to beg your Majesty graciously to relieve me of the offices of Imperial Chancellor and of Minister President, and Prussian Minister for Foreign Affairs, under the usual regulations as to pension.

"From my impressions of the last few weeks and the communications made to me yesterday by your Majesty's Civil and Military Cabinet, I may respectfully take it for granted that I meet your Majesty's views in thus tendering my resignation, and therefore that I may reckon with certainty upon its being graciously accepted.

"I would have submitted to your Majesty the petition to be relieved of my offices a year ago if I had not been under the impression that your Majesty desired to take advantage of the experience and capacity of a faithful servant of your predecessors. Now that I am assured your Majesty does not require them, I may retire from political life without fearing that public opinion will condemn my decision as untimely.

(Signed) "VON BISMARCK."

At the present stage of international affairs I consider it hazardous to publish the "Draft of confidential statement as to the motives of my retirement from office." The interest of Germany in keeping it secret for the immediate future seems to me to be greater than the interest of history in its publication now.

"NOTES ON MY RETIREMENT.

"The Vice-President of the Ministry of State (von Bötticher) declared that he and his colleagues were deeply grieved at my retirement. He had hitherto hoped that the only differences of opinion between his Majesty and myself were connected with home domestic policy, and therefore that the arrangement indicated by me, namely, that I should confine myself to the

control of foreign affairs, would prove a satisfactory solution. My withdrawal from all my offices involved incalculable difficulties; and although he could understand my displeasure, he could only beg me urgently to come to a compromise.

"I replied: The expedient of withdrawing from the Prussian service and confining myself to the position of Imperial Chancellor had met with objections from the Federal Governments and the Imperial Diet. It is felt to be desirable that the Chancellor should have an official position in which he can control the casting of the Prussian vote; and I, too, could not accept a position in which I should be obliged to take from the Prussian Ministers instructions in the preparation of which I had had no part. Therefore this expedient also would not be free from difficulties.

"The Minister of Finance declared that the Order of the 8th of September, 1852, by no means went beyond what was necessary, and could not form an insurmountable difficulty. And also so far as the difficulties in the matter of foreign affairs were concerned, he could only agree with the Minister of State, von Bötticher, that a compromise ought to be sought. Besides, if the retirement took place not for reasons of health, but on political grounds, and from all offices, then the Ministry of State itself would have to consider whether it should not take part in this step. Perhaps that would contribute to avert the fatal event.

"The Ministers of Public Worship and of Justice considered that the differences referred to were due solely to a misunderstanding, which it might be possible to clear up for his Majesty. The Minister of War added, that for a long time past his Majesty had not let fall a single word that had any reference to warlike complications with Russia.

"The Minister of Public Works (Maybach) described my retirement as a misfortune for the security of the country and the peace of Europe. Every possible effort should be made to avert it. In these circumstances he considered that the Ministers should place their offices at the disposal of his Majesty, and he at least was determined to do so.

"The Minister for Agriculture declared that if I were convinced that my retirement was desired in the highest quarter I could not be dissuaded from this step. But in any case

the Ministry would then have to consider what course it should adopt."

ANSWER TO THE ACCEPTANCE OF THE RESIGNATION.

(From Bismarck's autograph pencil draft.)

"MOST AUGUST EMPEROR, KING AND MASTER,

"I thank your Majesty respectfully for the gracious words with which your Majesty has accompanied my discharge; and I am highly gratified at the bestowal of the likeness, which — (illegible) will remain an honourable souvenir of the time during which your Majesty permitted me to devote my strength to your Majesty's service.

"Your Majesty has at the same time graciously invested me with the dignity of Duke of Lauenburg. I have respectfully taken the liberty to explain verbally to *Geheimer Kabinetsrath* von Lucanus the reasons which render it difficult for me to use such a title, and at the same time requested him not to make public this second act of grace. The fulfilment of this request was not possible, as at the time when I expressed my scruples on the subject the publication had already taken place—on the 17th of March. I venture, however, most humbly to beg your Majesty graciously to allow me in future to bear the name and title which I have hitherto borne. I beg to be allowed to lay at your Majesty's feet my most respectful thanks for the high honour bestowed upon me by my military promotion as soon as I am able to report myself, which at the present moment I am prevented from doing through indisposition.

"With the most profound respect, &c.

Wednesday, March 25th.—The Chief started for Hamburg to-day, first to pay a return visit to Waldersee at Altona, and afterwards to make a few calls in Hamburg. He had not left, however, before lunch, at which he joined us, in undress uniform and wearing an order. He was back again in time for dinner. He had not found Waldersee at home, and at the other houses also had only met the ladies. At table there was a great deal of talk about the torchlight procession with which the Prince's Hamburg

admirers wished to celebrate his birthday here on the 1st of April.

It was anticipated that 3,000 to 4,000 persons would come to Friedrichsruh by special trains to take part in the procession. They could marshal their torches and go through their evolutions with tolerable ease on the meadows on the right bank of the Aue.

Friday, March 27th.—Took lunch alone, and somewhat earlier than usual on account of my departure. After a while the Princess, who was on this occasion particularly good-humoured and communicative, came. Among other things she said that it is Versen and the "detestable Hinzpeter" who have most influence with the Emperor and who stimulate the high opinion he has of his own capacity and encourage his arbitrary tendencies. Finally the Prince also came in to say good-by, and invited me to report myself again shortly at Friedrichsruh. Then back to Berlin, and a few days later, on the 2nd of April, to Leipzig, my new home.

I had hoped that at length I might rest, but it was not to be. The mill must still grind on! Indeed, there is no alternative, as people would not otherwise know how I came to the extraordinary notion of writing yet another book on Bismarck, and how that scheme fared. On the 23rd of June *Kommerzienrath* Kröner, of Stuttgart, previously only known to me by name, called upon me and proposed that I should write for him a biography of the Prince. I agreed to do so in case the latter approved. With this object I next wrote the following letter to Bucher, who was again at Friedrichsruh with the old gentleman:—

"DEAR FRIEND,

"I yesterday had a visit from a Stuttgart gentleman, hitherto unknown to me, who asked if I would write a biography of the Prince, three or four volumes; I could speak out exactly as I liked, and also lay down such other conditions as were convenient to me. As he came direct from Friedrichsruh, and had there spoken to the Prince and also to you, his intention in putting this question to me was possibly known and approved of at Friedrichsruh. If that be the case, and if the Prince gives his permission, I am disposed to make the attempt, particularly as I may then hope also to be assisted with contributions on doubtful

points. I would take time and provide for complete freedom from interference on the part of the publisher and would serve the truth so far as it is known to me.

"Please, therefore, inquire to-day or to-morrow whether he gives his blessing to the affair or not, and let me know the result."

The following answer came from Bucher:—

"FR. 26/7/91.

"DR. FR.,—Your letter of the 24th, which curiously enough bears the Leipzig postmark of the 26th, reached me last evening, and I have this morning communicated its contents. The reply ran literally: 'I have nothing whatever against it. I have sometimes a feeling that the end will come suddenly for me one day. I should like to have the opportunity of correcting many errors *viva voce*, as Busch has a great deal of material.' Things are going badly with me. I have pains in my hand, and other pains which I cannot write about. When I have pushed the stone a little way uphill it rolls back again to the bottom. I wish you better luck."

On receipt of this information I finally agreed with Kröner to write the book, and entered into a contract with him. A few weeks later, however, in thinking over the prospect, I was half sorry that I had done so, and wrote to Bucher (pointing out certain objections in the event of the Prince's "Memoirs" being published, and competing with the book, and suggesting that in case they were not to appear until after Bismarck's death, judicious extracts from them might be included in the biography, &c.).

Bucher's reply:

"LAUBBACH BEI COBLENZ, *September 1, 1891.*

"DEAR FRIEND,—Nothing will ever come of the 'Memoirs,' even if He¹ and I were to live for ten years to come. The chief hindrance is laziness, as He himself expresses it. My work can only consist in dividing up the chaos of dictated material, and uniting the pieces into mosaics, as also in correcting his chronology,

¹ "He" is given with a capital letter in original.—THE TRANSLATOR.

which is quite untrustworthy, and of course falsifies the casual relations of things. What He has to do is to read over the chapters which I have put together, and at the same time the letters referring to the subject, which I put with them. He cannot, however, be brought to do that. Of the fourteen chapters which I have submitted to him since last September he had on my departure from Kissingen read one through, and a portion of another! In correcting his chronology in four important instances I have forced him to acknowledge that the affair cannot really have happened in the way in which he had dictated it; but it was impossible for me to squeeze out of him any statement as to what actually had occurred. I am well nigh desperate, and should be very pleased if my work were stopped and the whole thing handed over to you. I do not know what he will think, but in any case make the attempt.

"Schweninger, who is very anxious to get him to take up some serious, continuous occupation, persuaded me to go to Kissingen, assuring me that he would keep the two disturbing elements, the Princess and Herbert at a distance; we two should have him to ourselves, and he would therefore begin a new life. Nothing of the kind has occurred. It was the old lazy life in the Castle of Indolence (*Schlaraffenleben*)—guests and drinking every day.

"Ever yours (in English),

"B."

I wrote in reply from Leipzig, on September 2nd, 1891, *inter alia*: that if the "Memoirs" were never to be completed but remain mere materials, there was all the more reason for rescuing at least a portion from destruction. . . . I would do nothing in the matter before consulting him, but I was not without hope that the Chief would allow himself to be persuaded by my arguments, and would assist me with the dictated matter in my otherwise desperate undertaking.

After some consideration, however, I addressed my request to the Prince direct, and in the course of a week, on the 17th of September, the following answer came by post:—

"VARZIN, September 14, 1891.

"I have received your letter, and will willingly accede to your wish that I should—before its publication—look through the work

which you have arranged to write. I cannot, however, as yet place what I have myself written and dictated at your disposal. It is not possible for the present to publish any part of it either directly or indirectly. Even if made public in an indirect way its accuracy would be questioned, and I should be challenged to produce my proofs.

"I should be glad to receive a short provisional communication, either written or verbal, as to the plan and contents of the work.

"V. BISMARCK."

On the 5th of October I paid Bucher a visit in Berlin in connection with this matter. I showed him the draft of a reply I had sent within the course of the week to the Chief, and he told me he had already been informed by Schweninger. He said I ought first to have arranged with him before writing to the Prince, and mentioning his name. As it was, Bismarck would believe that he had suggested my plan respecting the "Memoirs." Referring to the differences between the Prince and the Emperor, Bucher stated that their origin was to be sought in the following incident, as well as in the demand with regard to the Order of 1852, and the steps which—according to Bismarck's statement—had been taken in connection with Windthorst's visit. (The Prince's account of the Windthorst incident appeared to him, Bucher, not to be credible, at least so far as the date was concerned.) On the 15th of March, as the Emperor was returning home from a drive with Bismarck, he told the latter that he wished to inform the Tsar that he intended paying him a visit of some days' duration at his estate—(I have forgotten the name of it). Bismarck dissuaded him on the ground that the Tsar liked to be alone there, and because the Emperor had not made a very favourable impression in St. Petersburg. His Majesty asked how he came to know that. B. replied through a private letter; whereupon the Emperor desired to see it. B. at first did not wish to show it; but finally, yielding to further pressure, drew it out of his pocket. The Emperor, after he had read it, ordered the carriage to stop, and set down the Chancellor at his residence.

It was evident from the foregoing that in my affair the Prince wanted to know—and in certain circumstances to alter and probably to a great extent—what I might perhaps be inclined to say

about himself, and indeed generally. Hence Kröner's proposition. In that case, however, I could not, as I had hoped, do a service to the truth and to history, and therefore could only write an empty book. I therefore informed Bucher I would tell Kröner that an alteration in my health would prevent me from carrying out our contract, and beg him to cancel it. This was done in a letter from Leipzig on the 11th of October; and I was relieved from that burden and anxiety.

On the morning of the 5th of January, 1892, I again spent an hour with Bucher at his place in Berlin, and found him the same dear old friend. His hopeless feeling with regard to the "Memoirs" had only grown deeper since I saw him last. In the interval he had paid a further long visit to Friedrichsruh, where he remained till shortly before Christmas. He was to return again soon on the Prince's invitation, although the gout in his hands had begun again on the previous Sunday to give him great trouble, and the outlook and condition of affairs in the Sachsenwald pleased him less than ever. "Thank your stars that you are not in my place with these 'Memoirs,'" he said. "One's work is in every respect void of profit and pleasure. One exhausts himself on an utterly hopeless task, which will yield nothing for history. It is not alone that his memory is defective, and he has little interest in what we have done—up to the present he has looked through very few of my packets—but he begins also intentionally to misrepresent even plain and well-established matters of fact and occurrences. He will not admit his own share in anything that has failed, and he will acknowledge no one to be of any consequence compared to himself, except perhaps the old Emperor (to whom he now, as a foil to the young Emperor, gives a much higher place than he is fairly entitled to) and General Alvensleben—I cannot say why—who concluded the treaty with Russia and commanded at Vionville. Falk also is now praised, perhaps because he fears he might otherwise retort with disclosures. (But of course these 'Memoirs' are not to be published at all.) He insists that he is in no way responsible for the Kulturkampf, that he did nothing to oppose Pio Nono's views respecting the Infallibility, and just as little against Arnim's mischievous ambition—although everybody knows the contrary to be the fact. As if he and his work did not shed enough light to enable men to overlook such shadows! Even in cases where his

policy was brilliantly successful he will not hear of acknowledging anything, as for instance the trap which he set for Napoleon in the Spanish affair. He denied the letter to Prim until I reminded him that I myself handed it to the general in Madrid, and that the world is now well aware of it through Rothan." On this occasion Bucher also referred once more to his zigzag journey with Salazar and his audience with King Wilhelm at Ems. "The whole candidature of the Prince of Hohenzollern," said Bucher, "is now represented by Bismarck as having been a purely private affair of the Court, a mere family matter, although he was obliged to confess that it was discussed at a sitting of the entire Ministry."—I also added some reminiscences, but observed in conclusion that in spite of all that, the Chief remained the great political genius and saviour of the Germans. But he was not qualified to be a historian. He was to such a large extent the author of the history of the past decades that it might be called his history, but he did not understand how to relate it. Bucher, of course, agreed with me, and then continued his account of the last few weeks. Bismarck wanted to attend the Reichstag at all costs, in order to speak against the Commercial Treaties. It was in vain to point out to him the danger of malicious and coarse attacks from the Richter and Bebel corners of the House, and to warn him that the President would now be at liberty to call him also to order. 'In that case I would answer him ironically' was the laughing reply. It was only Schweningen who succeeded in dissuading him on medical grounds.—Hoffmann, of the *Hamburger Nachrichten*, comes every week, and prints whatever the Prince says to him, quite indifferent to the fact whether it is a well-considered statement, or the contrary." "An old copying clerk has now been set to work on the 'Memoirs,' as Chrysander, to whom I dictate my notes, is over-burdened with other things, and can no longer manage all the copying." "They are to be left as a bequest to the sons, but will hardly be published by them,"—because they know that they contain too many misrepresentations of a kind which people could detect and easily disprove, and because they are full of unjust judgments on prominent personages, as, for instance, on most of the Prince's former colleagues. At the very most, a last chapter might ultimately be published on the preliminary stages of his disgrace, and ultimate retirement. Herbert has made copious and reliable notes on this subject, in

which, however, the old gentleman has made all sorts of inaccurate and false corrections. The Princess is still the same." . . . On my asking after the daughter, Bucher fetched a bottle of old Hungarian wine from behind the green curtain of a bookcase. Countess Rantzau had brought it with her from Hamburg for him, and we drank a glass of it to the health of the honest and excellent lady who had always been a friend to him. "And not forgetting our old master," I added. "How is he getting on?" "Our old lion is well," he replied, "and is always in good humour at table; eats and drinks heartily, cracks a joke, and is equal to the youngest of them in paying court to the fair ones."

We were not destined to meet again. Bucher died on the 12th of October, 1892, after he had lived away from the Prince for a few months.

Next spring I could find no rest until I greeted the Prince once more, and I was permitted to do so. I arrived at Friedrichsruh on the 1st of May. Before dinner I met the old gentleman in the coffee-room, where hung the portraits of his ancestors. He has changed very little. I must sit down with him on the sofa, and am "Büschlein" as before. Had I written anything lately, and what about? Complained of faceache, "which, however, comes no doubt from the sharp atmosphere out of doors during my walk this morning."—At dinner my place is again next the Prince on his right. As is almost invariably the case on such occasions, he is amiable, lively and good-humoured.

May 2nd.—Schweninger called at my room as he was going away. We spoke once more about Bucher, whom he praised highly. Long before the 15th of March the doctor had known, "through his connections at Court" of the Emperor's intention to get rid of Bismarck, and had informed the latter. At 12 o'clock Chrysander summoned me to the Prince, whom I met alone in the dining-room, where he was waiting for me. After I had turned the conversation on Bucher I mentioned his mission to Madrid and the letter to Prim, giving him clearly to understand that I had been fully informed by my deceased friend of every detail of his Spanish journey, and also knew that at one time he wished to deny the letter to Prim and the trap set for Napoleon, which he had baited afresh by condensing the Ems despatch. But to repudiate that would be to remove the finest leaf from his

wreath of laurels, and so on. These details recalled to him the whole circumstances, and he no longer denied anything.

After dinner in the evening, *Kommersienrath* Kröner, over our coffee, recommended the Prince to pay an early visit to Leipzig. The Chief Burgomaster Georgi had told him that they longed to see the Prince there, and that he would be received with universal enthusiasm. I considered it right to tone down the effect of this statement by pointing out that, in addition to sincere but silent veneration for the Prince, there was also a great deal of loud and obtrusive fustian and party self-seeking, whose sole object was its own advancement; that together with a certain understanding for Bismarck's methods and aims, there was also a great deal of unreason; and that the great lights of the National Liberal persuasion, who held the upper hand at Leipzig, would think less of manifesting their gratitude to him than of once more giving prominence to themselves and their party, and gaining popularity for future elections to the Municipal Council or the Reichstag. Our *Geheimer Kommerzienrath* was obviously unable to appreciate such an unbusinesslike argument. What I said was, however, perfectly true.

May 3rd.—In addition to the Chief and his wife and daughter, only Chrysander and myself were present at lunch. Conversation: On the newspaper report that Rottenburg was about to pay the Prince a visit, of which, however, the latter knew nothing, and which is all the more improbable, as Rottenburg is just engaged to Miss Phelps, the daughter of the American Minister. The Chief mentioned that Mr. Phelps wrote to him recently, and asked for an expression of opinion on the World's Fair at Chicago—of course a favourable one. The Prince, however, does not seem inclined to do this. He said: "If I were to give an honest expression of my view it would not be what he requires. These exhibitions are of little value for industry and art, and are more for the benefit of hotel keepers and such people. They are good for those who feel bored, who want a new sensation, new amusements, and who have money enough to gratify their inclinations and afford themselves such pleasures." The most gracious and his intimates were then discussed—a General von Versen is one of the favourites. The conversation then turned on the diplomatic world, and first on Marschall, who has little

capacity, but has been recommended by his Grand Duke and a relative (or an official); on von Schweinitz, who has nine children, and also on "Sardanapaul" Hatzfeldt. The Chief afterwards referred to Maximilian Harden (Witkowski), whom he praised as "a quiet unpretentious man of great tact; not at all like a Jew—and also not like my intimate friend Blum," he added laughingly, as he looked towards the Princess. On the mention of the Grand Duke of Baden I reminded him of his letter with the words, "You cannot govern without Bismarck," and of the letter written by the Crown Prince Frederick from Portofino in which he described his son. The Chief said that he no longer had the original, and asked me to send him a copy of it. "But not direct through the post, and also not to Dr. Chrysander," suggested Countess Rantzau. "No, he will also be watched. Send it to Baron Merck, Sachsenwald bei Reinbeck; I shall then get it safely." I further referred to the King of Saxony and his regard for Bismarck, and I mentioned that a doctor, who at the time acted as Physician in Ordinary to the King at Pillnitz, told me how, immediately after the Prince's dismissal, the King travelled alone by night from Pillnitz to Berlin, probably for the purpose of a conference with the Emperor or Caprivi.

On Bötticher's name coming up after the diplomatists, the Prince placed him even below Caprivi, and concluded as follows: "Moreover, he is under petticoat government." Of Marschall he said: "He writes bad French, even in official documents, speaking for instance in a recent communication to Italy of *l'empereur et l'empereuse*."

May 4th.—At lunch we were joined by Baroness Merck and a professor from Giessen, who plied the Prince with all sorts of questions, and whom we shall here entitle Herr Y. In the course of this inquisition we ascertained, among other things, that "Dutken Sommer" (in Heseke's book), whom I had hitherto taken to be a countrywoman, is in reality of the masculine gender, and the son of the Pastor at Reinfeld. The Prince said he was blind, and somewhat of a simpleton, while the Princess described him as musical. Y. hastily jotted that and other facts down in his pocket book while discussing his cutlet and omelette. Phelps, Chicago, and the Prince's opinion of these "World Fairs" once more. The Chief then spoke of Prince and Princess Reuss at

Vienna, and of the position she took up towards the notorious rescript. ("The Uriah Letters.") She said: "My husband is a (public) servant. I am not." Somebody brought up Ahlwardt's name, and the Prince said: "He too has one merit. He brings a change into the commonplace tediousness of the Reichstag." He observed with regard to the good reception accorded to the Emperor by the Swiss: "They do nothing gratis. We shall be made to pay for it with a higher customs duty." The professor informed us that he was a vegetarian, and that it was an illness that had converted him. I mentioned the approaching advent of the editor of the *Kladderadatsch* and his friend Jacobsen, praising both of them highly. After a glance at his pocket book, Y. inquired about the attitude of France in 1866, mentioning Moustier. The Prince corrected his pronunciation of the name, and then went on to say: "Once in the course of conversation he reminded me in a threatening way of Jena. I said to him, 'If you talk to me of Jena I will talk to you of Leipzig.' I might also have mentioned Waterloo. Moustier then complained to Manteuffel, and he reported the matter to the King, who, however, said that I had acted rightly." Coming in the further course of the conversation to speak of the policy which was at that time pursued by the Italians, he said: "La Marmora was a scoundrel, and was paid by France, but Govone was a respectable man." He gave his reasons for both opinions in detail. The Prince then added, having perhaps noticed the eavesdropping publicist: "I would not have said that to Sybel if I had had any idea that he would publish it—a remark which applies to other matters mentioned to other good people, such as my worthy friend Blum, whose statements are very indiscreet and mostly false."

At 4 P.M. the professor came to my room, "in order to become better acquainted with his neighbour"; that is, thought I to myself, to pump me too for his own purposes, *de omnibus rebus et quibusdam aliis*, according to all the rules of the art. And so it proved. At dinner Y., who again diligently pumped the Prince for the benefit of his note-book, strongly urged him soon to pay a visit to South Germany and the Rhine, and held out a very tempting prospect there. The Chief, however, replied that, like Parson Primrose, he now preferred the journey from the brown bed into the blue to all others. "Were I to go, however," he

continued, "I should prepare a speech once for all and learn it by heart." He added an experience of his at the time of the Erfurt Parliament: "There was one of them there who spoke often and well, and who, on one occasion, delivered a speech which I heard and liked. On my mentioning it to an acquaintance, however, he said: 'Yes, but you should have heard it last year; it was much finer then!'"

May 5th.—Y. called for me again. The octopus applied a new sucker: he wanted to know about the "Memoirs." Had on one occasion seen the Prince over a pile of folio sheets. Could these have been the "Memoirs"? I did not know, but doubted it. "I did not wish to ask him," observed the good creature. At lunch he cheerfully proceeded with the work of extracting information from the Chief. He had evidently turned a deaf ear to the indirect warning as to "indiscreet friends," or considered that full-blown professors formed an exception.

After dinner, when the Mercks, who had also been present, had withdrawn, there was a scene in the coffee room. The indefatigable Y. once more addressed a series of questions to the Prince, whose newspaper hour had arrived, but who nevertheless listened to him politely, until suddenly—I did not notice to what special point the sucker had been applied, but it must have been an exceptionally tender spot—he exclaimed angrily: "You should not put such questions, professor. I cannot imagine how any one can put such idiotic questions." Tableau! A thunder-bolt! Silence for a moment, and then the conversation is resumed with the ladies on matters of no importance, while the Chief studies his paper. On Y. rising to leave, the Countess makes a sign to me to remain, and I talk for some time to her and the Princess. On taking leave I kiss the Chief's hand for the first time, and doubtless also for the last. He says: "Good-bye, dear old friend, but come back again soon."

In the meantime may God protect our dear old master from his new friends—his business friends! Amen!

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